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Sacred bundles of the Ioway Indians

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by

Lance Michael Foster

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Signatures have been redacted for privacy

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ORTHOGRAPHY

The Ioway language has been studied by various scholars, including William Hamilton and Samuel Irvin (n.d., ca. 1840-1860), James Owen Dorsey (1894), William Whitman (1947), Lila Wistrand-Robinson (1978), Jimm Good Tracks (1992), and others. No standard orthography (how language sounds are written) has been agreed upon, and the Ioway communities have found the various proposed orthographies (including linguistic notation) to be confusing and not very useful. Historical changes and speaker's idiosyncrasies complicate the issue further. I cannot pretend to resolve this issue in this paper. For simplicity's sake, the Ioway terms given in this paper should be considered to have the following sounds.

a	<u>f</u> ather
b	<u>b</u> each
ch	<u>ch</u> urch
d	<u>d</u> ifferent
e	o <u>b</u> ey
g	go <u>a</u> t
h	<u>h</u> it
i	swe <u>e</u> t
j	<u>j</u> ay
k	<u>k</u> ill
l	"l" (also sometimes written with an "r") sounds similar to the Spanish "r" to non-native speakers, as in "pero"
m	<u>m</u> other
n	<u>n</u> ut
ng	<u>s</u> ing
ny	sounds similar to Spanish "mañ <u>a</u> na"
o	<u>b</u> oat
p	stop
s/sh	<u>s</u> ugar
t	<u>t</u> op
u	<u>b</u> oot
w	<u>w</u> oman
x	similar to "ch" sound in German "achtung"
y	<u>y</u> ellow
'	glottal stop, as when an English speaker says "uh'oh" or "a'apple"

There are other sounds in the Ioway language which do not have good English equivalents. Whenever a glottal stop (') follows a consonant rather than a vowel, it sounds more like an extra puff of air (plosion). Every word ends in a vowel sound. Whenever an "n" is seen written following a word or vowel, it means the vowel just before it is nasalized, but the "n" is silent. This is important, as it can actually change the meaning of the word. For example, *hi* means "tooth", but *hin* means "hair". To a non-native speaker they may sound very similar.

The various Ioway words used in this study can be found collated and standardized at the end of the study in the appendix, "Glossary of Ioway terms."

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Personal Statement

The study of sacred bundles

She stared at him, dismayed. "Doctor Van Vliet, have you no respect for the dead?"

"Not a bit. She's an aborigine. A Lakota."

"I should care very much if those were my bones," she said, but he didn't seem to hear her. He'd discovered the woman's sewing kit and a little doeskin doll, a hide scraper with red and black dots incised into its handle, and her wotawes, amulets and fetishes, and danced about, holding them up to the sun.

"I would indeed," she said. "I think they would too. She's someone's mother you know. She laughed and cried once; brought children into the world. Sewed clothes for them with those awls you're holding."

"Ah, how right you are. But science can't afford sentiment."

"My feelings exactly, Doctor Van Vliet. I think you'll add nothing to ethnology if you have no sense of the mortal whose tools you hold." (Wheeler 1992: 43-44).

It is with ambivalence that I present this study on the sacred bundles of the Ioway.

Although I am an enrolled tribal member of the Kansas-Nebraska branch, and the bundle belief system among the Ioway is no longer active, several people expressed their belief that such a study, and especially the handling and the description of the sacred bundles was a spiritually unwise and even dangerous thing to do. I cannot disagree with this. And so one might ask why, then, did I do it?

As the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act has become a major issue to American Indians, the U.S. Government, and anthropologists, the repatriation of the dead to their homes as well as the return of sacred artifacts is something that has to be faced by every tribe. There are mixed feelings, as one who is brought up in their culture knows that it is not simply a matter of returning "things." These "things" once had a proper cultural context, with songs and rites to be given, social forms to be observed, Keepers to be chosen, cautions to be undertaken. These returned "things" are not simply "things." They are material

manifestations of a vibrant, interconnected cultural system as well as a difficult, painful, and sometimes clouded past. Considered to have a kind of life, these "things" are, in the native view, like "Old People" returning to a home unrecognizable to them and sometimes to descendants who do not know them and their ways.

I have thought about these manifestations of the past for over ten years now. Every step I have taken has led me to this place, even when I tried to go in a different direction. I always prayed that only if it was good should I continue in this manner. And so I find myself in this place. I still have much to learn. I have been given no authority to do what I have done. Sometimes, if no one else will do what needs to be done, it will go on to someone who will.

I simply offer here what I have found out about these "Old People," the sacred bundles of the Ioway. It is an ongoing process of knowledge and experience. In getting an academic degree, one must write down what has been learned and put it in a form called a thesis, a requirement to receive a diploma and go on in one's quest to learn more. I offer here my experience and knowledge of what I have found so far. I offer it here to those descendants of the Ioway who seek to understand the past.

Statement of Purpose

Objective of the study

The objective of this study is to begin to describe the sacred bundle system of the Ioway (also called Iowa) Indians, through historic context and examination of bundles in some museums. The work is primarily descriptive, ethnographic, and interpretive, as a basis for providing an "emic" perspective, which has been essentially lacking in earlier analyses. Ultimately, legitimate theoretical workers depend on descriptive work as the material for their arguments and as a data base for their explorations and proofs.

Jeffrey Hanson (1980) attempted to include Ioway bundles in his survey, but the available data base was inadequate. It turned out that 40% of the component categories set up by Hanson actually present in Ioway bundles were not counted, and 88% of the associated activities similarly missed. A further problem with the Ioway material is that he does not use the proper typological divisions for the bundles, as Ioway pipes are always a distinct class to themselves in the Ioway bundle system and are not considered a type of war bundle at all. The Ioway are described by Hanson as having year-round unity. Historical and ethnographic sources indicate a pattern of tribal segmentation along lineage and personal divisions for hunting and seasonal activities, or in times of tribal crisis, such as war, or treaty or alliance disputes. This is not intended to dispute Hanson's ideas as much as it is intended to show the danger of formulating comparative studies based on inadequate descriptive studies.

The purpose of this study is to gather together data on the bundle system of the Ioway Indians of the midwestern United States, which has never been done.

The purposes for this are many. The anthropological study of material culture, for decades neglected in favor of social anthropological studies, has gained momentum since the 1970s. The resurgence of interest in material culture has come about for a number of political, economic, and social reasons. A decline in tribal cultures (the traditional realm of the anthropologist) as well as fieldwork funding opportunities, and the needs and demands of various social contexts has forced anthropology to re-examine its mission. An increasing interest in and shift to interdisciplinary studies (with the interaction of such disparate fields as archaeology, art history, history, historic preservation, philosophy, and literature studies) has resulted in the re-examination of paradigms and theoretical orientations, as well as a re-examination of old data. Finally, the increasing vocality of "the other," the tribal and "third world" peoples who have traditionally been the object of anthropological study, and whose

"material life" make up the bulk of museum collections has resulted in the issue of reasserting cultural integrity through the repatriation of many items in museum collections (as well as skeletal remains), as seen with the passage of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Many of these things are the last physical link between a people and their history, their mothers and fathers, their life's blood.

As most of the contextual descriptions of Ioway bundles are either unpublished or in older, hard-to-obtain sources, I felt it was important to compile as much of this material in one place as I could, and to use extensive quotes. At the risk of being unwieldy, it is my contention that the Ioway need to have full access to this information on their past. It may be the only time this is done. Extensive contextual quotes are also valuable in the evolving scholarly study of material culture. I agree with Hudson and Blackburn when they state:

Our own feeling is that an arrangement that emphasizes the context in which an item was employed and the specific function for which it was used has the greatest potential for meaningfully contributing to the resolution of either emic or etic questions, and is also the most likely to advance our understanding of the interrelationships between the material subsystem and other segments of culture (Hudson and Blackburn 1982: 27).

The study of material culture, neglected by cultural or social anthropology since the 1930s, has, within the last decade, experienced a resurgence of interest. Archaeology, based on the material culture of the past, continued to develop the theory and method necessary to understand material culture. Other academic disciplines such as American studies, history, and art have begun to follow the lead of archaeology in exploring material culture. Cultural anthropology, once a leader, has fallen behind, though that is beginning to change.

Plan of Presentation

Chapter topics

The following topics are discussed in this study, in the order mentioned:

Chapter 2, "Literature and museum search," describes the literature reviewed for this paper, as well as the museums contacted for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not Ioway bundles were to be found in their collections.

Chapter 3, "The Ioway: Historical and cultural context," provides the reader with an introduction to the Ioway people. Ioway origins, prehistory, and history up to the present day are briefly described, with a section on the mythological origins of the bundle system. Certain features of Ioway culture were especially well-connected to the bundle system, and these are described in greater detail, with sections on religious concepts, social organization, and material culture.

Chapter 4, "Ioway sacred bundles in context," relates extensive historical descriptions relating to the Ioway bundle system, with sections on the sacred pipes, war and war bundles, the doctoring societies (with descriptions of the native medical system, buffalo doctors, otter doctors, and witchcraft), tattooing, and the decline of the bundle system.

Chapter 5, "Sacred bundles at the Milwaukee Public Museum," gives a brief biography of Alanson Skinner, who collected for the museum, as well as descriptions of the bundles collected by Skinner. This section is arranged historically, following the process of collecting through his letters, the original catalog, and extensive notes on the contents of the bundles.

Chapter 6, "Sacred bundles at the Museum of the American Indian," describes the collection of sacred bundles made by Mark R. Harrington, taken from his unpublished notes at the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Chapter 7, "Elements and symbolism in Ioway sacred bundles," notes the occurrence of elements in the bundles as well as some thoughts on symbolism.

Chapter 8, "Toward a taxonomy of Ioway sacred bundles," discusses the problems of the historical taxonomies, the attempt to construct a typology through bundle content assemblages, bundle types and attributes, linguistic evidence, and the attempt to construct a linguistic taxonomy.

Chapter 9, "Conclusions," wraps up the study with discussions on the bundles and the clans, museum transformation processes, archaeological implications of the study, suggested directions for future research, and the study's relevance to the Ioway of today. The study uses extensive quotes, most of which come from sources in obscure, out-of-print publications, or in unpublished manuscripts, vital in understanding the cultural context of the sacred bundles.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE AND MUSEUM SEARCH

Literature Search

Sacred bundles

Sacred bundles, also called medicine bundles or sacred packs, are important elements of material culture in the belief systems of many Native American tribes, especially those of the Prairie-Plains and the Eastern Woodlands. Here, it is important to define what is meant by a sacred bundle or a medicine bundle. I will use Hanson's definition as an appropriate one:

...A medicine bundle is defined as...an object or set of objects which (1) is kept in wrappings when not in use; (2) serves as a repository for the transfer of supernatural power; (3) has its origin in individual visions or complex myths, either of which imposes rules of ritual use and care; (4) is acquired through visions or other institutionalized means; and (5) may or may not be transferable (Hanson 1980: 200).

It is also important to realize that the very terms "sacred" or "medicine" or "bundle" (etc.) are non-Native American concepts. The Ioway terms for these "sacred bundles" will gradually be illuminated. For now, we shall content ourselves with the alien terms.

A lot has been written about sacred bundles, especially those bundle systems associated with tribes of the Plains, Prairie, and western Great Lakes areas. General treatments include Hultkrantz (1973), Richert (1969), Sidoff (1977), and Hanson (1977, 1980), while a few of the many tribal-specific treatments include examples from the Arikara (Howard 1974), the Crow (Wildschut 1960), the Blackfeet (Wissler 1912), and the "Sac and Fox" (Harrington 1914). Most of the early ethnographies of the tribes of the Midwest include descriptions of bundle systems, including works on the Omaha (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972), the Winnebago (Radin 1990), the Pawnee (Murie 1914), and the Potawatomi (Skinner 1924).

The Ioway in the literature

Most of the material on the Ioway in Dorsey's "Siouan Cults" (1894: 423-430) was taken from the earlier work of missionary William Hamilton (Dorsey 1894: 423), primarily excerpts from Hamilton's diary in the 1840s. A large amount of unpublished data (such as those excerpts) regarding the Ioway is found in Dorsey's papers at the Smithsonian. Alanson Skinner is the major ethnographer of the Ioway. The bundle system of the Ioway is discussed in Skinner (1915, 1925, 1926) and mentioned by Dorsey, who derived much of his information from the diaries of a missionary to the Ioway in the mid-1800s, William Hamilton. Hamilton and his co-missionary Samuel Irvin also wrote a few articles on the Ioway in the late 1800s, including one on Ioway bundles (Irvin 1871). M. R. Harrington also wrote articles on some of the Ioway objects he collected, and his unpublished notes include invaluable data (Harrington n.d.). Early historic accounts of travellers contain some incidental references to Ioway bundles and their ideological context. The most useful of these include the accounts by Rudolph Kurz (Hewitt 1936), George Catlin (Donaldson 1886), Lewis Henry Morgan (White 1959), and Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg (Lottinville 1973).

Some scholars of Indian arts have used Ioway examples in their studies, most of which are descriptive or pictorial rather than analytical. These scholars include John Ewers (1981, 1986), Norman Feder (1965, 1971), William Orchard (1971), David Penney (1992), and Harold Peterson (1971).

Extensive archaeological work on the Oneota culture (an archaeological manifestation tied to the protohistoric Ioway) and its material expressions has been a popular theme in midwestern archaeology since the 1930s. Citations of Oneota literature are given in chapter three. Recently, a major conference on the Oneota was held (March 1994); some thoughts resulting from that discussion will be given in this paper's conclusion.

The major recent ethnohistoric work on the Ioway, by Martha Royce Blaine (1979), includes some of the work done by Skinner as well as earlier work by Dorsey and accounts of early travellers. Other ethnohistorical accounts are given by Anderson (1973a, 1973b), Meyer (1962), and Miner (1911). Recently, a renewed interest in material culture as text and symbol has caused some scholars to attempt to work with old museum collections. Hall examined the symbolism of the calumet and the club, using Ioway examples among others (1977, 1982, 1983, 1989).

Museum Search

Museums with Ioway collections

The literature search also supplied the museums which were reported to have Ioway material in their collections, such as Skinner (1926) on the Milwaukee Public Museum, Skinner (1926), Feder (1971), and others on the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), and Penney (1992) on the Detroit Institute of Arts. Other museums in the midwest were contacted on the chance that geographic association with the Ioway homeland might have resulted in Ioway artifacts in their collections. Some of these did pay off, like the Saint Joseph Museum (St. Joseph, Missouri), while others did not. Of course it is true that some items have probably been misattributed; some unidentified artifacts may be Ioway, some attributed to other tribes may be Ioway, and some items attributed as Ioway may not be Ioway. It was decided to proceed on the basis of the attribution supplied by museums. The original goal was to do the study on the entire range of Ioway material culture, including the bundles, but the amount of data compelled a narrowing of the focus to sacred bundles only. Bundles were selected because they best embody the material representation of the old-time Ioway religious system. Written inquiries to the various museums suggested by the literature search resulted in the following replies.

The American Museum of Natural History (New York, New York) reported that the museum had 25 Ioway specimens collected by Skinner in 1914, and 2 given to them by Lt. Emmons in 1906. The museum did not list the types of specimens in their collection, and did not reply to further inquiries. Only one Ioway artifact was reported to be at the Denver Art Museum, a celtiform-bladed "otter" club, pictured in Conn (1979: 116). The Detroit Institute of Arts had 18 Ioway artifacts, among them a pipe and a woven bag, but no bundles. Some of their Ioway items, mostly from the collection of Milford Chandler, are described in Penney (1992). The Milwaukee Public Museum had approximately 300 Ioway items (some of which were actually bundle components), ranging from items of clothing and implements to religious articles, including 23 bundles. The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, has the largest collection of Ioway material culture, with about 307 artifacts reported. The artifacts include a wide range of artifacts, including clothing, bundles, pipes, and various implements. There were 35 bundles listed in their computer inventory. Surprisingly, the National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.) had only six artifacts attributed to the Ioway, but none of them were bundles. The Saint Joseph Museum (St. Joseph, Missouri) listed eight Ioway objects, including two bundles, a "snake lodge bundle" and a "beaver lodge bundle."

After the museum search, I decided that, based on limited funding (my meager savings), my proximity to Milwaukee, and its large Ioway collection, that it would be the most appropriate and useful museum to visit. Two visits were made in the spring of 1993. The first visit was videotaped, and a quick inventory was made. The second visit concentrated on resolving contradictions uncovered in reviewing the first visit, through examination of Skinner's correspondence and the original accession catalog. It was later found that at least one bundle had not been sufficiently described, but limitations of time and funding prevented

my return to the museum. The Museum of the American Indian would also have been a good collection to visit. Unfortunately, due to financial and time constraints, as well as other factors like the reorganization of the museum, its move to new facilities in the Bronx (New York City), and its linkage with the Smithsonian, I was unable to personally examine the collection at the Heye Foundation.

CHAPTER 3 THE IOWAY: HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

Ioway Origins

The Oneota

The connection of the Oneota (specifically the Orr Focus) archaeological culture of the American midwest to the historic Ioway tribe, first suggested by the work of Charles Keyes (1927) and supported by James Griffin (1937), was established through the ethnohistoric work of Mildred Mott Wedel who tied Oneota sites to historically-known Ioway-Oto areas and sites (Mott 1938).

A great deal has been written on the Oneota, more than can be mentioned here, but include the work of archaeologists like Alex (1978), Anderson (1975, 1981), Benn (1989), Bray (1963), Clark (1971), DeVore (1990), Gibbon (1972, 1982), Glenn (1974), Gradwohl (1967, 1974, 1978), Hall (1962), Harvey (1979), Henning (1961, 1967, 1970), Mott (Wedel) (1938, 1959, 1981, 1986), McKusick (1964, 1973), Osborn (1982), Salzer (1987), Straffin (1971), and Tiffany (1979, 1982).

The Oneota culture is associated with an archaeological assemblage of shell-tempered pottery (most commonly of an olla form, the handles, shoulders and lip decorated with trailing, incising, and punctating), chipped stone (triangular points with flat bases, knives, awls, and scrapers), ground stone (mullers and arrowshaft smoothers), disk pipe bowls, copper, elk or bison scapula hoes, and clam shells; some later sites also include historic era trade material like brass, iron, glass, and glass beads (Mott 1938: 290). Their economy seems to have been an opportunistic hunting and farming one, adaptable in its degree of reliance on either mode at any one site or time. Sites attributed to the Oneota, including mounds, village sites, and rock shelters, are distributed along certain tributaries of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers in what are now the states of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska,

and Missouri (Figure 3.1: "Classic Oneota and related sites"). Dates for Oneota sites cluster between A.D. 1000 and 1700.

A lot of debate centers around the origin of Oneota culture. The Oneota is classified as Upper Mississippian due to its association with shell-tempered pottery. The real debate is about whether the Oneota were an indigenous Late Woodland group (associated with grit-tempered pottery and the effigy mounds found in the region) who adopted Mississippian traits, or an intrusive group from another region who had entered the region. Mississippian cultures appear to have had Mesoamerican ties, with influences seen in their temple mounds, towns, corn agriculture, ideological systems, and trade network (McKusick 1964).

The Oneota are not only identified with the Ioway, but also the closely related Oto, Missouri, and Winnebago, all Siouan-speakers (McKusick 1964: 149). Based on the work of Waldo Wedel (1959), which linked the Fanning site in Kansas to the Oneota and the Kansa, the Dhegiha Siouans (the Kansa, Osage, Omaha, Ponca, and Quapaw) should also be included.

Some archaeological and mythological evidence indicates that the indigenous midwestern Woodland cultures were primarily Siouan. Other evidence shows Siouan ties to the east and southeast, such as legends of migration from the Ohio River Valley and the Cumberland Gap, as well as mythological motif ties to the Southeast (Lankford 1987).

A lot of difficulty comes from people assuming that cultural boundaries define a biological group, or that an archaeological assemblage defines an ethnic group. My studies of Ioway material culture in comparison with that from such groups as the Omaha indicate that ethnic boundaries may not evidence themselves in readily recognizable differences in material culture. Discussion with members of other tribes as well as oral tradition indicate that at one

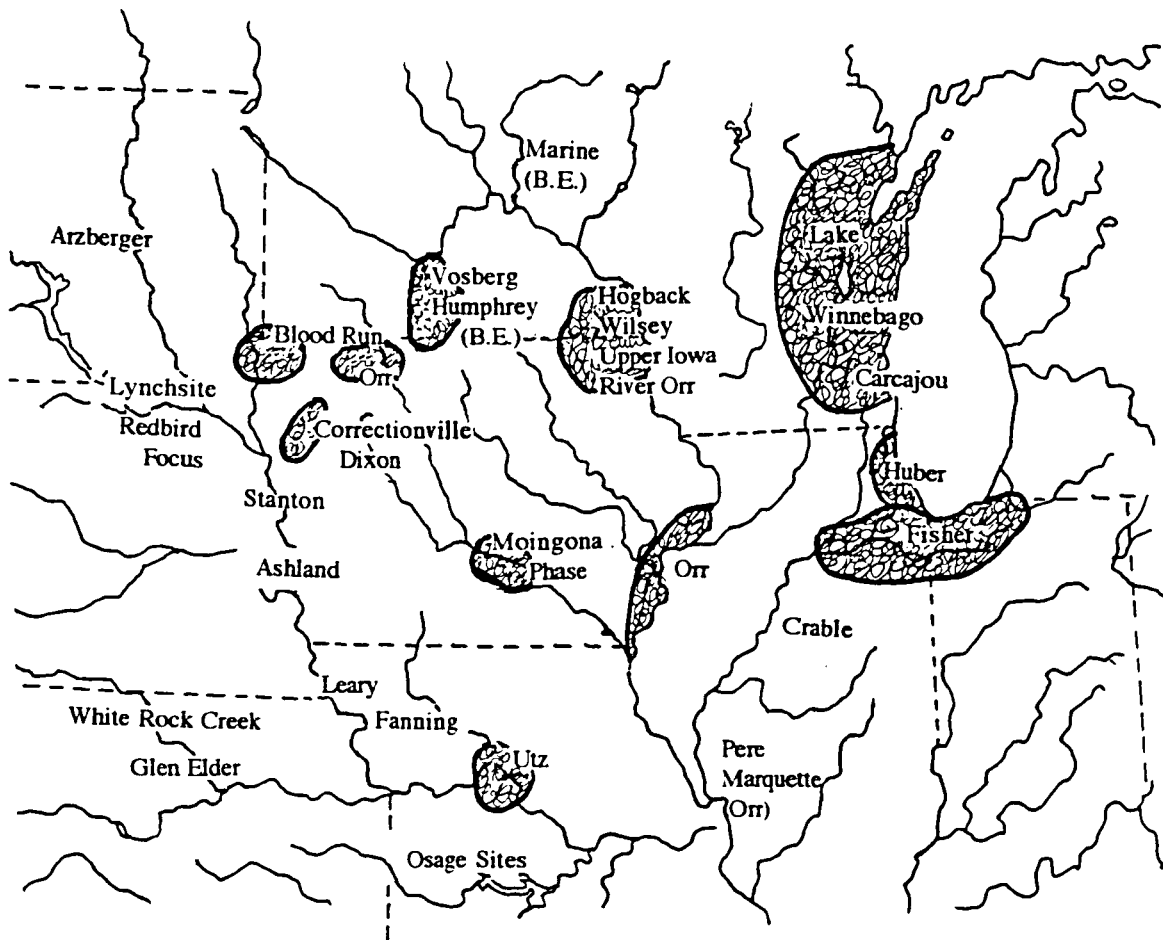


Figure 3.1: Classic Oneota and related sites

(After Glenn 1974: 24)

time in recent prehistory the Siouans were essentially one people, spread all the way from the Carolinas through the Ohio Valley and up to the Mississippi Valley and beyond.

Those Siouan groups which accepted to one degree or another the values, technology, and social organization of the Mississippians became the Oneota. Such a transformation would probably have come about through a combination of trade, intermarriage, and conquest. These turbulent and conciliatory early developments seem to be reflected in Ioway art and mythology which have a number of Southeastern connections (Benn 1989; Bray 1963; Lankford 1987; Skinner 1925; Whitman 1938). This early southeastern connection may enlighten certain aspects of later material culture symbolism for the Ioway.

David Benn echoes my concern with identifying ethnicity with an archaeological assemblage, and holds that the truth may be more complex than we might like:

The Oneota were a unique transformation of culture that does not slot into the rigid empirical categories like "Woodland" and "Mississippian." While it is true that the Oneota were formed from varied sets of concrete circumstances among which were population density, environmental setting, economic base and historical necessity, they were unique in that their social formation included certain social and ecological contradictions as a result of syncretism between their past and the socioeconomic culture of their Late Woodland and Mississippian contemporaries. That Oneota culture has been an enigma for archaeological analysis exposes two sources of conceptual problems: the lack of application of methodology which inquires into the structure and composition of political economies, and a paradigm which employs a dialectical perspective of historical process. If explanations are not pursued for social formations beneath the veneer of artifact assemblages and compartmentalized relationships into the deeper structure of producer relations, historical contradictions and dialectical processes, then the need to connect economy with ideology, the Woodland past with their successor Mississippian chiefdoms, aboriginal cultures with the ethnographic present, and human prehistory with present day societies will never be satisfied (Benn 1989: 255).

Sacred stories

Sacred stories, *wekan*, say that the the Ioway tribe began when the various clan ancestral animals met and decided to form one people, on the shore of the Great Sea at Red Earth. In the beginning, there was conflict and even war. Through the use of the holy pipe and the making of sacred friendships, it was finally agreed that they should become one, yet

not one. The clans would share villages and intermarry, and hold interdependent ceremonies together. At the same time, each clan would exercise certain exclusive rights and hold its own ceremonies. In a way, they had the best of both worlds, the strength of unity and the freedom of individuality. It is not inconceivable that the group and ethnic conflicts faced in our world today could find peace in such a system.

Because of successive disasters faced by the Ioway throughout history, several of these almost leading to their disappearance as a people, the stories which remain are often fragmentary and confused. Enough remains to show that the Ioway belief system was rich and complex. Some of these stories are connected with the Ioway bundle system. In Traditions of the Iowa Indians (1925), Skinner related some of the folklore of the Ioway which pertains to the bundle system.

The ancient Ioway story of the Hero Twins, "Dore and Wahre'dua" (Dore being the twin kept and raised by his father and Wahredua the abandoned twin of supernatural power), who roamed the world killing monsters, relates one version of how the Ioways got their medicine bundles.

It is said that this is a true story of the beginning of the Indian race, and many of the medicines that were found in the medicine bags of otter skin used in the Mankanye Washi are derived from Wahre'dua's hair. These twins made the world possible for men to live here (Skinner 1925: 433).

The monsters known as Sharp Elbows (*itopa'hi*) were the ones who had killed their mother, and the Twins caused them to destroy themselves.

These Sharp Elbows look like persons except that they had long sharp bones like awls or daggers projecting from their elbows and two faces, one in the front and one in the back of their heads. The sacred pipe of the Black Bear Gens has a stone bowl that is made in representation of one of these powerful spirits, probably because one of the ancestors of the gens had some supernatural experience with one of these spirits (Skinner 1925: 435).

After destroying most of the world's monsters, the Twins began to explore the world, in the process gaining power for people to live in the future. Following is an extended passage relating their receiving the sacred bundles.

While on their travels one foggy day Wahre'dua was taken up into the World Above by the spirits, and while there he was taught by them to control the rain, thunder, and lightning, so that he could go on the warpath as they did. He was taken up there to be shown the power that he and his brother had to exercise in this world. So the Powers Above showed Wahre'dua all the different types of warbundles (Waruháwe). These hung all around the walls of the wigwam from one side of the door to the other. Among them were the prototypes of the warbundles that we use today in the Iowa tribe. They were:

- 1. The Holy Sacred Bundle (Wathé Waruháwe or Wathé Manka) which contains some of Wahre'dua's hair medicine. It is a very strong power, and is used to govern the affections of women, to bring presents to the owner, to obtain gifts of horses for him, and even to reform bad women.*
- 2. The Brave Bundle (Wakwa Shóshe).*
- 3. The Red (Bean) Medicine Bundle (Maka Sudje Waruháwe). This is a bundle used especially for war and horse stealing. Horse doctors use it also, and so do snake doctors.*
- 4. The Deer Dewclaw Bundle (Ta Sagre Waruháwe), used by Buffalo Doctors in healing the sick.*
- 5. The Scalping War Bundle (Watce Waruháwe).*
- 6. The Chief's Sacred Bundle (Wanikihi Waruháwa [sic]), a peace bundle.*
- 7. The Buffalo Doctor's Sacred Bundle (Tcehówe Waruháwe).*
- 8. The Grizzly Bear Bundle (Manto Waruháwe), used by the Grizzly Bear Doctors to cure the sick.*

Originally there was only one of each kind of bundle in each gens, but many false ones are now to be found. One of each of these was given to Wahre'dua to carry back to earth. Some were covered with fresh scalps, just aken. Others had scalps that were a few days old, and some were [437] older still. There was one bundle that hung near the door which was very old and tattered. It was a leading bundle, and Wahrédua, having magic power, knew it in spite of its appearance and took that one too. The spirit who was teaching him said: "You have taken the greatest of all. You can control the rain, air, sun, even the beasts and the fowls of the air. Your brother is crying for you down on earth, go back and continue your journey. You will find that your father has fled."

When Wahre'dua got back to earth he saw that it was all foggy again. He wandered around until he heard Dore calling him. When he approached him, Dore said, "What have you and where have you been?"

"Oh," said Wahre'dua, "I have something that will make us great. Now we will go on."

They left that place and traveled until they came to a place where the earth ended. There was a great crack there that opened and closed, but the twins jumped over it when it was shut. Once on the other side they found a wigwam where dwelt Pigeon (Rutce or Lutce), the Master of the Fowls of the Air. He gave the brothers the Pigeon War Bundle (Lutce Waruháwe), which is used especially to locate the enemy. This Pigeon himself was the bird who located the

earth at the time of the creation, hence came his great powers. He was the ancestor of the Pigeon Gens. He said to the twins:

"Now you have come. I have been expecting you. Take this bundle to use in war to protect you from the scouts and spies of the enemy. It shall be the sacred bundle of the Pigeon Gens."

This Pigeon had also in his charge all the war bundles that are connected with the bird kind. There were the Eagle, Hawk, and Owl medicine Bundles, and that of Sparrow-hawk (Gretaninyé), and Black Hawk (Gretan). All these were shown and explained to the twins. The lodge was covered with feathers inside. The twins were told to help themselves to all the feathers that they could carry. As for the bundles, they did not actually carry those away, they learned their contents and rituals, and copied them when they got home.

On their way back the twins again came to the crack that marked the corner of the earth, and stepped across. They had now visited the east and so they soon set out to visit the west.

When they got to the western end of the earth they came to another crack and stepped across while it was shut. Here they were presented with the Wolf Gens War Bundle (Méjiradji Waruháwa), the original of the one I owned (Informant, Robert Small). The being who gave it to them had all the bundles connected with the wolves. He was called Wolf Chief (Méjiradji Wanikihi), and with him was Coyote Chief (Manikathi Wanikihi), so they acquired the Coyote Sacred Bundle also.

All these bundles are only branches of the Sacred Medicine Bundles (Wathe) and the Scalping Bundles (Watce), which, with the Red Medicine Bundle (Maka Sudje), head all the others. The Wolf Chief gave [438] them the choice of all the war bundles that hung around the walls of his lodge from one side of the door to the other, and again Wahre'dua selected the oldest and most insignificant looking, yet the most powerful one.

The twins returned and went south without looking for their father. Again they came to a crack that marked the boundary of the world and stepped over it while it was closed. Here they found a lodge where dwelt Munje Wanikihi, the Bear Chief, who greeted them kindly and showed them all the sacred bear bundles. These were mainly for doctoring the sick, as used later by the Grizzly Bear Doctors, but were also secondarily for war. The Brave Bundles (Wankwa Tcutze [compare "Wankwa Shoshe" as the version given in same story, earlier]) belong to this latter class. The Bear Chief said, "When you get back you can tell the people what you have," and he explained each sort and its ritual to the twins. All around the inside of his house were hung sacred warbundles from one side of the door to the other. Some had fresh scalps on them, others scalps a few days old, others still older, as in the other two lodges at the east and west ends of the world. The Bear Chief gave them their choice as before, and Wahre'dua selected again the oldest and poorest-looking one, which was in reality the most powerful of all.

The twins returned, and by now their lodge was full of strong powers. They went hunting to get a bear, a wolf, and eagle, and a pigeon to use in making up their sacred bundles according to the instructions which they had received. As they knew that there would be Chiefs, Braves, well-to-do men and commoners in the Iowa nation when it came to exist, they got four of each kind, and anyway there would have to be four in each gens, one for each of the descendants of the four gens ancestors [here he contradicts his earlier statement that there was only one of each kind in each gens and that the others were false]. The twins later selected from each gens of the Iowa nation the four leading men and instructed them in all the ways of these bundles, and that took them a great deal of time. There should be four whistles attached to or inside of each sacred bundle. These are made of cane because cane grows in water

whence emerged each of the gens ancestors. These whistles are to invoke the aid of the four winds. When the twins turned the bundles over to mankind a great feast was held, after which the leaders learned the traditions, rites, and rituals of the sacred bundles so that they could operate them properly. From that time until recently the war bundles were used as the twins taught us. The gentes began at that time, and once being organized the people of each gens were also instructed in the story of the origin and the use of these bundles. Each gens ancestor was an animal that came out of the Great Water and became a person.

The twins then said to the people, "We cannot stay here any longer, but now you people can take care of yourselves. There shall be chiefs, secondary chiefs, subchiefs, braves, and commoners. The Iowa tribe shall be ever peaceable, and we give you for each gens a peace pipe. Seven in all were given to the people. First one for the Buffalo (A'ruhwa) gens, second one for the Black Bear (Tunánpí) gens, third, one for the Pigeon [439] (Rutce) gens; fourth, one for the Wolf (Munjiraji [note variant spelling]) gens; fifth one for the Owl (Mankatci or Mankoke) gens; sixth, one for the Eagle (Hkra) gens, and seventh and last one for the Elk (Homa) gens.

As the people were now well supplied with the means to make both war and peace the boys started to look for their father [footnote: Note that, probably by error of the narrator, no account is given of their journey to the north end of the earth, although it was said they were to go to all four quarters of the compass.] (Skinner 1925: 436-439).

Although Small did not relate what happened at the north, this may have been an intentional change in the story, rather than an error; in many traditions, portraying something sacred accurately yet incompletely or with a small change, is a way of respecting the sacredness of the thing and protecting oneself against the consequences of divulging the sacred. The being of the north may have been an eagle, as they collected four animals to make the bundles, three of which correspond to the animals mentioned for the directions (pigeon, wolf, and bear) and the fourth, with no correspondence, is the eagle. However, he also says the eagle bundle was under the control of Pigeon, and he does not mention buffalo, which not only was a gens of prime importance but also had a bundle system attached which he does not mention in the text. It is likely that the being of the north was Buffalo Chief (although some stories also name Spirit Buffalos from the Above World and others from the Under World) as Eagle was usually considered to be with the Thunders, who lived in the Above World or the skies of the west.

This story also seems grand and syncretic, an attempt to make sense of everything, to fit it all together. It contradicts the claims of the Wanathunje story which purported to have given all of the bundles to the Ioway, as well as the stories of the various societies, such as the Buffalo Doctor origin story which credits Lone Walker and the Heavenly Buffalo as their benefactors. It is also fairly well established that the Red Medicine Bundle came to the Ioway from the Pawnee in late times. This is on top of the internal inconsistencies.

But one must not dismiss the story as false. Truth wears many faces. One may make an analogy here with the building of another sacred story from various, unconnected, inconsistent stories and sources into a syncretic, coherent, sacred whole... the Bible. In this light, the "Pigeon finding the earth" parallel is an interesting one.

The great variations in Ioway stories and traditions, all the way down to the tradition that each gens or clan had its own origin myth, coming from different places, and even speaking different languages (also see Whitman 1938), lends some credence to the idea that the Oneota ancestors of the Ioway had come from different traditions, perhaps being different ethnic groups. The skeletal grouping variations in Oneota burials support this as well (Glenn 1974).

There is a final story, obviously inserted into the Twin saga, as they had no role in it at all, which relates how, during a race with a sacred gens pipe, Turtle cheats and makes a fake pipe and then takes a shortcut to the finish line (echoes of the Hare and the Tortoise!). He loses to the real winner, Man-in-the-Earring (also known as Human-Head-Earring, Human-Heart-Earring, or by his Winnebago name, Red Horn), but Turtle's action still has consequences: "...Turtle's trick was the start of the false peace pipes that some people hold and call genuine Iowa gens peace pipes" (Skinner 1925: 441). One might wonder if this was a

veiled comment by Small on Skinner's collecting experiences, which will be described later.

Other stories in this collection relate to the bundle system, such as "The Man with the Human Head Earrings":

...Blackhawk likewise decided to depart, but before leaving his children he gave them the war powers that are included in the war bundles. These powers are to see far, locate the enemy, and pounce upon them (1925: 458).

Another story, "Married to Grizzly Bear," has an incident which is just like the one in the story of the Twins, when the Twins visited Pigeon, seeing the bundles, choosing the oldest, and taking feathers from a feather-covered floor. In this case, it is a chief's son and his four followers:

They were gone over two years, and decided to visit the end of the world. Finally they reached the spot and saw the great crack in the ground that marks the boundary there. When the crack closed itself, they all went over, and once on the other side they found a huge lodge. There were four people in the lodge who received them hospitably. They laid down their arms and went in.

One of the four people was the leader, and he addressed them as follows: "My grandsons, we have heard that you were coming here, and we are glad that you have arrived. Now I shall talk to you for four days. But first look about you. You see all around the lodge many war bundles. Some have fresh scalps attached to them. Some of these scalps were taken today, others are older. Now you who are the leader, look these over, pick out any one that you want for yourself, and it will take me four days' time to teach you its ritual, so that you can use it when you get home."

Next to the door hung a sacred bundle that had no scalps attached to [466] it. It was old and dirty, and falling apart. The chief's son chose this one, although it was old and homely. The beings told him that it was one of the foremost of all the sacred bundles. The leader opened it and spread out its contents before him, and explained them to the chief's son, and it took him four days to explain them all. When the days were up, the man said to him, "Tomorrow morning I want you to go out and get some feathers to take home."

Next day the floor of the lodge was covered with eagle feathers. The youths took the best of these, as many as they wanted. They were told that on the way back they would be engaged in several actions with the enemy, but that they would be successful. The chief of the lodge at the end of the world told them: "Remember that you can always give us tobacco and dog meat. These are the principal things that we want."

That is the reason why every spring the Iowa used to have a bundle feast, using dog meat. Sometimes they used merely to kill a dog, tie tobacco around its neck and say: "We sacrifice this dog and tobacco to our Grandfathers the Thunderers," for the four beings were really Thunderers. These were the same ones who are mentioned in the other stories. Their names were Khromanyi [k'omanyi : Thundering], Ug'rimanyi [luglimanyi : Lightning],

N'iumanyi [nyiyumanyi : Raining], and *Wakand'ainye* [wakandainye : Little God, or Little Thunder] (1925: 465-466).

Other legends mention sacred bundles, including one where Trickster (Ishjinki) deceives Turtle and takes his sacred bundle to teach him a lesson (1925: 490), and another where Hare tricks his grandmother into believing she is menstruating so she has to take the medicine bundles out of the lodge while he gorges himself on a turkey he was supposed to share with her (1925: 499).

Ioway sacred stories reflect the character of complexity, contradiction, inconsistency, adaptability, and syncretism that one can see in their Oneota roots.

Ioway ethnohistory

A brief essay on Ioway ethnohistory follows, but readers seeking more detail are directed to the works by Duane Anderson (1973), Martha Royce Blaine (1979), Roy Meyer (1962), and Mildred Mott Wedel (1986). I have also written on a number of these topics for a series of printed powwow programs for the Baxoje Fall Encampment (Foster 1991, 1993). The recent history of the Ioway given here is the basis for an upcoming article (Foster, in press). Salient points from these sources have provided the framework for the discussion that follows.

The historic Ioway were Siouan-speakers, sharing their language and most of their culture with the Oto and Missouri tribes (grouped with them into the "Chiwere" group). They considered the Winnebago their "fathers", having separated from them at some point in prehistory or protohistory. They had much in common, culturally and linguistically, with other Siouan groups, such as the Dhegiha (Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Quapaw, Kansa) and the Dakota. They also, through similarity in range and resources, as well as through diffusion, shared much of their culture with local Algonkian groups (Sauk, Mesquakie, Illinois, Kickapoo, et.al.) and Caddoans (Pawnee, Arikara, and Wichita).

The Ioway experienced first contact with Europeans through the French traders in Wisconsin in the late 1600s. Based in horticultural villages, the Ioway wandered the lands between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers and into Wisconsin, trading catlinite pipes and buffalo hides. Gradually, trade relations were established and the Ioway brought into the European fur trade. At this time, the Ioway had relatively peaceful relations with most neighboring tribes, except the Illini (Illinois), who associated the Ioway with their hereditary enemies the Winnebago.

By the 1700s, however, epidemic disease, and major migrations of intrusive tribes rippled in from the east and the Great Lakes, continuing a domino effect due to warfare and resource depletion. The Spanish also intrigued some Plains tribes into the southwestern slave trade. The Ioway were not a numerous people since their final split from the larger proto-Chiwere / Winnebago (Oneota) group in the 1500s, numbering perhaps a maximum of 3000-5000 at any one time, often spread out in a huge area in different villages.

When the European powers, as well as the Americans, began manipulating old tribal animosities for their own economic and territorial gain, fighting each other in effect through the tribes, the resource-rich lands of the Ioway became very attractive. The Ioway fought for first the French against the British and Spanish, and then when that was lost, for the British against the Americans. They unfortunately always seemed to pick the side which eventually lost, and gained the animosity and hatred of many traders in the process, such as Manuel Lisa.

During the tribal wars lasting from the late 1600s to the final removal of the Ioway from their ancestral lands in Iowa in the 1830s, the Ioway fought the Plains Apache, the Comanche, the Illinois, the Kickapoo, the Potawatomi, the Ojibwa, the Osage, the Santee and Yankton Sioux, the Kansa, the Pawnee, the Omaha, the Sauk and the Mesquakie, and even their

relatives the Oto and Missouri. They seemed to be at peace only with the Winnebago, and were able to usually get along with the Oto and Missouri.

They also forged a rocky alliance with the newcomers to their Iowa lands, the Sauk and Mesquakie, who also seemed to have every other tribe against them, although that alliance also went sour at times (the destruction of the Ioway village on the Des Moines and the presumption of Keokuk at the last treaty negotiations come to mind). The attractiveness of their lands (and of their women-- the French seemed to have a real thing for Ioway women) doomed them to repeated decimation.

Facing inevitable encroachment by whites as well as invading Sioux and the Sauk and Fox, the small Ioway tribe was forced to cede all their lands east of the Missouri River in 1836 and move to assigned lands on the Nemaha Reserve in Kansas and Nebraska by 1838.

Now forced to become stationary, the Ioway condition worsened and they surrendered to the comfort of the whiskey keg. Murders (by both whites and other Ioways) increased as alcohol and disease destroyed the old traditional structure of authority; the suppression of the unifying aspects of war did not help things, nor did the attempts to annihilate tradition by the agents and the missionaries. By the time the Civil War began, intermarriage, alcohol, and economic manipulation by outsiders had destroyed the greater part of Ioway life.

The Civil War aroused some of the old martial instincts which gave them direction, and the greater part of Ioway men went away to fight on the side of the North, as cavalry and as scouts. When they came back, they had changed, and many now began to follow the white road. The division between the "traditionals" and the "progressives" centered on disputes about authority and land. The traditionals, feeling the pressure of encroaching whites and the desire of the progressives to hold land individually, left the Nemaha in disgust in the 1870s to

start once again to restructure the old communal life style in the hot, dry lands of Indian Territory, near their kinsmen the Oto-Missouri and their old friends the Sauk. They did not know that individual allotments were inevitable, and were later forced to accept them.

Today, the Iowa call themselves "Ioway," or, in their own language, "Paxoje" (Dusty Noses). The preferred usage is "Iowa" for the legal tribal entities (the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska; the Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma) and "Ioway" for the people themselves. The Ioway people are divided into two independent groups: the Southern Ioway, in Oklahoma, and the Northern Ioway, in Kansas and Nebraska.

The Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska is located on a 1,500-acre reservation in the extreme northeastern corner of Kansas (Brown and Doniphan Counties) and the extreme southeastern corner of Nebraska (Richardson County). The Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma does not have a federally-recognized reservation. After their move to Indian Territory in the 1870s, they were eventually assigned a reservation there in 1883. After the Dawes Act of 1887, this reservation, which bordered unassigned lands, was opened to white settlers as part of the 1889 Land Run in Oklahoma by the federal government. Most tribal members today are located on trust lands in Lincoln, Payne, and Logan counties, between the Cimarron River and Deep Fork in Oklahoma.

The Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska is administered by its Executive Committee and is located on a reservation near White Cloud, Kansas. It is served by the Horton Indian Agency in Horton, Kansas, which provides health and other services. The Iowa Tribe owns a tribal farm operation, a dairy herd, a gas station, a fire station, a bingo operation, and a grain-processing business operating out of a leased mill in Craig, Missouri. The approximately 1,500-acre reservation is checkerboarded with Indian and non-Indian ownership, and reacquisition of the land base is seen as a primary goal, as well as developing an infrastructure

attractive to potential employers. About 588 Ioway were reported to be living on or near the reservation in 1993; many live in nearby towns in Kansas and Nebraska. The total enrollment for the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska is reported at 2,089, although blood quantum is often quite low.

Directed to accept a form of tribal government based on a model provided by the federal government, as part of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the Oklahoma Iowa finally ratified a Tribal Constitution delimited by that model, in 1938, but only by a close vote. The Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma is administered by its Business Committee, located near Perkins, Oklahoma. It is served by the Shawnee Indian Agency, in Shawnee, Oklahoma, but the tribe contracts with the Potawatomi for health and food programs. The tribe owns about 200 acres of scattered land in trust, as well as a bingo operation. Of 366 individuals on the tribal roll, nine are listed as full-bloods. Blood quantum tends to be higher than among the Kansas group, but the requirement was lowered to 1/16 in about 1991. The Oklahoma Ioway live on about 1,300 acres of individually-owned land, much of which is surface-leased to non-Indians for grazing or farming. Leasing provides some income, but most of the Ioway have jobs in nearby towns. Fifty-two land owners gain some income from oil and gas leases. As a member of the United Indian Nations of Oklahoma, the Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma is currently fighting a toxic dump proposed by a subsidiary of Amoco, which is to be located on burial grounds in Mercer County, Missouri.

The Iowa of Oklahoma shared in the almost \$8 million land claims judgement awarded to both groups of Ioway by the Indian Claims Commission in the 1970s. Well-known Ioways of this century have included hereditary leaders like Chief David Tohee of the Oklahoma Ioway and political appointees like Marvin Franklin of the Kansas Ioway, who was appointed as

Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1973, and Blaine Nawanoway Kent and Solomon Nawanoway Kent of the Oklahoma Ioway.

Community life in both tribes is based on extended kinship groups, with some use of the traditional clan system among the Oklahoma Ioway, notably during funerals. Incredible factionalism is present in both groups, and limited interaction occurs between the Oklahoma and Kansas Ioway, except for mutual visits in a few families. Each group sponsors an annual powwow, and the Kansas Ioway also have a rodeo. Artwork tend to be individualized and produced for in-group use, such as ribbonwork and beadwork used in dance regalia.

It is difficult to say how many speakers of the Ioway language are left; a few Northern Ioway know mostly isolated words and phrases, and some Southern Ioway Indian families attempt to keep some limited use, especially if there are older members in the family, or they are trying to strengthen their identity as Ioway. William Whitman described the language in "Descriptive Grammar of the Ioway-Oto" (1947). A two-volume primer, *Iowa and Otoe Indian Language* (1977, 1978), was developed by Lila Wistrand-Robinson and Jimm Garrett Good Tracks, as part of the Christian Children's Fund American Indian Project. Good Tracks has also edited a lexicon, *Iowa-Otoe-Missouria Language to English* (1992), distributed by the Department of Linguistics at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

Almost all of the Ioway in both Kansas and Oklahoma identify themselves as Christians of various denominations. Some, even self-identified Christians, attend ceremonies such as funerals, namings, Native American Church meetings (more popular earlier in the century), sweats, and intertribal dances. Some Ioway, especially those living away from their home communities, make friendships with members of other tribes and join in their ceremonies. Several individuals and families are attempting to redefine their identities as Ioway through the retention of the Ioway language, the reinterpretation of remembered cultural elements, and the

borrowing of missing cultural elements from appropriate, similar models in other tribes. This interest in the past is what has prompted me, a member of the Northern branch, to investigate the present topic of sacred bundles.

Ioway Culture

Religious concepts

In 1859, Lewis Henry Morgan summarized the Ioway belief system as follows.

The Iowas believe in a great spirit and in an evil spirit. They are not represented as having any particular form. Besides these they have a large number of inferior spirits, some of which are good and some evil. They have the Spirit of Medicine, of Water, of the Bluffs, and of nearly every object in nature. The principal ones only are named. They worship the sun and the moon, and all natural objects... They believe in witches and in dreams, and that their Indian medicine men can put a bone in a man's back or take one out (Morgan 1859, in White 1959: 68-69).

The spiritual world of the Ioway was complex, having incorporated many alien influences into their basically Siouan world-view, as well as having retained some Mississippian traits from their past.

The term *wakánda*, now used to designate the monotheistic God, originally was somewhat amorphous. Dorsey states it referred to "superhuman beings or powers" (Dorsey 1894:367); other meanings in Ioway were the Creator, God, Thunder, or Thunderbird. The following etymology is suggested for *wakánda* : *wa* [something, someone] + *kan* [old, strange, wonderful, incomprehensible, unquestionable, sacred, supernatural] + *da* [there, somewhere] (Whitman 1947: 238, 240; Walker 1980: 96). Among the Omaha, "Wakon'da stands for the mysterious life power permeating all natural forms and forces and all phases of man's conscious life", but it is not synonymous with "the great spirit" (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1972: 597). Neither is it synonymous with the Oceanic term *mana* (Fortune 1969: 5). Instead, *wakanda* is somewhat indefinable. It is not the same as a personal God, yet it, in its various manifestations, could be related to as a Person, with an intelligence, a personality, and

a will, sometimes taking the form of a human or animal, or of a natural feature or force, like the wind or thunder. In some ways it might even be compared to the idea of "The Force" in the Star Wars movies, as in "May the Force be with you."

The Ioway had two words denoting the concept of "sacred": *wahúprin*, or *waxóblin* (*xóblin*), is "mysterious, as a person or animal;" *waxónyitan* (*xónyitan*) is "mysterious, as an inanimate object", such as a bundle or pipe (Dorsey 1894: 367). This is a distinction that has become blurred with time. While *wakán* means "sacred" in Lakota, *wákan* means "snake" in Ioway. Snakes were considered sacred or powerful in Ioway culture (Dorsey 1894: 367; Walker 1980: 96).

The concepts and terms involved with the spirits and the sacred vary among the Siouan tribes, as well as among the individuals in those cultures. It is also important to remember that differences exist in understandings and beliefs among individuals in non-Western cultures, just as such differences exist among individuals in Western culture. Among subscribers to any cultural worldview or belief system, there are always the credulous, the sincere, the skeptical, and the manipulative, as noted by Fortune (1969).

The Ioway supposedly had "seven great gods" or "*wakantas*", with the Sun, Wind, Thunder, and Underworld Powers mentioned by Dorsey (1894: 423-424). The Omaha also had seven great *wakandas*, but these differed somewhat: Darkness, Upper World, Ground, Thunder, Sun, Moon, and Morning Star (Dorsey 1894: 372).

There were many kinds of other spirits in Ioway cosmology: *Má'un* (Earthmaker), *Máyan* (Mother Earth), the assistants the *Wakánda wáwa'in*, including the four Thunderers and the four Animal Beings residing at the cardinal directions beyond the cracks defining the world, the mythological helpers and heroes: the Twins, Hare, *Ishjínki* (the Trickster), Turtle, Black Hawk, Human-head-earrings, and others, including the hunting dwarf *Máyanwátahe*,

the Clan Ancestors, and the Animal-Spirits. The destructive forces were the Underworld Powers as represented by the *ischéxi*, the horned water panther or serpent, ghosts, monsters, giants, and little people (though these last could be good). On top of all these were many unnamed *wakándas* dwelling in bluffs, water, timber, high rocks, mounds, and even household utensils (Dorsey 1894; Skinner 1925, 1926). The world was conceived of as being a lodge, as well as being multi-tiered.

Like other Native American tribes, the Ioway had great attachment to their lands, and had a number of beliefs regarding the features found within their landscape. Fulton states: "They believed the earth flat, and knew of nothing but water beyond this continent. In their traditions the great lakes and the Mississippi were the most prominent geographical lineaments" (Fulton 1882: 124). The landscape was alive, with powers and supernatural beings everywhere. For example, water spirits or nymphs lived in the Mississippi in underwater caves (Donaldson 1886: 620-621). When children were sent out to fast, or vision quest, "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" (Skinner 1926:250). One medicine man had a penchant for heights: because the Great Spirit was in the heavens above the clouds, elevated areas brought one closer to the Creator (Donaldson 1886: 596, 646). This idea of the sacredness of elevation also was emphasized in the Ioway attempt to always elevate sacred items like the bundles.

Social organization

The basic social group was the patrilineal clan, sometimes called the "gens" in the older anthropological literature. The Ioway native term for the lineage was *kilaje*, or *kiraji*. Modern Ioway use the term "clan," and so that is the terminology used in this study. The clan was quite isolationistic, each going so far as to have developed its own clan origin myth, excluding

others from this knowledge. Each clan had its own rights and prerogatives, and centered its spiritual life around the clan pipe bundle. This was further complicated by class stratification based on birth and descent from one of four ancestral animal brothers within that clan. This stratification was absolute-- one could not gain entrance into the pre-eminent "royal" clan, regardless of one's personal attributes or achievements, unless one had been born into it (Skinner 1926). The arrangement of the Ioway clans into their moiety structure can be seen in figure 3.2.

This defined, exclusionist society extended such control into the spiritual world, not only through clan pipe bundle and other clan privilege (Bear in hunting, Thunder in war, Buffalo in agriculture, etc.), but through family (clan and class) control of the religious societies, as defined by ownership of the associated bundles. The democratic Plains ideal of the individual, through vision and effort, gaining power and raising himself thereby, only went so far among the Ioway of old. A gain in status through achievement was the cultural ideal, but actually rarely happened.

Any consideration of a culture without consideration of acculturation and diffusion in an attempt to find a "pure tribal type" is delusional. Protohistoric Oneota archaeological sites ascribed to the Ioway contain European trade goods. The Oneota experienced intertribal trade and intermarriage with tribes of many language stocks, like the Algonkian, the Caddoan, and the Muskogean, throughout the Mississippi valley through their Mississippian cultural context. The Oneota also were the root stock of the related Winnebago, Ioway, Oto, and Missouri, and probably components of other tribes like the Dhegiha Siouans. The Ioway Medicine Dance (Otter Dance) was obtained from the Sauk, and they in turn had gained it from the Ojibwa, while the Ioway passed it on to the Winnebago.

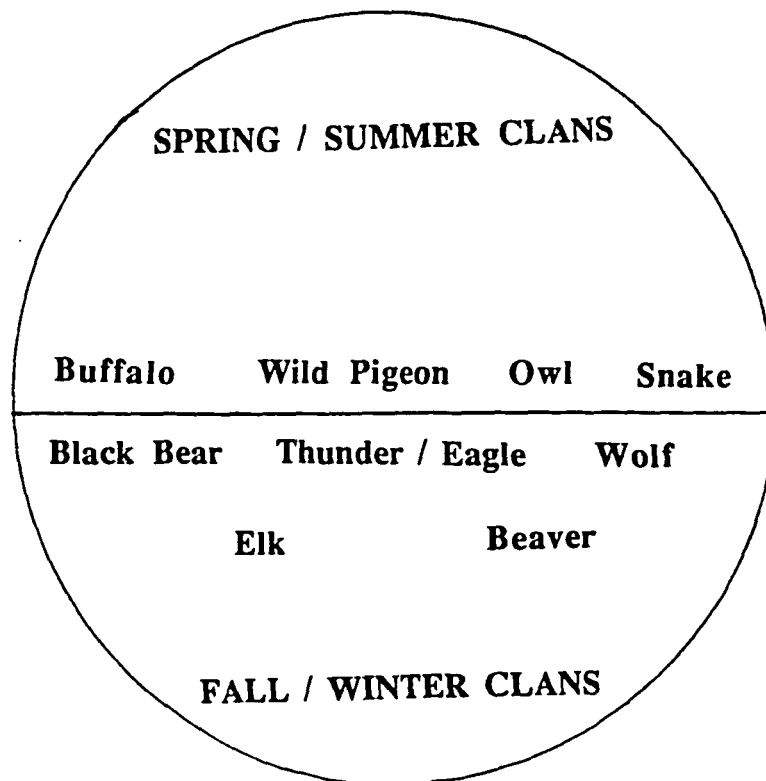


Figure 3.2: Ioway clan organization

The concept of "tribe" is very much tied to history. Tribal identity is defined not only by the tribe itself, but also by its friends and enemies. Warfare, disease, intratribal feuds, conflicts of interest, intermarriage, and adoption, to name a few processes, all affect the makeup of the historical socio-political group known as the "tribe." Language is not sufficient as a cultural marker in the Ioway case; the Oto and Missouri spoke the same language historically, with only a few differences in lexical and phonetic choice (there are greater differences between the American English forms used in New York and Alabama).

Material culture

Descriptions of the material culture of the Ioway are scattered throughout the various sources. Skinner described it as basically a syncretic and diverse, but unoriginal, material culture system:

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.

...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 (Skinner 1926: 189).

One must remember that Skinner first studied the material culture of the Menomini, and thus his diffusionist biases slant in that direction. Over and over I have seen Ioway culture described as taking this feature from that tribe, and that from another. As the woodland cultures all depended on the same resource base, similarities in technology are inevitable. Skinner has even noted that the Woodland Siouans may have been the ideological originators of some of the Central Algonkian culture:

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 (1926: 189).

It is difficult to understand how Skinner came to this conclusion unless he did not have a sound understanding of just how long the Ioway and other Woodland Siouans had lived in the region (at least 1000 years), and how recently the Central Algonkians had moved down into the Great Lakes and prairie region, in some areas as late as the 1700s.

It is just as likely that the intrusive Central Algonkians adopted some of the material expressions of the indigenous Woodland Siouans rather than the reverse. Gradually, based upon a common woodland lifeway, the different cultures engaged in a dialogue with a symbolic and technomic vocabulary. One example of a reverse ideological trade in the adoption of the Algonkian Medicine Dance by the Woodland Siouans.

It must be reiterated that Skinner's reasoning is inherently faulty, as it was not based on any archaeological evidence, but only upon his own limited experience. **Whenever a trait is first discovered in any culture, one cannot assume its origin belongs there, as well as assuming any further occurrences of that trait must have come through diffusion from the first-studied culture.** That is like being brought up as a Japanese in Japan, watching television, and believing that, since you first noticed T.V. in Japan, it must necessarily have been invented there. Evidence is lacking for Skinner's thesis of diffusion of material culture.

In *American Indian Art* Feder described the Ioway as having belonging to the Prairie art style area, as well as the role of the Ioway in originating the curvilinear Prairie beadwork style:

The so-called Prairie tribes, to the south of the upper Missouri, form still another distinct artistic area. These groups, however, are also not very homogenous and they could

easily be broken into smaller art areas. Basically they differ from other Plains tribes in the larger number of Woodland traits which they have adopted. They make twined yarn bags and finger-woven sashes in the Woodland style, utilize cloth apparel decorated with ribbon appliqué or beadwork in an abstract floral style, and wear soft-soled moccasins in contrast to the usual Plains hard-sole types.

These groups tend to replace the Sun Dance with the Grand Medicine Society of the Great Lakes area....

It is difficult at this late date to try to reconstruct the locations of style centers and to trace the diffusion of any particular style from its center. However I believe that a style center developed in the early reservation period around the southeastern portion of Nebraska and northeastern part of Kansas. Here the Iowa and Sauk-and-Fox of the Nemaha reservation, combined with the neighboring Oto and Missouri, seem to have developed a very rich form of decoration using the abstract floral beaded designs.... The Oto-Missouri were probably responsible for spreading this style to the Osage and Kaw as well as to the Omaha and Ponca. This same basic style was common among the Nebraska Winnebago and the Prairie Potawatomi in Kansas. Either or both could have played a large part in developing it. Certainly the basic idea of abstracting floral designs developed along the eastern part of the Kansas-Nebraska line, and the impetus must have come from an older floral style in the Great Lakes area. In all probability the Winnebago, Potawatomi, and Sauk-and-Fox brought a basic floral tradition with them when they moved to Kansas and Nebraska, and this changed upon contact with the Iowa and Oto-Missouri (Feder 1965: 69).

The material culture of the Ioway appears little different from the Oto and Missouri, or from the Omaha, or even the linguistically unrelated Sauk and Fox (Mesquakie). The designation of Oneota, specifically the Orr Phase, archaeological sites as Ioway rests solely on the presence of a single artifact type (Allamakee Trailled pottery) and its covariance with historically-known Ioway sites. If one discounts strict covariance between shell-tempered/trail-designed pottery (which was produced by women if ethnographic analogies hold true) and the Ioway *sensu stricto* (as happens if one considers woman exchange through intermarriage or intense warfare and slave trading, which the Ioway did experience), then neat tribal packages disappear into a lot of blurred lines.

It is arguable that, rather than tribal, the material culture of the Prairie Siouan tribes should be considered in terms of smaller interaction spheres (Omaha-Ioway-Oto-etc.) as subsets of a larger interaction sphere (Plains-Prairie-Woodland). In a comparative case, Hudson and Blackburn chose to create the "Chumash Interaction Sphere" for the Chumash and

neighboring tribes in southern California (1982). Their study indicated an ideological and material culture which cut across not only languages but even linguistic families. The "Chumash Interaction Sphere" was participated in by the Chumashan-speaking groups, but also the Takic-speaking Gabrielino, Kitanemuk, and Tataviam peoples of south-central California (Hudson and Blackburn 1982: 20).

CHAPTER 4 IOWAY SACRED BUNDLES IN CONTEXT

The Sacred Bundles of the Ioway

The Ioway and sacred bundles

The Ioway centered much of their ideological life around their sacred bundles. Skinner said that the center of Ioway ceremonial life was expressed through the various mystery dances.

[The mystery dances were] strictly religious and ritualistic performances built up around sacred bundles (except in the case of the medicine dance) and [were] of the Central Algonkin type. Indeed, most of these ceremonies [were] found in very similar form among the Algonkin of the Woodlands. They bear every indication of being old among the Iowa, with perhaps the exception of the red bean, or mescal bundle ceremony, which some, though by no means all, informants declare to have come from the Pawnee (1915: 693).

The real issue of this paper is the sacred bundle system of the Ioway and trying to make some sense of the varying descriptions, typologies, and taxonomies of the historic sources. What kind of bundles were there, how were they classified, what was their function, and how does that historical information match up with what remains in various museum collections?

Typology and etics, taxonomy and emics

To clarify the usage of "typology" and "taxonomy," one can link the idea of a typology with an "etic" perspective, and the idea of a taxonomy with an "emic" perspective. Following the work of linguist Kenneth Pike, who coined the terms "emic" and "etic", Marvin Harris basically classified an emic statement or study as that coming from a native point of view, and an etic study as coming from an "outsider's," or scientific, point of view. Neither one can be transmuted into the other, but neither one is more empirical than the other, either (Harris 1968: 569-577). An (etic) typology, then, is a categorization of an assemblage based on traits defined from an "outsider's" view, while an (emic) taxonomy is the categorization of the

assemblage from a member of the culture which produced that assemblage. A taxonomy usually requires the use of the native language in distinguishing the categories.

There are many places in this study where the idea of a taxonomy subtly blends into a typology. One problem is my own position of being a marginal Ioway, often shifting from an emic to an etic point of view. The other problem is that most of the material was gathered in English, even from Ioway informants. The time is long passed where the material can be again gathered and rechecked. The only avenue for possibly understanding the old native taxonomy is through linguistic analysis and reconstruction. Such an attempt will be made in the conclusion of this study.

Hamilton and the Ioway bundles

We have already seen, in the section on sacred story, the bundle taxonomy described by Robert Small in the Hero Twin story, and the inherent inconsistencies of that syncretic source. The question of taxonomy is addressed quite early. William Hamilton gave the earliest description of the kinds of bundles and sacred objects and their social associations (gens or clans) among the Ioway, according to their native system, in about 1848.

...The Pigeon and Eagle fam[ilies] brought the war club, pipe, and fire. The Wolf fam[ily] brought the arrows which are the cause of men's wounding one another....

...The Bear family brought the pipe but they say that most of the families brought the pipe...some say they also brought the canoe.

...They also say the Owl brought the pipe, and the wolf it is thought brought the tobacco as they have among them names of that kind.

The different families have each some badge peculiar to themselves. The badge of the Eagle fam[ily] is three locks of hair left on the head. The badge of the Bear fam[ily] is to have on one side the hair longer than on the other. The Pigeon fam[ily] [has] three locks, two before, one behind. The Wolf fam[ily] leaves bunches of hair over the head to show that they came out of an island. The badge of the Buffalo is to have a bunch of hair from the forehead to the neck, and one bunch on each side of that to represent horns.

(Each of the fam[ilies] has what is called a medicine bag, which de[s]cends to the oldest son, if there is such. But all these bags were originally from one, they sometimes make new ones for worthy persons.)...

...The Indian has his sacred pipe, used only on solemn occasions, and at all times kept wrapped up carefully in its case of skin. He has his medicine bag called waruhowa, from the

skin of animals and birds which it contains, and which he esteems as sacred and to which he pays as much reverence as he does to God and in which he relies with more confidence than he does in ---- for he could not, I suppose be persuaded to go on a war party against another nation without his medicine bag, which is always carried with great care head foremost, i.e., the heads of the skins of the animals are kept towards the front part and the turning of this medicine bag on one occasion by a Sac chief, who followed a band of his men going on a war party, turned the party and broke it up. The Iowas have something by which they try men, or swear them to speak the truth, enveloped [sic] in seven coverings of skins but has not been seen within the recollection or traditions of any of them. They do not allow women to see the outer covering, and told that if I were to see it I would die. I told them I was not afraid to look at it, 'but should you die' said they, 'the white people would say the Indians killed you.'

.. Besides feasting, they have other articles, which they seem to consider necessary to the performance of their devotions, especially on important occasions.

The oldest medicine bag, of which there are seven related to each other, as brothers and sisters, when they return from a war party, these are opened and used in their scalp dances. They contain the skins of animals, birds, with medicine in them. There wild tobacco and other sacred or war medicine, also the war-club of which there was one to each of the seven, but only six now as on their last war party, the war club was lost from the principal one, also the pipes or whistles.

The next is the Wathu waruhowe, and of these there are seven. This is the bad medicine bag, and with it they profess to deprive their enemies of power, when discouraged by blowing the whistle. Owing to this enchantment they say their enemies cannot run or shoot, and are soon killed.

The next is the Cha waruhawe, or buffalo medicine bag, which is used not in war, but in doctoring the wounded, and this is considered the greatest medicine. These contain medicine and the sticks with the deer hoofs attached which they shake, while doctoring the sick, also a piece of buffalo tail and perhaps a piece from the skin covering the throat of the elk.

The Ta waruhowe, or deer medicine bag, contain the sacred otter skin, used in the otter dance. There are perhaps others, but I am not acquainted with their nature, these are the most important and ancient. Some of these are considered good, teaching good things, others bad, teaching war etc.

They have also a round stone in some of these, which they rub over themselves before going to war, to prevent their being shot. A drum. This is made by stretching a deerskin over one end of a keg, and tightening it with cords and sticks. They are seldom without this when they dance. Pipes or whistles. These are generally made of cane, and are from fifteen inches to two feet in length, with the reed hollow at the end, it makes a sound something like a fife. These are kept in the medicine bag and only used on occasions when they profess to worship God, either by doctoring the sick, dancing or going to war.

Another stick of about the same length, to which are attached a number of deer or antelope hoofs, perhaps eight or ten. They are strung around the stick for about half its length. The other end is held in the hand and shook, while the dry hoofs striking each other produce quite a rattling noise. These sticks are used only by the doctors.

Gourds [are] filled with some small hard substance which also produce quite a rattling noise when shaken.

The medicine bag, which consists of a deerskin contains various small sacks, open at both ends, in which are the skins of small animals and sacred birds, which they suppose to be holy and possessed of great virtue. The whistle or pipe with the skins etc. are wrapped up in the deer skin. The gourd hangs outside and the scalps of their enemies are also attached to the

outside of the bundle. The whole is hung upon a tree, or stick set in the ground for the purpose, beside or within a few feet of their lodge or skin tent and covered with some other skin to protect it from the weather.

When living in their bark houses during the summer they frequently place them on the top of the house.

The sacred pipe which is sometimes kept in the tent in a separate corner wrapped up with the other, ... the sacred stone or iron, by which they decide doubtful points and compel disputing persons to speak the truth (Hamilton n.d.).

Later sources, such as Dorsey and Skinner, offer other typologies/ taxonomies, which we will see in the contextual quotes found in this chapter. For now, because of the inconsistency of the sources, we begin the task of compiling the various sources into some semblance of order so as to group descriptions for later reference. After reading the sources, it was decided that four broad functional categories covered the bulk of the bundles: pipes, war, doctoring, and tattooing, as well as a small category for other kinds of bundles not well-described, such as witch bundles and hunting bundles.

Pipes in Historical Context

Archaeological antecedents

The equal-armed disc pipe is usually considered the typical pipe of the Oneota. It is strange that no such pipebowl survives associated with the historic Ioway. The Oneota were also known for their use of catlinite, which the Ioway also traded in early historic times.

Norman Feder noted that the Ioway and Oto-Missouri produced some of the finest effigy pipes (Feder 1965: 72). Ewers noted that prehistoric effigy pipes had the animals facing toward or away from the smoker. He believed that Hopewellian pipes faced the smoker and Mississippian pipes faced away (1986: 34). He followed Prufer:

In a paper on the Hopewell Complex of Ohio, Olaf H. Prufer has suggested that the Hopewellians were the ancestors of the Algonquian-speaking peoples of the Ohio Valley ... The Mississippians are regarded as ancestral to both the Siouan and Caddoan tribes. Indeed, the Indians who developed the Spiro Center in eastern Oklahoma are thought of as late

prehistoric Caddoans-- members of the same language family as the historic Caddo, Wichita and Pawnee Indians (1986:34).

All four of the Ioway effigy bowls at the Milwaukee Museum had the animal figures facing the smoker, putting these pipes in the Hopewellian tradition, according to their analysis. If these bowls were actually of Ioway origin (and the raccoon bowls have extremely strong claims on being of Ioway make), rather than traded from other tribes, this contradicts the idea that the Ioway were Mississippian. It may also be that the facing to-and-away classification is incorrect or simplistic. For example, another interpretation is one of status display (the animal facing the audience) or spiritual intimacy (the animal facing the smoker).

Early accounts of Ioway pipes

Historic and ethnographic descriptions of Ioway pipes are numerous, beginning with French mention of "Aiaoua" pipes in 1676 and extending through the present day with such art studies as those of Ewer and Penney in the 1980s and 1990s.

The earliest mention of the material life of the Ioways comes from Father Louis André at La Baye (Green Bay), Wisconsin, in 1676. Several families had come from the west to visit the resident Winnebagoes, their linguistic kin. The "Aiaoua" were described as a large tribe, but "poor," as "their greatest wealth consists of ox-hides [buffalo hides] and of Red Calumets [catlinite pipes]" (Blaine 1979:17).

Michel Accault lived with the Ioway for two winters and a summer, sometime between 1677-1679, and may have introduced the trade goods found at Oneota sites on the Upper Iowa River (Blaine 1979: 18). This early beginning to trade relations indicate that the presence or absence of European goods in Ioway bundles are not always a good indicator as to the age of the bundle.

Nicolas Perrot met with the Ioway in their village, possibly on the Upper Iowa River, in 1685. Here Perrot was transported on a large buffalo hide to a chief's "cabin." He was

offered the calumet (the pipe) and a feast of boiled but still bloody buffalo tongues was made (Blaine 1979: 20). The Ioway apparently began direct trade with the French at this time and trapped beaver that winter for trade.

The calumet dance was performed for Perrot (Blaine 1979: 20). The calumet dance [*wayanwe* : "(they) sing (over them)," or the making of relatives] was a ceremony of adoption to establish kinship ties where none existed but were desired. The ceremonial weeping, symbolizing both sadness and joy, was for the dead person being thus replaced by the new relationship. The "calumets" of this ceremony were probably not functional pipes but the ceremonial calumets (without bowls and not meant for smoking) known later for this ceremony.

At the 1724 peace council convened by Bourgmont, six Ioway chiefs brought their large pipes, possibly the clan pipes (Blaine 1979: 35). By the late 1700s the Ioways had become dependent on the guns, ammunition, and other items of the traders, partly because of the intense intertribal hostilities of that time, caused by tribal movements and increasing competition for furs and hunting grounds. Trade items were becoming more and more varied (Blaine 1979: 52,54,72).

There is an anecdotal passage written by Charlevoix in 1721 that the Ioway, living in the Blue Earth country of Minnesota in the early 1700s, before their hostilities began with their former allies the Dakota in the 1720s, were the guardians of the pipestone quarry:

The calumet is no less sacred among the Indians than the collar of Wampum; it has even, if we may believe them, a divine original, for they maintain, it was a present made them by the Sun. It is more in use among the southern and western nations, than among the eastern and northern, and is more frequently employed for peace than for war. Calumet is a Norman word, being a corruption of Cha-[321] liorveau, and the calumet of the Indians is properly the stalk of the pipe, but under that name is understood the whole pipe as well as the stalk [footnote: This word is Norman French and was originally chalumeau or chalumet.]. The stalk is very long in calumets of ceremony, and the pipe has the shape of our old hammers for arms; it is commonly made of a sort of reddish marble [... pipestone or Catlinite...], very easy to

work, and found in the country of the Aiouez [[Ioway]], beyond the Mississippi [footnote: The Aiouez, now called Iowa, were a tribe of the Siouan family, allied to the Winnebago. In Charlevoix's time they were the guardians of the sacred pipestone quarry.] The stalk is of a light wood, painted with different colors, and adorned with the heads, tails, and feathers of the most beautiful birds, which in all probability is only intended for ornament.

The custom is to smoke in the calumet when it is accepted, and perhaps, there is no example of an engagement entered into in this manner being violated. The Indians at least are persuaded, that the great spirit never suffers an infraction of this kind to escape with impunity. If in the midst of a battle, an enemy presents a calumet, it may be refused; but if it is accepted, their arms on both sides must immediately be laid down. There are calumets for all different sorts of treaties. When an exchange is agreed upon in trade they present a calumet, in order to cement the bargain, which renders it in some measure sacred. When a war is in agitation, not only the stalk, but even the feathers with which it is adorned are red; sometimes they are red only on one side, and it is pretended, that from the manner in which the feathers are disposed, they know at first sight to what nation it is to be presented (Kellogg 1923 (I): 304-305).

By 1811, Ioways were mining lead with the Sauk and Fox at the mines near present-day Dubuque, Iowa, on lands which had once only been that of the Ioway. Hunting was declining in importance for trade (Blaine 1979: 109). This lead mining by the Ioways is often overlooked by most studies, which concentrate on Sauk and Mesquakie mining. Thus Ioway pipebowls with lead-filled incising are usually attributed to tribes other than the Ioway. There is every probability that Ioway bowls from the early 1800s with lead inlay were of Ioway manufacture. During the treaty sessions in 1837, one of the points of contention was that the Ioway also had been entitled in the 1825 treaty to equal shares with Sauk and Fox in the lead from the Dubuque mines but the Ioway were not getting shares from the lead being sold by the Sauk and Fox (McKenney and Hall 1933-1934 (I): 302). Paul Wilhelm says that "peace pipes" were also smoked by the Ioway chiefs and warriors for pleasure, such as while watching a young people's amusement dance (Lottinville 1973: 321).

In the fall of 1824, several Ioways, as well as Sauk, Fox, and Piankashaw, went to Washington D.C. for a major land cession treaty. The Ioway were led by White Cloud and Great Walker (also known as Big Neck). Several portraits of Ioway men and one woman were painted by King, including ones of White Cloud, Great Walker, No Heart, and Flying Pigeon

(Viola 1976). During that visit, White Cloud presented a pipestem to President Monroe, which is still in the collection of the Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian (Viola 1976: 47). This flat, quilled pipestem (42 inches in length) has been described and pictured by Ewers (1981: 64, fig. 2).

In 1837, three of the Ioway who had gone to the treaty session in Washington, D.C., were portrayed by McKenney and Hall holding pipes: "Notchimine, or No Heart," "Neomonni" ("the Cloud out of Which the Rain Comes"), and "Tahrohon" (Horan 1972: 312-317; McKenney and Hall 1933-1934). These men were *nánje nyíngé* ("heart-none," or No Heart), *nyíyu mányi* ("raining-walking/going along," or Walking Rain), and *tá lóhan*, ("deer(meat)-much," or Much Deer Meat, also known historically as Plenty Meat).

No Heart (fig. 4.1) holds a stem, mouthpiece up, cradled in his left arm, the bowl hidden. The stem is ornamented only near the mouthpiece end, apparently in bands of porcupine quillwork, alternating white and red, and with one black band). What is probably red-dyed horsehair is attached near the mouthpiece and at the black band near the other end of the decorated portion. The wood is plain and light-colored.

Walking Rain (fig. 4.2) holds a pipe near its midpoint, with both the stem and bowl visible. The stem is decorated similarly to that of No Heart, the decoration of bands of quillwork near the mouthpiece end, the rest of the stem unornamented wood. In this case, the bands are green, white, and orange-red. Red-dyed horsehair is attached near the mouthpiece and further toward the pipe's midsection; the second cluster of horsehair is joined there by two green ribbons. The pipe bowl is different from others I have seen. The body is of a reddish-brown, possibly catlinite or wood; the bowl itself is black and drawn so as to look



Figure 4.1: No Heart (1837 painting by Charles Bird King)
(Horan 1972: 313)



Figure 4.2: Walking Rain (1837 painting by Charles Bird King)
(Horan 1972: 314)



Figure 4.3: Much Deer Meat (1837 painting by Charles Bird King)
(Horan 1972: 316)

highly polished, as if it were of stone and a separate piece from that of the bowl's body. The overall bowl shape is of a T-shape, with the end piece projecting only slightly. The bowl itself flares from its juncture with the body, being much wider at its mouth than its base. A third element in the picture may or may not be attached to the bowl, as it is unclear in the picture plane. This is a long, oval or cylindrical object of what appears to be brown fur, possibly an animal's tail (buffalo? bear?). It is not clear whether this last element is indeed attached to the pipe or whether it is attached to Walking Rain's shirt (the juncture point is hidden behind his hand).

Much Deer Meat (fig. 4.3) holds his pipe in the same manner as No Heart. The decorated zone is the same as those on the other two, with the colored bands alternating red and white (no third color is introduced). Four clusters of red-dyed horsehair are attached, two of these near either end of the quilled zone. The midsection of the pipe lacks color, everything appearing gray; whether this is intentional or an error in the printing process is unknown. The wood would be light-colored, and an area of "hair" fastened down with a band would likely be part of a male mallard's green head feathers fastened to the stem with a band of wrapped quillwork or sinew.

McKenney's texts related a number of observances related to Ioway pipes (as well as bundles and war, which will be discussed in the appropriate section). First was the use of the pipe by the chief to effect peace between two quarreling parties; the pipe was "filled with a mixture of dried herbs, which they call the Great Spirit's tobacco" (McKenney and Hall 1933-1934 (II): 169).

It was said that the Ioway attributed "every death to the anger of the Great Spirit, who is supposed to be always in motion, searching for the spirits of those who have recently died, with the calumet, or pipe of peace in his mouth" (McKenney and Hall 1933-34 (I): 289).

George Catlin also painted a number of Ioways during two episodes in his painting career, in about 1830-1835 on the Missouri River near Fort Leavenworth, and in 1844-1845, when he traveled in Europe with a party of Ioways in a joint venture promoting Ioway cultural exhibitions and Catlin's Indian paintings. During the earlier period, Catlin painted two prominent Ioways, No Heart (confused with White Cloud) and Man of Sense.

No Heart (fig. 4.4) was shown holding a pipe with a long quilled stem and a disc-shaped bowl. Man of Sense (fig. 4.5) has a pipe with a shorter quilled stem and a disc-shaped bowl with a prow-like projection. It is interesting that these two paintings represent the only association of historic Ioways with disc-bowled pipes, noted earlier as a typical Oneota bowl form.

Skinner and Ioway sacred pipes

Alanson Skinner collected the greatest amount of information on the sacred pipes of the Ioway clans. Each clan pipe was supposed to have been brought by the mythological ancestor of the clan. Unfortunately, even by Skinner's time, information was fragmentary, as the pipe system was no longer a primary expression of tribal belief. Christianity and the new peyote road of the Native American Church was in the ascendancy. Skinner did manage to collect some information of the earlier system, including the origin of the pipe of the Bear Clan.

In the Bear Clan origin legend, one of the Bears went ahead to investigate a distant pounding sound. Upon investigation it was seen to be an old white-haired man working on something. When the scout returned for the others and all returned to find the old man, he had disappeared, leaving a stone pipe bowl in his place: "The pipe was made in the shape of a man, for the old person who had been heard hammering had turned himself into this pipe bowl" (Skinner 1915: 728). The Bears then took the bowl, and continued their journey:



Figure 4.4: No Heart (ca. 1830 painting by George Catlin)
(Catlin 1973 (II): Plate 129)



Figure 4.5: Man of Sense (ca. 1830 painting by George Catlin)
(Catlin 1973 (II): Plate 130)

The bears went on and they 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 [the oldest Bear] took it for his pipestem. That is why the sacred pipestem anciently had strings ornamented with dyed quills, though colored ribbons which represent the weeds or moss are now used (1915: 729).

After the Bears met the Buffalos, they smoked the others' pipes to create a friendship: "A feast was being prepared by both bands, but the Henghru bear was so ravenous he seized the pipe in his mouth with such a grip that he split the stem..." (1915: 729).

Information gathered by William Whitman from Ioway, Oto, and Missouri informants indicates that pipe stems of different kinds of wood once were specific to different clans. The Bear stem was supposed to have been made from ash, the Eagle stem from cottonwood, the Beaver stem from box elder, and the Owl stem from walnut, and Elk clan used a red elm stick for lighting the others' pipes (Whitman 1938: 190, 193, 197).

Skinner indicates the pipes were parts of a greater sacred object system:

Each gens had its sacred pipe, obtained traditionally by the four ancestor founders.... It had also its war bundle and tattooing bundle. No taboos were learned but certain gente had special privileges. There is some connection between the seven gens pipes and the constellation called "Seven Stars" by the Iowa which I do not understand. The pipes were used, among other things, to make peace for murderers. If a man was killed the slayer or his relatives sought out the pipe owner of their gens and got him to intercede. He would take the pipe and point the mouthpiece at the avengers and they were required to cease their attempts at vengeance and the murder compounded. If they refused it, as was their privilege, for four successive times, then nothing could save the murderer from death at their hands, except perhaps, his precipitate flight. In practice, however, it was considered almost surely fatal to refuse the pipe, the refuser being liable to death on his next warpath. Hence, if a murderer could get the pipe owner to help him, he was usually safe. Seven seems to be a magical number among the Iowa. Towhee remarked to me, "Everything goes by sevens. There are the seven stars, the seven gentes [or clans], and the seven pipes."

These pipes seem to have been the property of the clan chiefs (1915: 734). That is, they were the Keepers of the Pipes; they had the right of possession but not of disposal out of the clan--- that would have been unthinkable.

Skinner sent some tobacco seeds he obtained from Charles Tohee in Oklahoma to W. A. Setchell at Berkeley for identification. Setchell identified the tobacco as Nicotiana rustica, relating the Ioway's tobacco to the Woodland area (Setchell 8/2/1922).

Skinner said:

The tobacco they plant in the woods at a distance from their camps. They first burn a pile of brush and then return four to five days later and walk over the ashes in their bare feet. If the ashes are cold they scatter the seeds there and leave them to come up. The same method was employed by the Sauk (Algonkian)... Both these tribes have been closely associated for a long time and the tobacco is likely, though not certain, to be the same. Both tribes use their native tobacco in small quantities for ceremonial purposes.... (Skinner 7/24/1922).

While Harrington is the most complete source on war bundles and tattooing bundles, Skinner has the most information on pipes. Here he describes the ceremony involved in opening the pipe bundle.

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 it on Hixna, 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 annointed 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 (Skinner 1926: 220).

Next, he describes the way pipes were used in making peace in intratribal conflicts, usually between clans.

When trouble broke out with violence among members of the tribe, the pipe bundle was sometimes hastily carried, wrapped up as [221] 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, Kansas, is said to have met death because he scorned to accept a proffered pipe (Skinner 1926: 220-221).

Another way the pipes were used was in the 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 [222] 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 this 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 (Skinner 1926: 221-222).

Tattooing is further discussed in a later section. Another way the pipes were used was in the event of tribal disaster.

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 (Skinner 1926: 222).

Yet another way the pipes might be used was described by Skinner as the ceremony of "Niutaxha, 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 annointed the pipe in the same way, and it was wrapped up and returned to its place without having been smoked at all (Skinner 1926: 223).

The last way the pipes might be used was in the preparation for the Pipe Dance or Calumet Dance. The owners of the "pipe" wands (which were symbolic, not functioning stems) had to approach the gens pipe keeper:

Whenever their owner wishes to receive favors of and make friendships with some prominent member of another tribe, he calls on the owners of the seven gens pipes. They come together in a council, and begs his own gens pipe owner to accept a horse and teach him some of the songs and speeches of the gens pipe that he might use them and thus have more power (Skinner 1915: 707).

The gens pipe was carried along with the calumet wands to the other tribe. Although the calumet wands are not pipes, nor does any source describe them as a sacred bundle (although logically, they should appear so), the symbolism of their decoration may also apply to symbolism on the sacred pipes and other items.

Pipe Dance, or Calumet Dance

The Calumet or Pipe Dance [*wayanwe washi*] is the adoption ceremony, "the making of relatives," found widespread across much of the plains and woodlands, known variously as the pipe dance, the calumet dance, or the *hunga* (or *hunka*) ceremony. The rite was very long and beautiful in its performance, using symbolic wands, representing pipes. The following excerpts from the rite described by Skinner pertain to the associated paraphernalia and their symbolism.

The founder of the [wayanwe washi] received the rite through the usual source of the dream fast. He dreamed that a large number of animals appeared to him and gave him power. First, there came to him two eagles, one white and one dark. Each claimed to be the leader of all fowls, but he believed the white one because it came first. They promised him eagle powers. Next he saw a duck, which offered him the privileges of the duck people who can even walk on water. The owl came to him in the clear day, and it hooted for him, saying, "This is what I can do and you and your children to come shall follow me. If you desire my power, you can have it." So it gave the dreamer owl power over the night. Then it seemed to the dreamer that it was a still clear cold day, with hoar frost on the ground, yet he saw a woodpecker seated on a mossy tree trunk and a shaft of warm sunlight played upon it and the moss steamed in the sun. "Now this is my work," said the woodpecker to him. "This nice clear day, with the streak of warmth. I give you and your children to come, power to do this." The plover next appeared, and said, "I called you that I might give you and your children my power. I can give you health." The prairie owl that lives in the burrows of the prairie dogs, appeared and cried: "I am the keeper of the day. Just at dawn you see the streaks of light appear above the eastern horizon. I bring them, I bring daylight. This power I give to you and your children." Then the little owl screeched four times and disappeared in the north.

The dreamer then set to work to prepare paraphernalia after the fashion that he had been instructed in the dream. He procured two slender sticks about a yard long, and perforated

them to show that they were pipes, for these symbolic pipes have no bowls. Then he caught two eagles. First he caught a white eagle, and said to it: "I shall use you because you are the king of all birds." He took white eagle feathers to make a fan-like pendant for one stick or wand. Then he caught a dark eagle and made a fan pendant for the other wand. Then he caught two ducks, and, and capped one end of each of the sticks, one with a green and one with a gray duck head. Then he put on owl feathers in bunches, and pendants of white yarn to symbolize the plover; and red, the shedding of the blood of the animals he had killed to symbolize peace on the wands. There is a special song for this red pendant.

Next he killed a deer, and took its bladder to hold tobacco. He painted lines upon it in blue, like those on a Kansa specimen collected. He prepared a forked stick, sharpened at the end and about a yard long. This was to run in the ground during the ceremony, when the wands are laid with one end of each in the fork and the ducks' heads on the ground, apart at an angle of [30 or 35 degrees]. At this time the birds are supposed to have lighted and to be present, sitting on the dead crotched tree which the little fork represents. Last of all he killed a wildcat that he might have its skin to spread on the ground behind the crotched stick and there deposit his gourd rattles (1915: 706-707).

The adoption of a child from one group by another group (often an intertribal exchange) establishes and strengthens intergroup ties. The adopted child is decorated for the ceremony. First the child is painted; later, "the paint is wiped from its face with a paw of the wildcat skin; eagle down, representing fair weather is tied on its head..." (1915: 709).

War and War Bundles in Historical Context

Early accounts of war and the war bundles

Some Oneota sites do exemplify evidence of a developed style of ritualized warfare in the people who would become the Ioways. Evidence of warfare-related trauma in Oneota burials include skeletal remains indicating physical marks related to death by projectile points and crushing blows to the skull, scalping, dismemberment, and decapitation. In the highly militarized climate of the late 1700s and early 1800s, the war complex and the associated war bundles would become a central organizing factor in Ioway tribalism. The Ioway were surrounded by enemies encroaching on their ancestral lands and faced annihilation by superior numbers. It is significant that Fletcher and La Flesche recorded that the Omaha, who found themselves in a similar position in Nebraska, used the same word *ukite* to designate both as a noun, "the tribe, the people, the nation," as well as a verb meaning "to fight external foes (not

within the tribe) in a war in which honors can be won; to stand as one people against a common enemy" (1972: 35-36). The Ioway cognate word was *ukiche*, and a similar meaning may be inferred.

Less well known than the 1833 voyage of Prince Maximilian zu Wied and his artist Karl Bodmer, the voyages of Duke Friedrich Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg covered much of the same territory as much as a decade earlier, with trips in 1822-1824, 1829-1831, 1849-1856, and 1857 (Gibbs 1982: 53). During his 1822-1824 voyage up the Missouri River, Paul Wilhelm encountered an Ioway war party in dugout pirogues and later visited their village.

During the encounter, one of Paul Wilhelm's party, Baptiste de Rouain, hurled invectives at an elderly Ioway warrior who had once led a war party which had killed de Rouain's brother and beaten de Rouain nearly to death. The old Ioway listened coldly, and then replied, "My father is mistaken. The scalp of his brother is not the medicine pouch of his friend." Lottinville added in a footnote:

The French Creoles call the leather pouch in which the Indians keep the articles necessary for their mystical worship, sac de médecine. I make bold to translate this word literally, with the comment that such objects are skins of animals, bones, skulls, scalps, pipes, wampum, etc. (1973: 251).

Although scalps and scalplocks are known to have been and be in Ioway medicine bundles, only two sources imply the use of human scalps as medicine pouches themselves: Lottinville and Paul Radin, who mentions an evil Ioway shaman's bag made from a red-haired woman's scalp, as well as the similar use of the whole skin of a child (Radin 1991: 93, 337 (note 30)). Regarding scalping practices of the Ioway, Paul Wilhelm says:

The Iowas...do scalp their foes, that is, they cut off the skin with the tuft of hair (nan-to-tscha). The fights become especially fierce if they surround one of their warriors to protect him from the disgrace of being scalped (Lottinville 1973: 322).

He also reported the use of skunk skins as tobacco bags: "Among other articles of decoration were tobacco pouches made from the skins of several skunks (*Mephitis*), quite nicely decorated with embroidery of porcupine quills" (Lottinville 1973: 249). Paul Wilhelm is perhaps the first European to describe the clan system and bundles of the Ioway:

The religious beliefs of these people are mixed with traits of mythology, and in this respect they have something in common with religions of the ancients. They present their god, called Wa-kon-dah, with the aid of symbols, and it does not seem that they venerate these images or manitous as God himself, but only as figures of him. They know the Master of Life is invisible, but by showing him commanding lightning and thunder it reveals that their belief is analogous to that of primitive peoples and similar to that of the inhabitants of northern Europe, who likewise armed their first gods Jupiter and Wodan with lightning.

Their cult divides itself into several parts. According to their religious tradition, there originally lived eight persons who busied themselves solely during their short lives with the happiness of their people. After their deaths the souls entered the bodies of eight different animals, each of which is venerated by a different sect, and each sect preserves its image as a symbol. This is exhibited only on solemn occasions, chiefly before their war parties start on the march.

The first sect worships Tu-num-pe with the figure of a bear. Tu-num-pe was the first who ate raw meat. The other sects worship Aro-tschon and Tsche-hi-ta, the eagle, Cu-tsche, the turtle dove, and Pa-he, the beaver, who, according to their tradition, discovered the art of making fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together (Lottinville 1973: 319).

While later visiting the Oto, Paul Wilhelm added this, regarding medicine bags:

At the peak of the hut [earth lodge] there is usually a pole and, tied to it, a medicine pouch containing symbolic objects to serve the Indians in their mystical practices.

*Much has been written concerning the superstitious religious beliefs of these uncivilized people and their inclination to fetishes. It is exceedingly difficult to determine the truth, since their priests act very mysteriously regarding their idolatrous service and usually supply the curious person with untruths. **This much is certain, most of the Indians are pure theists and their symbolic forms are simply intended to ban the evil spirits which they recognize** [emphasis added]. Their insensate fear of the influence of such ghosts has unfortunately led them to a kind of worship which befogs the reason of a child-like people. Ignorant travelers have confused this with a real worship of God. Observation has unfortunately shown that, even in the most civilized states of Europe, certain sickly apparitions are being used to confuse the susceptible public mind with cacodemonic trickery, and we, therefore, need not be surprised that such evil seed also produces its sad fruit among a naïve and ignorant people (Lottinville 1973: 380).*

Hamilton's descriptions of Ioway warfare

William Hamilton's notes, found in Dorsey's unpublished papers, hold a wealth of material on Ioway warfare.

War Parties

The Indians are often tempted to engage in a war party, to avenge the death of one of their tribe. Sometimes they are led to it by [the] loss of some member of the family by sickness. When this is the case, the afflicted husband, father, or friend professes to feel it his duty to avenge the death of the departed. His first step is to kill a dog; if he cannot get a deer, and send for some old men. ... Upon their arrival, he takes out his medicine bag and sings one of their ancient songs, which it is necessary for them to repeat. He tells them the reason of his calling them together, with which they are well pleased.

One of the old men, upon this, gives him a stick prepared for the purpose, with which he commences his operations. The length of this stick is in proportion to the time he wishes to spend fighting, on preparing for his expedition. One end of the stick is burned, to a coal, and with this he blacks his face (hinde hi), which is a mark of mourning or fasting. Their mourning is often accompanied with fasting. This blackening himself continues from day to day (note: they do this only when going out in 40, 50 or more; when 10 or less, they do not do this blackening). After some days (note: 4 days), he again calls them together, and all set out to hunt something with which to make a feast. When anything is killed, they bring it in without eating any of it, except the entrails. The cooking is done by the nephews or nieces of the man who makes the war party. After singing their songs again, a bundle of sticks is brought by the cooks and given to the old men to count, who return them again to the cook, giving them directions whom to invite, including sometimes all the young men who are able to go to war. The common method of inviting persons to a feast is to go to their lodges and hand those a stick whom they wish to attend. When all is ready they sit down to the feast. The man making the war party chooses from the guests those he wishes to take the command of the party. They sing again and call out some of their number, before whom the head and forefeet of the animal (dog) is placed. After these are eaten, the singers again sing and all arise and dance (he'washi), every man in his own place. When they are through with this ceremony they leave, but in the act of leaving they walk round the circle, or in front of the company. If one is sitting by the door, he will walk all the way round the circle, before going out.

The person who is fasting, neither eats nor drinks all day, even though he should suffer much. When his stick which furnished the coals for blackening himself, is burnt nearly up, he makes preparation to start on his journey.

For a day or two before starting the women are employed in pounding corn for the journey.

One or two days before starting, the man who is to carry the medicine bag takes and hides it, while the others busy themselves in preparing sacred articles. The next thing is to appoint the headmen or captains of the party and agree upon a night for starting. When the night for starting arrives, they steal away as secretly as possible and meet at some appointed place. When the next morning dawns, they arise and rubbing some mud on their faces ("not so"), start without eating or drinking and travel till noon ("only for for 4 days before they go"), when they stop and cook and eat their dinner consisting of a little thin gruel.

It is customary for them to wipe the black from their faces before eating, which they do with a corner of their blankets. It sometimes happens that some of the young men do not know

when the others start, but when it is discovered that they have gone, they immediately follow. When the captain sees them coming, he takes his pipe and a brand of fire and goes to meet them, putting the pipe to each one and thanking them kindly for following. After this he sings his song again, when they all start and travel till night.

They fast and cry every morning until the fourth day, when they select some of their number to go and hunt. The captain then sings a song and pretends to tell what kind of a deer they will kill [undecipherable notes giving loway words here].

On this day they encamp earlier than usual and after kindling a fire, engage in hewing flat pieces of wood. If the bark will not peel from the poles used about their fires and for putting on the ground to rest their guns against and other weapons, they hew or cut the bark from them. Some of these poles are stuck in the ground and others placed across them, or on top of them. Their sacred things are placed upon the flat pieces of wood or bark as they do not permit them to be placed upon the ground.

The hunters often bring in a deer, and after eating it, they paint themselves as they would do if expecting to see an enemy. ...One of their number measures a certain number of steps in front when each man takes his place, and kneeling down as soon as the word is given commence pulling away the grass and sticks moving backwards till they come to the poles, when they arise and each man placing his sacred things before him, commences his own song, often times producing great confusion. While singing they open their sacred things and ask for good luck. They sing one song while opening them, another while putting them back to their places, a song being supposed necessary for every ceremony in which they engage. When they have finished the above ceremony, they put away their sacred things and each one attends to his own business, some to their horses and others getting wood for the night.

Many jokes pass round, but they are careful in speaking not to use the common or vulgar terms in their language. They are also careful not to pass under the poles, put up over the fires and to avoid this a space, or doorway if left between each fire, through which they pass.

There are two classes of persons in the party: Neng-ka-wat-tha or gentlemen and Deer-kae-ke, bucket carrier or servants. The gentlemen go before and the servants behind. The servants cook and serve the gentlemen as they call themselves.

When they have made all their necessary arrangements they prepare to start again on their journey, going through the middle of their encampment, not suffering either man or horse to go outside of the place. As they travel they sing as they please, but when they halt, the man carrying the medicine bag goes and places it before, till the captain [who] lingers behind comes up. When he comes he sings, walking round them, after which they start again. They gather their wood from behind, or from the country over which they have traveled, as neither man nor horse is suffered to go before, except when spies are sent out. The spies are very careful to indicate the presence of an enemy. When any person or sign of any person is discovered, indicating the nearness of the enemy, they examine very carefully if possible his situation. When discovered the alarm is given, but if no discovery is made they continue on their journey. If the enemy is approaching they seek a convenient place to waylay him and if going from him they strive to head him [off] and kill him. If they think they have them in their power, they become very bold and run upon him giving the war whoop and yelling.

When they succeed in killing a person, the one who strikes him first, after he is shot or killed, takes the first honor. The one who [strikes] next is nearly as honorable, the third strikes and cuts the head off, or takes the scalp if it has not been taken, which is also quite an honor.

I have been told that they can make six braves by killing one man; others say not so many, only four. They are very proud of being called "brave."

They then become entitled to a brave's dress, which consists principally in having a deer tail painted and ornamented with a feather from the eagle. [It] is fastened to the scalplock.

I might have mentioned that the medicine bag is carried always with the same end foremost. The heads of the skins of animals and birds are all placed in the same direction and care taken to keep them always in that position. A Sac chief on one occasion followed a war party and turned this medicine bag round which broke up the party. Their great desire is to kill, and often when they shoot, they will travel as fast as possible for a day and night without stopping until they think themselves safe from pursuit. But if they have time, they not only take the scalps, but cut off the fingers, hands, feet, and ears and takes out the heart, to bring home as trophies of their victory. A party of Iowas once went to the Omahas and after getting near where a few lodges were encamped, within 5 miles of them they stopped. From this place a part of them proceeded...across the river on the ice, and after traveling about five miles they came to their encampment and creeping within gunshot, they fired into the lodges and ran back to their companions, who had their horses ready, and all started traveling about 20 miles, before they dared to make a halt, though the M[iss]o[uri] River was between them and their enemies.

They are not as formal in their return as when they go out, especially if they apprehend pursuit. But before they reach their own village, feeling out of danger, they plait grass and tie [it] round their arms, neck, and ankles; sometimes to each ankle is a trail of plaited grass a yard long. Thus equipped with grass on various parts of their limbs and head, they commence their march home to their own village. When they come within hearing distance, they fire off a number of guns, in token of their success. This at once raises the spirits of those at home, who anxiously wait their arrival, to see and learn the result, at the same time preparing to receive them. Suddenly the war party came with a rush, flourishing their spears, guns, et [c], and yelling and exhibiting the scalps and mangled parts of those they had slain. They looked fierce and savage and seemed as if they would attack their own people.

It was but a short time until the scalps and other parts of the body were in the hands of the woman and all began their march round the village, shouting, while the woman seemed as pleased to carry the bloody trophies of their victory, as much as the men did. After passing round they gather[ed] to a certain place and engaged in a dance. This dance continues for a number of days. The women are painted and dressed for the occasion and sometimes wear on their heads the deer's tail ornamented, which it is proper only for the braves to wear, but under thi [s] peculiar circumstance they think themselves justified in wearing in part what belongs to their husbands. The dancing continues five or six days and when they are about to finish they get a small tree about five or six inches in diameter and 20 feet high and peel the bark from the body, cutting off the limbs with the exception of a few at the top. This is painted with red strip[s] round it in several places, and often bands of grass are tied round it where it is painted. This tree is set up before the door of the captain of the party, and if there is more than one captain they erect one at the door of each. When the dance is finished a bundle of sticks is brought forward for the purpose of forming circles representing the number killed. During the dance little else is attended to, many taking part in it and the ring within which they dance is surrounded with spectators, from the little child to the old and greyheaded. When all is over, those who have distinguished themselves, will step round for weeks with plaited grass upon them, looking as important as can be. They have been known sometimes to eat a part of their enemies, [especially] a part of the heart, as an act of bravery, and sometimes to urge the children to bite the heart if they are afraid to do more. They also wear a finger or other parts of the body round their necks, suspended by a string and hang the hands or feet at the door of their lodges. The heart is sometimes dried and put in their medicine bags, to mix with their

other medicine. All these things go...under the name of sacred and the scalp pole is generally supposed to stand until it rots down.

I suppose a dozen have been put up among the Ioway since we came here. White Cloud had one erected at his brick house, but he sold the house and requested the man (a Frenchman) to let it stand awhile, as he was fearful if it was cut down it would hasten his death. He was not well and has since died (Hamilton n.d.; ca. 1848).

One of the most important obligations the owner of a war bundle had to observe was the giving of a feast for the Thunder and the war bundle, early in the spring when the thunder was first heard.

March 4, 1852-- Met He-wat-ho-choo who said, I am going to Boka's to a feast. The Thunder came last night and he is making a feast for it. (Last night thunder was heard for the first time this spring.) I went to Boka's. He and Thief were sitting together singing and shaking their sacred gourds, and seemed to keep time with great precision. While singing they kept their eyes nearly closed. Before them was a stick about four feet long with several small branches. It was painted a light blue, and was ornamented with an eagle's feather painted red, a strip of an otter's skin and part of a human scalp. This latter, however, I did not observe, but he afterwards told me it was there. Some two or three were sitting near them, and the opposite side of the tent was vacant, and ready for the guests. A kettle of sweet corn and Buffalo meat was setting beside the fire. As the guests came in they took their places quietly. Some of them passing around the stick containing the offerings to the Thunder. As some were late coming, the two who made the feast stopped singing and shaking their rattles. When all had arrived who were invited, Boka, or White Cloud, as he is called, made a short speech addressing each one by the title, grandfather, brother, uncle or friend, according to the relation he sustained, telling them that the Thunder had arrived and he had made a feast for it and an offering. Some of the others also made remarks. Neumonya spoke to me saying, "It is very ancient custom handed down from our forefathers." He-wat-ho-choo took a small piece of meat from his bowl and put it on the end of the stick containing the offerings. When each man's bowl was filled Boka told them to eat, while eating he said to me, I have made a feast for the Thunder and an offering. I intend to go on a War Party when the grass grows, to the Pawnees and take a scalp. This offering can give me success.

When they had finished they began to leave one by one, passing round the circle, and addressing each one as before according to the relation they sustained.

After the feast was over, Boka told Thief to take the stick containing the offerings and throw it away near a certain tree. Then turning to me he said, It is thrown away for the Thunder. Formerly we used to make a feast for four days, when it first came from its main village it could not get far north, but now we only feast one day. That medicine bag is the one Old Pumpkin used to have. It contains a great many things.

Is it full of scalps?

No, not now. It used to be full, but since you came among us you have kept us from going on War parties, and as we make various offerings of the scalps, they are getting scarce. We used to have plenty. This medicine bag is very ancient. We have had it from the beginning. When we first became many.

How many are there in all? There are seven (Hamilton, in Blaine 1979: 222-223).

Irvin and the Waw-Ru-Haw-a

Samuel Irvin was also a missionary and a partner of William Hamilton. In fact it was he who was the actual head of the Presbyterian mission sent in 1837 to proselytize the Ioway and the Sauk and Fox who shared territory on the Nemaha Reserve. Irvin wrote a paper on the war bundles of the Ioway in 1871, called "The Waw-Ru-Haw-a." It is a rare but essential source and thus is quoted here at length:

Before these remarks close, we expect to exhibit before you what, until the last few days, was never before exposed publicly to gentile eyes, or was ever handled by rude and unsanctified genile hands. Our long and intimate acquaintance with the Indian has permitted us to enter within the veil of his most sacred rights; and the power of Christianity has so broken down the superstitions of heathenism, that we are permitted to bring to the light, and before your eyes, that which, among Indians, I may say, has been kept secret from the "foundation of the world."

We refer to what among the Indians is called their "sacred medicine," --the most sacred and precious thing that they possess. It goes with him on his journeys and stays with him in his encampments. It is at hand in sickness and death. It accompanies him in his most adventurous wars. It is present at his yearly feasts, and from it in some way he thinks he obtains expressions of the mind of the "Great Spirit." Among the Iowas and Otoes it is called the Wau-rú-how-a. We shall call it their Ark, answering in some degree to the Ark of the Covenant which accompanied the Israelites.

But I must lead you to a view and knowledge of it by some historic narrative. In the year 1837 it was our privilege to go, under the Western Board of Foreign Missions, afterwards the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, as a missionary among the Indians; and I regard it as the greatest privilege [2] of my life. Our destination was among the Iowa and Sac tribes, in what was then called the "Indian Territory" [the Great Nemaha Reserve in what is now Kansas and Nebraska, not the Indian Territory now known as Oklahoma]. We were eighty miles beyond the line of civilization, and near one hundred miles from the post-office, and were happy to receive mails twice or thrice a year. It took us six weeks by water and land to reach our destination from Pittsburgh. We can now reach the same point in two and a half days, and a daily mail is at our door....

...The first Indians that we saw made a deep impression. As we were finding our way, without chart or compass, across the prairies towards the home of the Indian, we saw a group of human beings drawing towards us. Ther loose flowing robes, naked arms, dark hair, and still darker eyes, impressed us so as not to be forgotten. As we drew near together, the leader, an old warrior of perhaps sixty years, throwing his blanket from his shoulders and extending his arm and finger in the direction we had come, said, "How many miles?-- whiskey." "How many miles?-- whiskey." They were armed with bows and arrows, and had two empty whisky kegs, which plainly told they were on their way to the whisky shops.

Our next and fullest view of the Indians was upon the beautiful plains of the Missouri, near to where the city of St. Joseph now stands. As along a path we reached an eminence overlooking the plains below, we had to stop and admire. And the thought arose, Is this not something like the view Balaam had when he saw Israel abiding in his tents, which made him

exclaim: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign-aloes which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar trees beside the waters." No pen or pencil can describe the combined beauty [3] and wildness of the scene. The Iowa and Sac nations were together. Tents were scattered in various directions yet with some degree of order. Hundreds of warriors were engaged in a game of ball; children and youth in their chosen amusements; women carrying wood and water; horses and ponies feeding in the distance; even the canine tribe seemed to be in playful glee.

At this point they crossed the Missouri river into what is now the State of Kansas. They travelled twenty-five miles west to the valley of Wolf river, when each nation constructed a village, each after their own peculiar style of architecture.

And now we observe near the front door of a number of their houses, hung upon a post, a rude shapeless bundle, covered with badger or buffalo skins, of which the following is a true likeness [reproduced here as fig. 4.6 (a)].

[4] We inquire-- what is this?"

"That is the sacred medicine of the Indians," we are told. It is sacred and not to be touched by strangers. We visit the Otoe and Omaha villages and find the same thing. With a brother missionary we go one hundred and sixty miles up the Platte river and vaccinate over two thousand children, and here we find the same thing-- the sacred medicine, not to be handled by strangers; and here it was that aman accompanying Major Wharton and Captain May, laying careless hands on this bundle, was loudly hailed by the Interpreter, who said, "Hands off! that may cost you your life." All we are permitted now to know about this rude bundle, is that it is believed to contain something that is very sacred and furnishes something by which the mind of the Great Spirit is indicated.

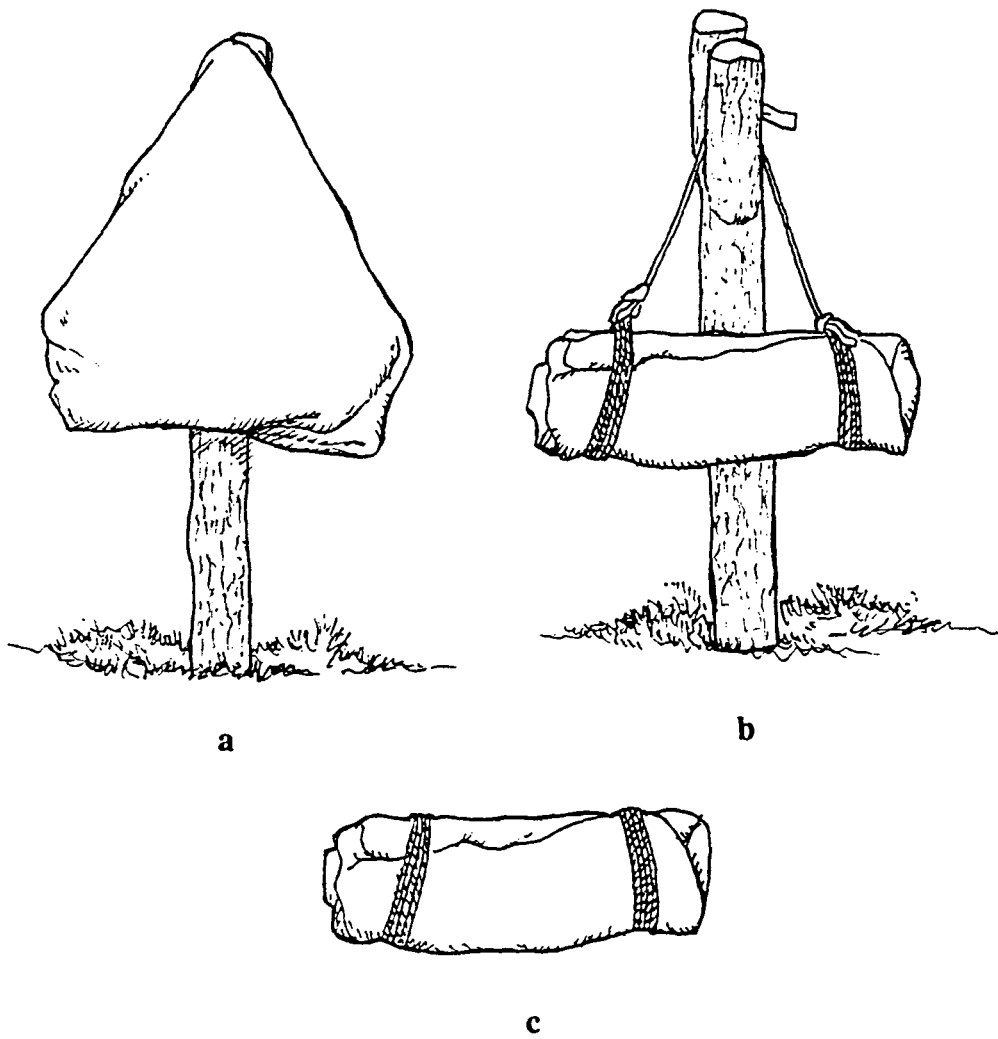
We will now attempt to give you some idea of the moral condition of the Indians at this time; and,

1st. Let us go among the dead. It is among the tombs of the dead that we learn what the living wish the dead had been. Here we learn the sober moral sentiment. So among the tombs of the Indian, we gather his ideas of a virtuous life.

In 1842 one of the great chiefs of the Iowas died. He was buried near the mission, and his head resting close to a large oak tree. Two days after the funeral we visited the grave, found the rough bark hewn from the tree, and on the white wood beneath, we found the following strange hieroglyphics [reproduced here as fig. 4.7].

[5] They were meaningless to us, but the Interpreter said they were plain and intelligible, and could be read by the passing Indian as easy as we could read English, and gave the following interpretation:

1. The number of times he has been personally engaged in war parties.
2. The number of scalps he has taken off with his own hands.
3. The guns which he owned, and one of which he carried to war.
4. The number of heads he has cut off, a part of them having been killed by himself, and some by others. The projecting lines on each side of the head on the right, denote a female, the rest are males.
5. A Kansaw Indian whom he caught and tied, and brought as a prisoner; in the prisoner's right hand is the string of buffalo skin with which he was tied.
- [6] 6. A Pawnee, whose head he cut off after it was killed by others.
7. An Osage whom he killed. The gun in his hand shows that the Osage was armed with a gun at the time.



**Figure 4.6: Warbundle; (a) covered, (b) on post, (c) warbundle
(After Irvin 1871)**

8. The number of times he has pierced the flesh of different individuals with his own knife.

9. The number of times he has carried the sacred medicine, or, in our language, acted as chaplain.

2d. Let us hear what the living say. War was the ruling passion of the times. Miniature war-parties was amusement and employment for the boys, and to sing and chant, and step in the war-dance, was entertainment and pastime for the little girls. The first week we spent in the neighborhood of their village, and while engaged in cultivating a little patch of corn, we were startled by the war-whoop of a returning party. Their path led them very near to where we were. They were fourteen in number. The leader carried over his head a bush from the branches of which were hung fingers, toes, ears, &c., mutilated parts of their victim, who was a Sioux Indian. They were in a half nude condition; the upper parts of their bodies covered with black earth, and paint streaked in strange forms with their finger nails. They were wild with excitement, indulging their voices to the utmost in war-songs and war-whoops, while with bows and knives in their hands they practised the most violent gesticulations of wrath towards their enemies.

An old woman of probably sixty years, on hearing that her young grandson had distinguished himself on a war party, and was entitled to the honors of a BRAVE, obtained a fleet pony, and on its back hastened through the village, proclaiming the news, and adding, "I never expected to see such a happy day." Thus from old to young this terrible passion prevailed.

We must now pass over a number of years of quiet, uniform missionary labor-- years of anxious toil, learning language, translating and printing, giving religious instruction, putting [7] up buildings, opening and conducting a boarding school, helping Indians in the improvement and management of secular matters, &c. All the time, however, we are gaining the confidence of the Indian, and gaining more knowledge of his heathen notions. The outer covering of the sacred medicine is taken off, and we see the real presence of the strange bundle as is here seen: [reproduced here as fig. 4.6 (b)]

In a lone room, doors closed and windows darkened, and in a whisper the father of ceremonies begins to tell us something of its sacred power. He tells of its power in sickness and danger; its presence in war, and its safety in travelling and encampments.

Confirmatory of this belief on their part, we see such things as these: 1st. When they start to travel, the leader, or priest, takes this bundle on his shoulder, setting forward in front till camping ground. A post is found, and the medicine hung up first. In the morning it is taken down and goes in [8] front again. As long as they stay in camp the medicine remains on the post, carefully covered with skins. 2d. In one instance a party of Iowas went on a war expedition against the Sioux. They reached the Sioux encampments, and were ready to strike. The medicine-man, or chaplain, consulted the medicine, and finding something out of place, or some unfavorable indication, he concluded the Great Spirit did not allow them to go farther. Crest-fallen and discouraged, they quietly and stealthily, one or two at a time, returned to the village, as if suffering a defeat. 3d. Soon after the Iowas built their village at the mouth of Wolf creek, some children, playing on the point of a rocky bluff, were frightened by the appearance of a rattle-snake. On reporting the case at the village, the snake-doctor told them to not be alarmed. He took his medicine, and spent a day among the snakes, as he said, and then told the village that peace was made with the snakes; that they should not hurt the snakes and the snakes would not hurt them. Peace is better than war, even among snakes and Indians....

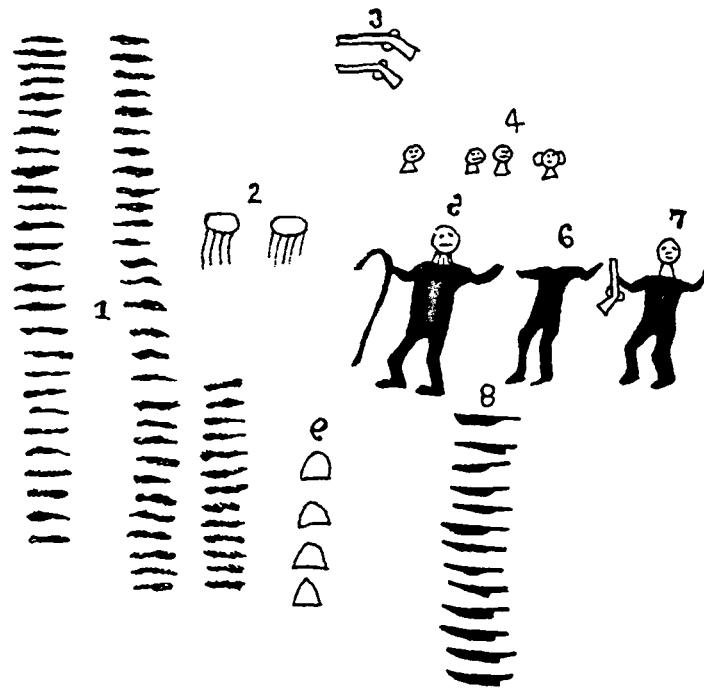


Figure 4.7: Grave post pictographs (numbers in original)
(After Irvin 1871)

[The section covering pages 9-12 is omitted here as it is primarily concerned with anecdotes about Christian converts].

[12] *...The character of the nation is changed. War is not known among them now. Scalp-poles, as they were called, are not to be seen. Superstition has given way before the power of the Gospel, and now, after over thirty years of contact with heathen darkness, we are permitted to bring out before you, for the first time, the veritable Waw-rú-haw-a of one of the tribes. It was given us by our friend, the Chief of the Iowas, with the promise on our part that it should be well cared for, and safely returned. Here is the bundle:* [reproduced as fig. 4.6 (c)].

I will not open it, no more than a sealed letter, on account of my promise, but having had access to others, I can tell you what it contains. It is made up of sticks, the length of this bundle, closely set with antelope hoofs, which, when shaken, make a tinkling noise. These are used with their voices in worship. It also contains scalps taken from enemies, bears-claws, charts, on skins, of the tours of war-parties, hieroglyphical representations of great events, and a number of roots, in which they suppose is great medicinal virtue, snake medicine, &c., &c. It is opened in the spring-time, when they first hear the voice of the Great Spirit in the thunder-cloud, and once or [13] twice more in the year, at their sacred feasts. This is all that it contains, and all it is worth; and thus heathen superstition is passing away before the light and influence of Christianity (Irvin 1871: 1-13).

Skinner: War and the war bundles

Alanson Skinner collected the following about the Ioway war bundles:

The war chiefs are those who have charge of the gentile [clan] war bundle. The writer [Skinner] is not able to state whether ownership of the bundle was hereditary, or through visions. He inclines to the latter belief, since the modern Iowa looked upon the war bundles as individual property (1915: 685).

Although the modern (1915) Ioway may have looked upon the bundle as individual property, it was probably because by that time the bundle system had passed in importance. The fact that the bundles were considered to belong to a gens implies that, as with the pipes, ownership was one of possession rather than disposition. In other words, one might care for the bundle and lead in war, but one could not transfer it out of one's own gens. The keeper probably had a lot to say about who the next keeper would be, however.

The military affairs of the tribe were in the hands of the gens [or clan] 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 and they gladly came when they heard that a chief's or brave's son wanted to go on the warpath. The waruhawe (war bundles) of the gens were brought in and opened [footnote: This suggests that each gens may have had several bundles, probably one for each subgens], 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 which, and indeed during the entire performance, the owner of the clan war bundle had charge of the entire procedure and sat back doing nothing.

After the war dance, however, he called for volunteers, when the youths came forward and announced 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 (waruhawek!e) to carry the bundle. He then selected three youths, preferably his own nephews, to act as cooks and waiters (lexikxe), 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 (1915: 686).

...Young men often went to war weaponless, with the intention of being killed. Others bore only whips or light slender sticks, clubs, or spears, but the majority bore bows and arrows, or later, guns (1915: 687).

Once the scouts had spotted the enemy's tracks, the bundle owner ordered the warriors to paint and prepare themselves:

The men now painted and rubbed themselves with the sacred bundle medicine intended to deflect the arrows and weapons of the foe, armed themselves, and prepared. 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 cast out or drained away (1915: 687).

While the warriors attacked, the bundle owner remained with the bundle and prayed for success, singing to the accompaniment of the bundle's rattle. If successful, the party brought back war trophies, like goods, horses and scalps, and gained new names if desired. The bundle owner gained the highest war rank, "successful partisan." If the party were not successful, they snuck back into camp in disgrace; a victorious party was boisterous on its return, firing guns and whooping (1915: 688).

The women and men now took all the captured scalps and a scalp dance was held. The trophies were spread on netted hoops and fastened to the ends of sticks about a yard long which they held before them.

...The dance [and attendant giveaway] continued until the war leader ordered it to cease. After this the oath bundle was brought out to decide contested coups...

...When a successful war party returned, a white oak tree about two feet in diameter 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 scalp dance was held around this stake. It was the partisan'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 partisan or "post owner" caught them at this, they would make them many costly presents (1915: 688).

Skinner also related that there were a number of special warriors' societies, each of which had special material paraphernalia. Heloshka Society ceremonies were held "either outdoors or inside a round wooden house with a conical roof. This house is called wankotci, an antique word the meaning of which is now forgotten, or by the more modern term hel'ocka watcitci" (1915: 694; also Wissler 1916: 864). These terms may be standardized as *wakanchi* and *heloshka wachichi*. The former term ("wanko"=*wakan*) may be analogous to Sioux *wakán*, "holy," although among the Ioway *wákan* meant "snake", thus it may have once meant "holy lodge" or "snake lodge." The latter term means *heloshka* house (reduplication of *wa-chichi* perhaps implying something round) The paraphernalia of the warriors included deer hair roaches, flutes or whistles, and war clubs; they also perfumed and painted themselves (1915: 695).

They all get together to paint. Many pat their palms in paint and then stamp them on their faces and bodies. Only the braves (of any status) are allowed to wear the deer hair roach, and formerly only they were allowed to wear the "crow" or eagle feather bustle. The braves also bound bunches of grass on their legs below the knees, on their heads, and thrust it in their belts that everyone might know who they were. Those who had been to war in winter painted their legs white up to their knees to show how deep the snow had been when they set out, for this dance is considered a "brave dance" (1915: 695).

After an outdoors dance, the members returned for their private performances inside the dance house (1915: 695). This is the same society dance Catlin called the "Eh-Ros-Ka" (1915: 695). It may also be the society which had the bundle Robert Small called "Wakwa Shoshe", or Brave Bundle (Skinner 1925: 436). At the funerals of prominent families, the society members would help mourn, slash themselves and "run skewers through their flesh" (1915: 697).

The Túkala and Máwatani societies were important military societies, and were great rivals, trying to outdo each other in war, games, and wife-stealing (1915: 697). Symbolically, "they chose opposite styles of dress, paint, and regalia, and played each other in games," especially lacrosse in April (1915: 697, 699, 700). Each society had its special drum (1915: 699).

The regalia of the Túkala was described by Skinner:

The leaders wore buffalo robes, with eagle feathers and otter fur strips sewn at intervals down the back. All members cut their hair short around the sides of the head, banged it over the eyes, and let it grow long on top. They wore eagle feathers with their bottoms wrapped in otter fur, and painted in red and white, i.e., they were stripped to the clout and painted the body red and face white, or vice versa. They also used bells instead of rattles... Membership was gained through adoption of the haircut and regalia, joining the dances, accepting society strictures, and giving a tied package of tobacco to the members; acceptance was free and almost assured (1915: 698).

The Máwatani were similar in organization to the Túkala, although their regalia differed:

... Instead of bells they used little deer-hoof rattles. The leaders wore buffalo robes which were cut at the top and the fringe so made was wrapped with otterskin streamers with beads and red feathers at the ends.

The members shaved one half the head and let the hair on the other half grow long and flowing. This may connect them with the "Half shaved Heads" society of the Mandan. They caught up the lock over the forehead and bound it with otter fur. They wore bunches of hawk and owl feathers with one red plume in the midst on their heads and they went naked, painted in yellow and blue applied in the same manner as the opposing colors of the tókala (1915: 699).

Wissler noted that the Mawatani used hoof rattles (1916: 885). This is in contrast to other statements which held that only the Buffalo Doctors used such rattles.

The Túkala and Máwatani societies seem to have been the societies known in other tribes such as the Lakota as the Kit Fox and Mandan societies, respectively. They should also be compared to the moiety system of the Mesquakie, with their To'kana and Kicko moiety divisions. It is not known how the Ioway chose which society an individual warrior should

belong to, but as the Ioway had other social features similar to the Sauk and Mesquakie, it would not be surprising if they also had a similar birth order association at one time. On a controversial note, Skinner suggested that the gentile system of the Sauk and Fox may have been derived from that of the closely associated Ioway.

Another society was called the Braves' Dance [*káyugela washi*], whose members served as hosts when other tribes visited. They also had special regalia, including a drum, a pipe, and a straight feathered lance or staff. This seems to have been Catlin's "welcome dance" (1915: 700-701).

The Acting Dead Dance [*ch'e'un washi*] derived its power from the white wolf and was once supposed to have had the largest number of braves in any Ioway society. Its regalia included two pigeon feather bonnets and two crooked staffs; although not mentioned by Skinner it undoubtedly had a special drum as well as a pipe. The crooked staffs [*uglepashtushe*] were hung with feathers. The members of this society were ordered to grow their hair to their waists, and left it flowing, contrary to the usual Ioway hair style of the roach and scalplock. Each member also had a buffalo rawhide rattle, as gourd rattles were taboo (1915: 701). Two members, Osage Chief and No Heart, also used to "dress every evening in their best clothes with otter fur garters and head bands and circle the village"; no one knew why but it was guessed to have been connected to this society (1915: 702).

The Leader's Pipe Dance [*híxlani washi*] was owned by a war bundle owner who carried his bundle and pipe when dancing, after gathering the chiefs around him.

When they appeared he opened his war'uhawe or war bundle and displayed its contents. He then took a fine buckskin, marked a figure of the sun on it in red and blue, and spread it on the ground before his guests who all deposited native tobacco on it, with prayers to Wakanda. Next a pole was erected and the buckskin hung on it like a flag. This was called giving the buckskin to wakanda and no one ever touched it again (1915: 705).

The Fork-Tailed Kite Dance [*tyunke washi*] was associated with the Fork-Tailed Kite war bundle [*tyunke walúxawe*], which had the special power of raising storms (Skinner 1915: 715). After a successful raid, the kite skin was raised on a pole, with tobacco piled beneath it (Skinner 1915: 715). The skin was supposed to have nipped the nail of a doubter's finger off; this nail was reported to still remain in the beak of the skin (Skinner 1915: 715). An annual dance and scalp dance was held in May; those warriors who had taken a scalp were entitled to blow on a reed whistle. The women painted their hair parts and faces with vermilion (Skinner 1915: 715). Skinner mentions the use of a dugout canoe to transport the bed-ridden bundle owner in a raid (1915: 715). Skinner did not record Catlin's Eagle Dance as being remembered, but proposed it had originally been a war bundle associated society like that of the Fork-Tailed Kite (1915: 717).

It has been said that the Central Algonquians had specific bundles for war, while the Pawnees removed and use items of war from general function bundles (Wissler 1916: 874). The Ioway seems to have done both, as certain bundles collected were noted as having only war amulets, while others, like the White Head Bundle collected by Harrington, also had medicine to "reform bad women" (Harrington n.d.).

The "Ghost Bundle" or Oath Bundle

There is one type of bundle which seems to have been a singular, individual bundle, rather than a class. It is discussed here as it seems to have related specifically to war and the determination of disputed war honors. Hamilton said:

The Iowas have something by which they try men, or swear them to speak the truth, enveloped in seven coverings of skins but has not been seen within the recollection or traditions of any of them. They do not allow women to see the outer covering, and told that if I were to see it I would die. I told them I was not afraid to look at it, 'but should you die' said they, 'the white people would say the Indians killed you.' ...[Kept wrapped up with the sacred pipe was] the sacred stone or iron, by which they decide doubtful points and compel disputing persons to speak the truth (Hamilton MS.).

Skinner added:

The so-called "ghost bundle," which is really nothing more or less than an oath bundle, is the property of the Wakanda Kiradje (god or thunder gens). The chief part of this bundle is a "spirit rock" or iron (mandewatsansa), imbued with sacred power, which came from Wakanda. The bundle is used when war coups are contested.

Two or more warriors, each claiming the same coup, call upon the bundle owner to open his pack. This he does for them, unwrapping the sacred rock which is enclosed in seven buffalo bladder envelopes. Each one who thinks himself in the right will take from it a slender stick about two feet long and will hold it up towards heaven, calling upon the sacred powers to hear his oath that his statement is true. He then drops the wand upon the rock and if it sticks there he has spoken the truth, if it rolls off he has lied, and is in danger of disaster, particularly of being struck by lightning himself or losing his horses this way. As a consequence, very few are willing to run the risk of such an extreme penalty and it is seldom that the oath is taken. Even if a man escapes the wrath of the gods he is publicly disgraced if his wand rolls off the rock because the people are all supposed to be present and such a mishap would point to his lack of veracity and would mean social ruin. The bundle is called into requisition just after the scalp dance (1915: 734-735).

Although this bundle does not appear in any collection so far, and may not have survived time and circumstance, it is interesting to speculate that the "spirit rock" or iron (*mandhe* : iron + *wachansa* : possibly a form of *washisha* : full of holes) may have been a meteorite (meteoric iron), a "fallen star." This may also explain the scenario of an arrow "sticking to" the rock or rolling off it, as meteoric iron sometimes has magnetic properties.

Scalps and scalplocks

The scalp was an important element in Ioway religious thought, as the *axho* or scalplock rested just above the resting place of the soul, and was thus its symbolic container. To capture a scalp was to gain an enemy's soul. The soul could be given as a servant to other spirits, either one of your own who had been slain by the enemy, or as tribute to the spirits attached to and represented by the war bundle, especially the Thunders.

Scalps were noted in connection with many of the bundles, as well as scalplocks (the braid without the skin), although the symbolic difference, if any, is not noted. It may be ventured that the scalp with the skin represents a slain enemy. The scalplock cut may represent

a captured enemy symbolically "slain" (dead to the birth tribe) before adoption into the captor's tribe to take the place of a relative who had died. This interpretation seems reinforced by the fact that the scalps seen had coarser hair (adult?) than the cut scalplocks which had finer hair (juvenile?). Children were more often captured and adopted than adults, who were generally killed.

Scalp poles and war posts were symbolic structures associated with the military complex. Lieutenant Henry J. Carleton noted such poles in his visit to the Ioway village in 1843:

In front of the town were several poles set in the ground. They were some thirty or forty feet high, with the bark peeled off, and here and there ornamented with vermillion. These were scalp-poles, and had been erected on the occasion of the Iowas having killed eight Pawnees, this summer, who had been in and stolen their horses. For two or three days there was a great rejoicing in town-- the scalps of the Pawnees were hung dangling from the tops of these poles, and the celebrated Scalp Dance was performed by the warriors, around them (Carleton 1983: 146).

McKenney and Hall mention a war-pole around which the warparty gathered before setting out (1933-34(2): 165). Deeds were stated and the post symbolically struck. It is unclear whether the scalp poles and war posts were one and the same. Catlin states the women held the scalps suspended from a pole or lance during the scalp dance with the men. Bodmer depicted this in a painting of the Hidatsa. Scalps were important religious items, being used to not only wield power over the enemy, but also to feed the Thunder in the spring opening of the warbundles. They were also used as proof of war ability and status: "...It was the habit of the great chiefs and warriors to put their totems over their wigwam doors, but when they did so they always put out scalps on certain days to show what they had done" (Donaldson 1886: 638).

Red Medicine Dance

The Red Medicine Dance described in Hamilton's early accounts, which was also reiterated in Dorsey's work, was also described by Lewis Henry Morgan in 1859 as the "Medicine Drinking Dance," or "Mong-ka-shu-ja-wa-she" (*manka shuje washi*) (White 1959: 68). Morgan was talking to Robert White Cloud, who gave information on the society at the time.

He [Robert White Cloud] saw one of the Medicine dances named, the one in which a kettle of medicine of various herbs was put on and boiled during the night of the dance, and in the morning at break of day they were required each to drink a dose, the effect of which was stimulating and ended as a vomit and cleanser from bile. He said he was not a member of this dance. It was got up by a sort of society by itself and no one not initiated was a member of the dance or could take any part in it. He says several of the dances are society dances; that he had given them horses to get into the one mentioned, but had not succeeded. He also told me that one reason why the Indians would not let a stranger or white man about these medicine affairs was a superstitious fear of evil consequences or bad luck. The Iowas still continue their dances (Morgan 1859, in White 1959: 68).

Skinner also learned about this dance society. The Red Medicine Dance [*mankáshuje washi*] was centered on the Red Medicine war bundle [*mankáshuje walúxawe*], so named for the red mescal beans inside (1915: 718). This society was supposed to have been gained from the deer, as "red beans...are sometimes found in deer's stomachs" (1915: 718). The beans were considered to be alive. Skinner says, "Those I have seen in the possession of various Iowa were kept in a buckskin wrapper which was carefully and copiously perforated that they might see out" (1915: 718). The Red Medicine war bundle was supposed to bring "success in war, hunting, especially for the buffalo, and in horse racing" (1915: 719). Material culture associated with the society and its ceremonies was also described:

During performances the members painted themselves white and wore a bunch of split owl feathers on their heads. Small gourd rattles were used and the members while singing [to the drum] held a bow and arrow in the right hand which they waved back and forth in front of the body while they manipulated the rattle with the left.

...The leader...had his men prepare by "killing" the beans by placing them before the fire until they turned yellow. Then they are taken and pounded up fine and made [719] into a

medicine brew. The members then danced all night, and just past midnight they commenced to drink the red bean decoction. They kept this up until about dawn when it began to work upon them so that they vomited and prayed repeatedly, and were thus cleansed ceremonially, the evil being having been driven from their bodies....

...Members of the society tied red beans around their belts when they went to war, deeming them a protection against injury. Cedar berries and sagebrush were also used with this medicine. Sage was boiled and used to medicate sweat baths on the war trail (1915: 718-719).

Placement of bundles

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 (Skinner 1926: 273-275). In contrast, Irvin states that they were hung from a post just outside the front door (1871). Hamilton has said that they also placed their bundles on top of their lodges.

There are certain historic photographs which seem to show this, such as a photograph of an Ioway's square-type summer house, with an attached and roofed work space. A few items can be seen attached to the shade's roof, such as what appears to be a rolled-up mat and a couple of gourds. A second photograph shows a similar lodge. The most immediate difference noted is that the roofs of the house and shade are not peaked; instead, they are gently bowed. In the background to the right, about 20 feet or so from the rear of the house is what appears to be a rack of some kind, perhaps seven feet tall. Although it may have been a corn or game rack, an item tied to it looks suspiciously like a slender bundle about three feet long, wrapped in a cover. If this is so, this may have been a pipe bundle.

. McKenney and Hall mention a special medicine lodge once used by the Ioway in keeping at least some of the "medicine bags":

They have a number of medicine bags, containing the herbs and other articles used in juggling [physical performances of spiritual power] and in propitiating the Great Spirit, and other spirits, which they keep in a lodge that is usually shut up, and that no woman is permitted to enter (McKenney and Hall 1933-34 (II): 169).

This is evidence that that Ioway once had a group bundle lodge to hold certain bundles at one time, comparable to similar lodges among the Sauk and Mesquakie. as "lodges."

The elevation of a bundle not only expresses the idea of holiness in its relation to the sky and thus Wakanda, as seen earlier with the similar elevation of the pipe, but there is also a possible metaphor of the bundle as a person to be protected, as burials were sometimes placed in a tree or on a scaffold. McKenney and Hall state:

This mode of disposing of the dead has a twofold object- one is, to elevate the body as high as possible in the direction of the home of the Great Spirit; that home being, according to their belief, in the sky; the other is, to protect the corpse from the wolves, whose ravages would disfigure it, and render it unsightly in the eyes of the Great Spirit (McKenney and Hall 1933-1934 (I): 289).

Doctoring in Historical Context

Early accounts of doctoring: Hamilton

Although issues of health are part of the human condition, the endemic warfare experienced by the Ioway connected the healing of injuries and illness with the practice of war. Healing was called "doctoring" by the Ioway, and was institutionalized as part of the war bundle system. Although common illnesses, like colds, were treatable by individuals using commonly known herbal remedies, more serious incidents of organic sickness and injury demanded treatment by the professional doctoring societies. The following material is extracted from Hamilton (ca. 1848):

Practice of Medicine

When any one is sick, some man or woman professing to be a doctor will administer some medicine. Teas made of some kinds of roots are very common. This is done without much parade, and the person acting as doctor generally expects some pay, besides his board, while attending the sick. Many of them are acquainted with some roots that act as a cathartic or emetic.

One old Indian gave me a small root once, about the size of the barrel of a goose quill which he said was sufficient to vomit two persons. The mode of giving it is to scrap[e] a little of it into cold water and then to drink plentifully of cold water during the operation. I never witnessed but one person under its influence, and she came near losing her life. It was a white

woman who took it. The Indian doctor who gave it to her, said the reason of it operating so severely (all day) was because she did not drink enough cold water.

Some of them are acquainted with some things that are good for the bite of a snake, but they will not tell what it is without getting a horse or some large enumeration.

When any one get[s] wounded as often happens in their drunken revels, the Buffalo doctors make quite a parade over him. One principal man may undertake the case, but he often has others to assist him. When assembled with their medicine bags, drums, whistles, and rattles, they fix a time for the patient to walk or get well and then go to work. The patient sits within the circle of doctors, who have their roots etc. before them, which they put in their own mouths and chew. After drumming a while, one of the company will get up walk round the circle of doctors, until he or she (the women practice with the men) reaches the patient, when he commences blowing the spittle from the mouth upon the wound with a whizzing noise. This is repeated by each one until the whole [group has] gone round when their drumming is resumed.

I have sometimes been amused at the airs of wisdom and skill they try to assume on such occasions. They will at times hold their mouth near the wound and blow away until they are satisfied, when perhaps the next one that comes forward, will stand up with his mouth five or six feet from the wound and commence blowing his spittle or medicine, most upon the person some distance from the wound, and contrive to blow it nearer and nearer to the wound until it is reached.

They seemed to think or they would have others think they blew all inflammation and disease away. Having accomplished this, they look very sagely at the wound, point to it and the surrounding parts and profess to tell how far it is healed and how much remains to be healed. After all have had a trial they will take their seats and commence their music if music it may be called. This process is continued at intervals day and night, during the time appointed, accompanied by feasting on the best the house can afford. When the last day arrives they endeavor to make the patient walk, if he has not walked before, or in some way give evidence of improving under treatment. One under their care not long since who grew worse instead of better, until his mother sent doctors away, told me they were so anxious to make him walk at the end of the set time when he was unable (having been stabbed in the knee) that he came near falling and injuring himself very much. If unsuccessful in their first efforts and the person is willing to employ their service further, they will continue, especially if more pay be given. Want of success i[s] not infrequently attributed to the insufficiency of the reward and the doctors are careful to make the impression on the minds of their patients that good pay is necessary to success. On the day when the patient is to be pronounced healed the amount to be given is prepared and hung up often in a conspic[u]ous place before the patient. Considering the poverty of the people and the little benefit derived from the doctor[']s mummary, the price paid is extravagantly high, but they seem to submit to it without much murm[ur]ing. I am not aware of their ever practicing the credit system towards their patients, a thing of which they are extremely fond in their intercourse with white people.

When the wound or disease does not yield to their treatment, they at times profess to believe the patient poisoned or bewitched and will pretend to take [some]thing out of the wound as evidence of the assertion.

On the last day they must have a feast, to take away their medicine bags. And in place of a feast, if something better than common, they will often get a keg of whiskey. If these things are not to be had, they will frequently leave their medicine bags, until such is provided.

the knee and whose doctors had been dismissed some days before without a feast or whiskey, I found the principal doctor drunk and asleep under the berth.

Presently another came in bringing a joint snake (a snake composed of a great many joints and breaks in two whenever struck, without showing any or very little appearance of blood or [wound]) and gave it to him. Waking out of his sleep, he made quite a fuss; [he] called the snake his god, spoke of it as such good medicine, and twice put its head in his mouth and bit it. After this he attempted to throw it on me, when I pitched it out of the lodge, with my foot, saying, "You call it a god, but I call it a snake." He looked surprised and the rest laughed at him.

I stopped at this same man's hut one day and found him giving out medicine to three other doctors, one man and two women. He had a great variety of medicines as he called them.

I inquired the names. He would tell me the names of some and of others he would not. There were roots and seeds that I suppose he hardly knew the virtue of. Some, they said, were good for one thing and some for another; one article he said was good to throw off the blood from a wound. Seeing something different from the rest I said "What is this, is it wax?"

"No, it is the flesh of the tortoise. The flesh is boiled down to obtain it."

"And is this the skin of a snake?," I asked again.

"Yes."

"I have seen joint snakes that break in two when struck with a stick."

"That is the same kind of snake."

Picking up something that looked more like dried buffalo meat than anything else, I asked, "What is this?"

"It is the heart of a Pawnee."

Throwing it down, I said, "I am sorry, but are you in earnest?"

"Yes," said they all. "It is a Pawnee's heart; it is sacred and good to mix with other medicine."

"I am sorry," I replied, "that...you should mix that with your medicine. Throw it away, it is wrong to do so."

"It is good and we will not throw it away."

"I killed him," said one. "And we cut open his breast and took out his heart. When it is dry, we pulverize it and mix it with our medicine." They had it lying in the sun to dry.

As he gave them out [the medicines] they began to count, saying, "This is seven, that is eight," etc. They counted until they got to sixteen.

"How many do you put...together," I asked.

"About twenty-seven."

"How many do you put together?," they asked in turn.

"Often only one, sometimes two or three. What is this?," I asked again, looking at something like horn.

"It is the shell of the tortoise."

"Go away," said one on the outside of the little tent. "These are sacred things. Horn Hoof (the doctor) will kill you, you will die today."

"I am not afraid of your medicine," I replied. "I am as great as any of you, though I am not sacred as you say of yourselves and [your] medicine."

The others laughed, and when he went out, they said he was jesting (Hamilton n.d.; ca. 1848).

The major healing society was that of the Buffalo Doctors, which will be discussed in more detail later. The difference between the buffalo doctors and the buffalo dance, a difference of action and intention, is made explicit in Hamilton's diary excerpts. The buffalo dance described below seems to be associated with the fertility of the herd and preparations for the buffalo hunt.

The Buffalo dance.

A large circle was formed capable of containing in a single row round its circumference 75 or 100 persons. In one part of it were two skin tents [tipis], united to make the lodge large but left open towards the circle, that all might be in one assembly. Several persons were within this double tent as musicians. They were dressed in a manner to make themselves look like buffaloes as far as possible. Some had buffalo robes round them and a part of the skin of a small buffalo with horns attached, fastened to their heads, others who could not procure these articles wore their common dress.

When the musicians commenced playing, one of the men rises out of the circle into the open space, and inclining his body in a horizontal position, jumps round saying "booh, booh, booh," imitating the noise of the buffalo, and continues to jump around in this animal style, until joined by another and another, until the whole ring is up.

They dance or rather jump round and round in a strange and wild confusion until all seem to be tired, when those of the dancing party commence at one end of the semicircle of spectators and travel round all, addressing them according to their relation until all have completed the ceremony, when they take their seats and perhaps sing or smoke. After a rest they go through the same process again and again. It is of course accompanied with a feast generally at the conclusion (Hamilton n.d.; ca. 1848).

Another incident of healing was described by Hamilton:

June 20, 1851- Mode of Treating Wounds

To-po-muk (two death heads) had secured a cut just between the great toe on the top and side of his foot, severing the principal tendon. He had one doctor attending him. This doctor was sucking the blood to draw out the corruption. He first filled his mouth (with) warm water, and then applied it to the wound. After continuing this operation some time, he took a butcher knife and scarified the part which was most swelled. In the meantime another doctor, Buffalo Bulls Eyes (Cee-tus-te), came in and the two worked his foot for some time, rubbing it with a rag. After they had finished washing the foot, Wau-kun-yee untied his medicine bag, took out some medicine, grass or herbs of some kind, and having put some live coals on a flat stone, such as they use to pound on, he sprinkled his herbs upon the coals, making a smoke and rather agreeable odor. He then commenced warming his hands over the smoking medicine and would apply them to the leg below the knee and would draw them towards the foot and toes. This he repeated several times until it was quite all wiped, and as he seemed to think, much improved. While he was attending to this operation Cee-tus-te sat behind him for awhile, and then came and sat near me singing and talking very rapidly alternately. I could scarcely distinguish his words. He seemed to be

encouraging the other in his drying operations and to pray, in their own blind way, or sing for success. At the same time I thought he was bidding the demon depart.

I said to him: What did you sing and say? You spoke so fast I could not comprehend you (and I thought it was designed on his part).

I was talking, said he to the Buffalo under the ground. They hear, and tell what medicine is good. I have seen them: the Iowas have seen them with their faces muddled, and their fore legs, and having weeds on their horns which they dig up, when they thrust their horns into the ground; and he went to the door and pulled up some weed to show me how they carried them. [Written in margin: This was doubtless the Buffalo Medicine. They have different kinds as Otter.]

Do you mean said I, The Buffalo or their Spirits?

Their spirits. It is just the same as you teach us. You talk about God, and about obedience to him, and heaven and hell. We talk about these things in our way. It is sacred, just the same as you teach us.

Do you suppose they can hear you?

Yes, they hear: and if they would say we will not listen to you, the person will soon die.

But I wish to know what you said?

Come here and sit beside me, said he to the other, and we will sing it. There are seven songs that we sing when a man is wounded.

They then commenced singing, telling me at the close of each of the first four songs what he said. The song consisted only of a short sentence, which was often repeated. When a person was wounded and very sick they would sing.

1. I am wounded. I am wounded. Ha-a-a-a.
2. Look at me. Look at me. Ha-ya-a. Ha-ya-a-a-a.
3. Let me stand. Let me stand. Ha-ya-a. Ha-ya-a-a-a.
4. May I walk. May I walk. Ha-ya-a. Ha-ya-a-a-a.
5. Let me go there. Let me go there. Ha-ya-a.
Ha-ya-a-a-a.
6. Let me run. Let me run. Ha-ya-a. Ha-ya-a-a-a.
7. Ditto Ditto Ditto. Ha-ya-a. Ha-ya-a-a-a.

When we sang these songs they hear us. It is true. Sometimes when a Buffalo is shot in the breast, he becomes very sick, staggers from one side to the others (imitating the motion while he spoke) then two other Buffalo get one on each side, and support it and urge it along, perhaps, and helping it until they get it away. When they doctor it. They have a basin of earth in which they place the water. This they use in blowing on the wound. If there is no water nigh, one runs off to a stream and drinks water and runs back again and pours it out of his mouth into the basin. They bring the weeds also on their horns and using the water in the basin they blow as we do on the wound.

They then said they would take a smoke and blow upon the wound which they did. The manner of blowing is something like this. They use water or concoction of some roots. If water only, they generally have some root or bark in the mouth. Taking a sup of water they put themselves in a favorable condition, and send the water out of the mouth with a whizzing sound making it like a mist, blowing frequently for four or six times before they replenish the mouth. They generally blow from behind the wound, so as to drive if possible, whatever is bad out of the wound. These operations they continued alternately for some time when one of them commence singing again, and protracted this song for a length of time (Blaine 1979: 225).

Illness etiology

The Ioway-Oto word *nyf* or *ni* has three meanings, "to breathe"; "to be, live, exist"; and "water" (Whitman 1947). This connection between breath, water, and life is clarified in George Sword's conversation about the Lakota concept of *ni*:

A man's ni is his life. It is the same as his breath. It gives him his strength. All that is inside a man's body it keeps clean. If it is weak it cannot clean the inside of the body. If it goes away from a man he is dead (Walker 1980: 83).

According to the evidence, and comparative material among other Siouan groups, the Ioway had a *personalistic* medical system, that is:

...one in which illness is believed to be caused The sick person literally is a victim, the object of aggression or punishment directed specifically against him, for reasons that concern him alone (Foster and Anderson 1978: 53).

We have examples from the Ioway of witchcraft, smallpox being turned away by sacrifice, and death being a result of the anger of the Great Spirit (McKenney & Hall 1933-1934 (I): 289), which reinforce a personalistic model of the universe, that is, a model wherein the universe is inhabited by active, purposeful, sensate beings. For example, the Ioway attributed "every death to the anger of the Great Spirit, who is supposed to be always in motion, searching for the spirits of those who have recently died, with the calumet, or pipe of peace in his mouth" (McKenney and Hall 1933-1934 (I): 289).

Shamanistic "sucking" was practiced, "by which the evil causing the ailment was removed by breathing or sucking it out, or by cupping [bleeding and sucking] the area involved with small animal horn tips..." (Blaine 1979: 225).

Personalistic thought was a common idea among the Siouans, however, some elements of Ioway (Siouan) thought seem to be *naturalistic*, where a natural equilibrium of elements may be disturbed by imbalance, thus causing illness; two examples of this were the "influences" of imbalance in the native model.

Much sickness was considered normal, a part of life to be treated and endured. Though supernatural and human agencies could cause illness, misfortune and death, these things were also considered part of the natural cycle of human life and unavoidable. For the most part endemic disease, like arthritis, dental problems, colds, injuries and infections, were facts of life that came naturally, though they could also be directed by personalistic forces. For the Omaha:

Disease was regarded as more or less of a mystery; sometimes but not always magic was held to be responsible for sickness, but it alone was not depended on to insure a cure (Fletcher & LaFlesche 1972: 582).

The Winnebago system exemplified a blend of personalistic and naturalistic elements:

Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men (Radin 1923:265).

Treatment of illness

The basis for the treatment of illness was the combination of herbal medicines and simple surgery in a ritual society context. Such context involved drumming, dance, song, prayer, and symbolic actions like body manipulation or sleight-of-hand. Some remedies, as for chest colds, were practiced by the individual family, but more serious cases were taken to one of the doctoring societies. The Ioway word for doctor was *waswéhi* (Wistrand-Robinson 1978: 17, 31).

The Buffalo Doctors

The Buffalo Doctors were one of the two great shamanic societies among the Ioway, the other being the Medicine Lodge or Otter Dance (Dorsey 1894; Skinner 1915, 1926). The Buffalo Doctors' "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" as well as curing the sick (Skinner 1926: 243). Skinner called them "a

loose group of shamans, male and female" (Skinner 1926: 242), but it will be shown that there was instead strict organization.

The society was known as *chex'owokigo* [*che* "buffalo" + *x'owe* "medicine, power, guardian spirit" + *wokigo* "society"], or *chex'oweashwehi* [*ché* "buffalo" + *x'owe* "medicine, power, guardian spirit" + *washwéhi* "doctor"], generally rendered in English as the Buffalo Doctors Society; the orthography here is standardized from Skinner (1926: 242-243).

The Buffalo Doctors Society was also known as the Buffalo Dance, *ché wáshi* [*ché* "buffalo" + *wáshi* "dance"] (Skinner 1915: 709; Skinner 1926: 242-3). It was the doctoring society responsible for most of the healing of major injuries. The patient's bandages were kept saturated with medicated water (1915: 712).

A second healing society, considered a subset of (or at least associated with) the Buffalo Doctor society at the time of Skinner's research, was that of the Grizzly Bear Doctors, founded by Little Rock (1915: 712). Skinner describes the associated paraphernalia given to Little Rock by the Grizzly Bears:

They gave him a bearskin hat, which is still in the possession of Dave Towhee, and told him that if he had a patient who was suffering from the hot weather he could take this cap and sprinkle water on it and it would be foggy, rainy, and cool for four days. If it was placed under the head of a very sick man it would watch his spirit and prevent it from getting away.

When chief Dave Towhee's father wore this hat in the buffalo dance he wore only a clout besides. He painted his body red and drew lines obliquely from the corners of his eyes and mouth to make him look like a bear (1915: 712-713).

Skinner collected the grizzly doctor hat (MPM 30660), along with the doctor's rattle (MPM 30659) and grizzly paw armband (MPM 30658) for the Milwaukee Public Museum; a reconstruction of how the items may have been used may be seen in figure 4.8.

Skinner offers no explanation for the association with the Buffalo Doctors, although the Bear Doctors also had the power to heal broken bones and wounds. This society was "even



Figure 4.8: Grizzly Bear Doctor; shown with grizzly paw armband (MPM 30658), rawhide rattle (MPM 30659), and grizzlyhead skin cap (MPM 30660)

more notable performers of magic" than the Buffalo Doctors and was perhaps "borrowed from the Pawnee" (Skinner 1926:244-245).

Another Grizzly Bear Dance [*mató washi*], apparently not the same as the Grizzly Bear Doctors, was described by Skinner (1915: 714-715). Their dance was performed on a ground in the center of which a cedar was set; a sweat lodge was built nearby and a cushion of sagebrush placed around inside the lodge. The members painted themselves with "yellow, green, brown, or some other color, to resemble bears". It was not clear how this Bear society was different from the Buffalo Doctor-associated Bear society, as this society's functions also "were entirely directed to the curing of the sick" (1915: 714-715). Indeed, the two may have originally been the same society, split at a later time.

Another society apparently connected with the Buffalo Doctors was the Buffalo Tail Dance [*chéthinjewagli washi*]. It was said by Skinner to be centered on a bundle related to the hawk bundle group (1915: 713). It was named for a buffalo tail amulet worn in the owner's headband or hair during the ceremony (1915: 714). A feast was held with the guests invited with invitation sticks; they brought their own wooden bowls and wooden or buffalo horn spoons (1915: 713). The host's paraphernalia included his buffalo tail medicine, a bunch of feathers, and carved dolls: "The host then produces two little dolls, three or four inches high, made of basswood, and makes them dance by reason of his magic power" (1915: 713). Skinner added: "This trick is performed by Menomini shamans in the mit'awin or medicine dance. It is significant that the Iowa buffalo tail owner also takes part in the medicine dance with his buffalo tail medicine, and perhaps these dolls as well" (1915: 713).

The sacred bundle of the Buffalo Doctors was known by several names: "*techo'we waruha'we*, or Buffalo sacred bundle (also called *tasa'gre waruha'we*, Deerhoof sacred bundle, from the rattles it contains)" (Skinner 1926: 242). The Ioways with whom collector

Harrington dealt with spoke of them as *tashágreoyu* [*tá* "deer" + *shágle* "claw, hoof" + *óyu* "bundle"], or "deer claw rattle bundle," "while the name given by Dorsey (1894) is *Tce waruxawe* [*che* "buffalo" + *waluxawe* "warbundle"], which would seem to mean 'buffalo warbundle'" (Skinner 1926: 242-3), although "they were not used in war, but in healing the wounded" (Dorsey 1894: 427).

Buffalo Doctor Society origins

There are conflicting versions of the origins of the society. In one, Skinner credits the mythological Twins with bringing the first buffalo bundles ("*Tcehówe waruháwe*") from the Powers Above (Skinner 1925: 436). In another, the Buffalo Doctors were founded by Lone-Walker, a man "who was befriended by the buffalo in his youth" (Skinner 1926:242):

*...The man who founded the original dance was named *Istaⁿmaⁿyi*, or Lone-walker. When he was a very young boy his father went off on a buffalo hunt. The little fellow wanted to go too and followed after the hunters, weeping. In the distance he saw them shoot a buffalo bull, a small one, and leave it lying there while they passed on. Just as he was passing the carcass, sobbing and crying, the bull spoke to him. "Oh, so it's you, Lone-walker? I'm glad you came, for I've recovered and am just about to get up again. Now I'm going to tell you what to do from this time on. You must skin me over the forehead, taking my horns and a strip of fur down over my backbone to my tail, and you must use me in doctoring. Also take a piece of flesh from my leg, dry it, and pulverize it. Take some of my backfat to grease yourself and the wounds of your patients [footnote: There are supposed to be pieces of dried buffalo meat and fat in the bundles [*che warúxawe*] of the buffalo society to this day.] Next remove my dewclaws and make them into a rattle. You have been trying to dream something, so today I'll show you what we buffaloes will give you and you may hereafter do to your own people as we do to ourselves. This doctoring will be called [*che x'ówe*], the buffalo's ways."*

Then the buffalo taught him the roots and herbs they used to heal the sick. They were especially potent for broken bones and wounds. He showed the lad how to use splints in binding them up and he taught him the potent buffalo songs, and what preachments and prayers to make. "You are too young to do all this yourself," said the buffalo. "Tell your father and let him do it for you. Always have a piece of my manure in your sacred buffalo to administer with my medicines that I may always be with you and your patients. Take some earth from a mole hill for your paint. Crush it into powder with your hands, mix it with water, and taking some on your palm, rub it once diagonally across your face, once on your knees, once on your hips, and once on your shoulders, then you will have my power." The buffalo also taught his pupil a certain song to sing while painting [footnote: The Menominee and other Central tribes insist that clay is the "buffalo's paint" and no other kind should be used by buffalo shamans or dreamers.] (Skinner 1915: 710).

A different, and less credible version is given in the story of *Wanathúnje*; that story claims the origin of not only this society but others and their bundles came through a person called *Wanathúnje* (spelled variously), "Has-them-under-his-feet" (Skinner 1926: 212-213). Skinner believes this "account is not that of the origin of all the bundles, but the personal experiences of *Wanathû'n'gê*, who was an uncle of [informant Robert] Small's, and who died not long ago" (Skinner 1926: 208).

A number of legends detailed the society, and powers and revelations caused constant additions and transformations, as in any vital element of culture:

Ahésoje (Smoking-hill) was a great man at the old Iowa home on the Des Moines River. He got his name from the buffalo, for he was said to have talked to a buffalo called Tcémageida (Heavenly Buffalo) in his dream. This animal was white with black horns, eyes, and hooves. It said: "I am leader of all buffalo. I belong to Wakanda, and I gave all the buffalo dances to the people through the minor buffalo. I showed them all the roots and herbs and other things for doctoring" (Skinner 1915: 740).

The Buffalo Dances would include the Buffalo Doctors, the Buffalo Tail Society, and the Buffalo Hunt Dance. The mention that the buffalo dances were given through the "minor buffalo" not only implies the idea of an Animal Master, as found among many hunting peoples, but is a power play, an attempt to put the others under his authority, a further example of the tight, socially integrative force found among the Ioway.

Smoking Hill was so potent a doctor that the patient began to get better as he sang, before medicine was even given (Skinner 1915: 740). He used a whistle, buffalo dewclaw rattles, and buffalo horn bonnets, and had one hundred doctoring songs. He painted half his face red, half dark blue, making his own paint from common dirt.

He would simply scratch some up in his hands, spit in it, rub it, and make paint that way through the aid of the heavenly buffalo. When he snorted through his nose, like a buffalo, he puffed out colored down and split feathers (Skinner 1915:740).

The idea of the buffalo snorting out colored material is common among other tribes having the Buffalo Doctors; among the Omaha this "prismatic spray" was the curative water for the wounds, which was blown on the wound (Fortune 1969: 72). Another of Smoking Hill's Buffalo Dance exploits was given:

There was a keg of whiskey to regale the dancers. The chiefs ordered the waiter to drive the bung in tight in order to see who had power enough to draw it with his teeth. All failed, until Smoking-hill tried. He dropped on his knees, wallowed and grunted like a bull, shook his head, and seized the bung. He pulled and pulled until his knees sank in the ground out of sight. Rumbling and bellowing, he jerked out the stopper and spat it forth with a snort that sent colored down in all directions. The keg rolled across the room until stopped by the waiters, and there were two huge dents where his knees had sunk in the pounded clay. Such was his power (Skinner 1915:740).

Admittance to the Buffalo Doctor society

Entry to the society was by purchase, either through one's own initiative, or after having been the patient in a successful curing episode. The society had no regular meeting time and "met only when called to treat an injured man, or to admit a new member" (Skinner 1926: 243):

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 (Skinner 1926: 243).

The organization was built around the sacred Buffalo bundle. Skinner is unclear whether there was only one Buffalo Society bundle, under a head shaman, or one for each of six or seven factions (perhaps along clan lines?), each led by a secondary shaman, or band leader, again under a head shaman. The story (given later in this paper) of the revenge of the Otter and Buffalo Doctors states there were four leaders. Hamilton also implies several bundles. It is also a fact that several bundles described as Buffalo Doctor bundles exist in the Ioway collections at the Milwaukee Public Museum and the Museum of the American Indian. These bundles will be described in later chapters.

The aspirant would approach one of these band leaders and make the appropriate offerings, such as horses and blankets. The leader would then confer at a feast with the other leaders as to the fitness of the candidate. If approval was given, the candidate in effect agreed to sponsor a society dance and feast in July, for four consecutive years (Skinner 1915: 711).

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 (Skinner 1926: 243).

At the end of this period, the candidate was formally inducted (Skinner 1915: 711).

While gaining the Buffalo as a spirit patron during a fast (vision quest) has been idealized as the requisite for acceptance into the society, the truth is rather more restrictive. There is no explicit statement in the literature that such a Buffalo dream would guarantee entry; the reader is tempted to assume this to be the case, as popularized in the democratic ideal of the individualistic Plains warrior. The truth is found explicated in Fortune's work on Omaha societies (1932).

The Buffalo Dance

The dance was held by invitation, a bundle of invitation sticks being sent by the candidate to each leader who then distributed them among his followers. Before the dance, the shamans painted themselves and put on their regalia at their leader's lodge. The leader (whether it was the primary shaman or secondary shamans is not detailed) of the society "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" (Skinner 1926: 243).

In the dances, only titled braves had the exclusive right to hold the rattles the proper way, all others had to hold them upside down (Skinner 1915: 712). Men and women had their own styles of paint, and if for some reason they wished to paint in the other's style, they had to

gain the leader's permission, with payment of a blanket. They returned the invitation sticks to the leader as credentials. Finally each leader's group proceeded behind him in single file to the lodge of the society's leader (Skinner 1915: 711).

As they approached, they saw the society's head shaman sitting in the lodge doorway. He bellowed like a buffalo bull, and the band leader replied in kind. Each band took its turn entering the lodge, circling it four times. After being greeted with a kinship term and thanked by the leader, the band took its place and was seated. The head shaman either handed a drum to the leader of the first band that entered the lodge, or waited until all the bands arrived before rising and saying, "All of you who so desired are present so I'll drum and sing" (Skinner 1915: 711).

A series of songs, in which each band took its turn singing and drumming, and dancing in imitation of buffalo, then followed. 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 (Skinner 1926: 243). When they were finished, they ate, and then took turns "rising and testifying to the cures wrought by their medicines with preachments on the story of the dreams on which the society was founded and the proper rules of life in general" (Skinner 1915: 711).

One such speech was about the dream of Red Elk (*húma shúje*) who added to the society's powers. In his vision, he

was taken by the buffaloes to a place where they were doctoring their sick. They were near the bend of a river where a cow lay badly hurt. 'Watch us make this cripple well,' they told him. They helped her to a pond, and got her into the water, where they danced and pawed and made her whole. Then they dismissed Red-elk with promises of their power, and he went away satisfied. We have many of our cures through him (Skinner 1915: 711).

Then the "leaders sing all their songs at once, making a terrible din" (Skinner 1915: 712). Then the leaders and their bands went out, in the same order in which they entered.

When an initiation took place, the candidate was taken by each leader around the lodge during the dance, the leaders instructing and transferring their power to the candidate, and stating that in the future the novice would have the same right to transfer power (Skinner 1915: 712). Here is the true nature of the society, that is, *transferral of power*, rather than individual vision.

Buffalo healing

On the warpath, a Buffalo Doctor was taken along.

...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 (Skinner 1926: 203).

Here the rattles, usually described as being made of deer hoofs, were made of buffalo hoofs. This may imply substitution as the buffalo grew scarce, just as the pileated woodpecker substituted for the Ivory-billed woodpecker as the latter grew scarce, as described by Skinner and as seen on clan pipe stems. The idea of symbolic analogies is a prevalent one.

The doctor was taken along not only to cure the sick but "also probably to conjure against the foe" (Skinner 1926: 242). This links the Buffalo Doctors with acts of aggression (war) as well as healing, making a strong case for at least some of their bundles to be considered war bundles. It also links the Doctors with acts of magical aggression, or sorcery. This issue will be taken up in a later discussion of witchcraft.

Skinner collected an account of healing by the Buffalo Doctors. There are a number of descriptions in the literature of incidents of healing by the Doctors.

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 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 sweetgrass or certain sweet smelling seeds, and to sprinkle upon the patient a little native tobacco....

...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 (Skinner 1926: 243-244).

One of the Buffalo songs associated with healing, sung while doctoring the patient was collected by Skinner:

<i>wanshige anayinto andale</i>	man you shot me you see me
<i>wanshige anayinto andale</i>	man you shot me you see me
<i>asheyináwo andale</i>	I get up you see me
<i>asheyináwo andale</i>	I get up you see me (Skinner 1926: 244).

It is also useful here to compare Oto and Omaha accounts. Moses Merrill, a missionary to the Oto wrote on May 15, 1834:

There is a class of men here called Washwahe, or medicine men. They are men advanced in life, and are the physicians of the tribe. Today they had much to do for the wounded Ioway man before spoken of. I was permitted to witness only the closing exercises. The medicine men were sitting on one side of the lodge, and the sick man, naked, sitting upon the other side. When I entered the lodge the old men were singing, aided with beating of the drum, sound of rattles and small wind instruments. After the lapse of a few minutes, they commenced dancing around the poor man, who was no doubt expecting to derive great benefit from these exercises. Near the sick man were placed several dishes with water. Whether or not this water was supposed to possess some peculiar virtue I do not know. But as they danced around, they took this water in their mouths, and occasionally would spurt it upon the head of the sick man. These exercises continued half an hour after I entered the lodge. The spectators then dispersed and I followed them." He also witnessed the manner of treating a small child: "I saw one of these medicine men perform the operation of cupping on an infant at the breast. The incisions were made with a large penknife and the blood drawn with the mouth. This operation

was performed four [sic] several times in succession on different parts of the body amidst the shrieks of the infant babe (Bushnell 1927: 62-63).

The society is similar among the Omaha (and others); one remarkable description of the treatment of a nearly fatal gunshot wound by the Omaha Buffalo Doctors should be mentioned as having been recorded by Fletcher and La Flesche (1972: 487-489), although space does not permit its retelling here.

One of the plants used by Buffalo Doctors was the Anemone, or Wind Flower (*Anemone canadensis* L.), called by the Omaha and Ponca *te-zhinga-makan*, "little buffalo medicine" (Gilmore 1977: 30). The Ioway translation could be *chéyinye mánkan*. For the Omaha, the right to use this plant belonged to the medicine men of the Te-sinde gens (Gilmore 1977: 30); Fletcher and LaFlesche transcribes this gens, *te çin 'de*, "buffalo tail" (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1972: 175). The equivalent gens among the Ioway is the *che* or *aruxwa*. The Little Buffalo Medicine was used internally and externally, "prescribed for a great many ills, especially wounds, by those who had a right to use it" (Gilmore 1977: 30).

Otter Dance or Medicine Dance

There was a second major doctoring society among the Ioway, called the Otter Dance. The earliest description of the Ioway Otter Dance is found in the writings of Hamilton:

Sept. 26, 1848.

On my way today I met an old man (Iowa) who asked me to give him a medal to give his son., (brother's son) among the Omahas. He said he wished to go up for his medicine bag which he left there a long time ago; said it was very good; it was the Otter Medicine.

Said I, what good will it do you when you get it?

I will look at; it is very good; it is all good, and when I look at it I will feel happy. It is just like your bible; like the hymns you sing; it is good. Very good.

Where did you get it?

My forefathers gave it to me long ago; it has been handed down for many generations.

What is in it?

It is Otter Medicine; it is sacred (They have a dance among them called the Otter Dance).

But when you look at it does it tell you we are all sinners?

No! it is great good, very good, and makes me happy.

How can it do so?

The spirit makes it.

*When you die, will your spirit teach others?
When I bring it down, I will instruct three or four persons in its mysteries, and they will give me clothes, horse and... [rest of MS. is missing] (Hamilton n.d.; ca. 1848).*

OtterDance

There are a certain number prepared for this occasion with ornamented otter skins which they hold in their hands while dancing. During the dance they jump round, men and women flourishing the otter skins, which they hold in both hands, until approaching near one, they shove it towards his or her face; this person is 'shot,' as it is called. [He] drop[s] to the earth and after lying a while gets up and renews the dance, shooting some other in return.

At times when one waves his otter skin round a while and dances up towards another to shoot him, he will throw up his own skin and as they say counteract it[s] effect. After they have danced awhile they will sit down and rest themselves and again renew it. Some have said they wave the otter skin round to infuse the spirit of the otter into a bead in its mouth, and it is by the spirit of the otter they knock one another down. Those who practice this dance profess to keep some little round thing in their breast, which they cough up at the dance, or before it, and it is with these they shoot their companions in the neck, and they in turn cough them up to shoot again. It is also said among these Indians that Keokuk was killed in this way. When the dance is over, they take their little round things and swallow them to keep them...in their breast. I have been told that one man had been drunk so much that he vomited his up and lost them. They have told me that they could knock me down with it. Some of them have said they felt very sore the next day, from the effect of the shooting (Hamilton n.d.; ca. 1848).

This dance was the same ceremony practiced by the Ojibwe and others as the Medicine Dance or Medicine Lodge, and was related to variants practiced by the Omaha, the Pebble society and the Shell society (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911), the Dakota (Skinner 1920) and the Winnebago (Radin 1923; 1945). It was associated with much the same material culture associated with the Central Algonquian form, such as the building of the "long lodge" and the use of the otterskin bags in the "shooting" performances; it also had a number of Algonquian songs unintelligible to the Siouan Ioway (1920: 12). It did not have the Algonquian progressive degrees of membership nor was its origin reported to have come from the culture hero (1920: 12). Instead, the Ioway origin story held the ceremony was received from the otters (Skinner 1920).

Skinner elaborated his work on the Medicine Dance in "The Iowa Mankánye Waci [washí], or Medicine Dance" (1920). It is a lengthy work describing ritual procedures, and readers interested in specifics are encouraged to seek the original source. Excerpts herein are

selected with regard to their relevance to the material culture of the dance, as the bags were supposed to have been considered to be within a waruxawe-type bundle (*ta waruxawe*) at one time.

Skinner's study of the Otter Dance contained two origin stories. One was titled the "Origin Myth" (1920: 189-192). This story seems somewhat contrived in its brevity and generality, and may have been adapted from Algonkian mythology. A second origin myth is also included, and seems more Ioway in tone as well as more specific in its connection to otters and the symbolism involved with the importance of their skins in the Dance. This story was called "Otter Hunting."

Under the title of "Otter Hunting" the following is one of the long sermons delivered to candidates who are being prepared for initiation into the lodge. It accounts for the origin of a number of the lodge's customs and paraphernalia, such as the use of otter-skin bags, and explains many of the practices of the shamans, the red feathers in their mouths, etc.

A man used to go hunting every day. He blackened his face and traveled without food, hoping that through fasting and mourning some favor might be granted him by some of the God Powers. It was in the winter, and one day he found fresh otter-tracks in the snow, so he followed them to see what they meant.

The trail led through a draw, or wooded [245] gully, and then on, over a hill, down into a hollow, and on over the top. All day long he followed it until at last he found a ravine with a creek flowing at its bottom. The creek was frozen, but out in the center he saw a great round hole in the ice, with clear water beneath. He heard a great whistling (the characteristic call of the otter is supposed to be a whistle), and saw the Otters holding a medicine dance, just like people, in the water with only their heads sticking out. The hole was fringed with jingling ice, and the bells on the feet and tail of our otter medicine-bags represent this. Their tinkling is the sound of the crackling ice, and they are fastened on the margin of the tail and feet to represent the road round the otter's lodge. In some cases the quilled design on the otter's tail shows a straight longitudinal line. This represents the road of life....

The Otters were seated in a ring, and in the middle was an old Otter, dead, but propped up as though he was sitting there. The Otters were initiating some- [246] one in the dead member's place. Presently the Otters looked up and saw the man observing them, so they spoke to him in a friendly manner:

"This is what we have been doing (always). We were taught this by Wakanda, our great father above, and we want you to take it, and use us [i.e., our skins to hold the medicines] in this dance."

Then the four Otter lodge chiefs came together and said to the Indian: "Watch. Pay strict attention, and observe what we are about to do, so you can do likewise." So the four prepared to perform one act at each corner of the universe.

The first or east leader arose, spoke a while, dived, and came up with a man's bloody scalp in his mouth. "We do this," he said, "and this is the way you shall do. I give you this strength and power on the warpath."

This is the reason why the red feathers are put on each side of the mouth of the otter-skin bag. They represent the bloody scalp. The second leader spoke [247] and dived, returning with a catfish in his mouth. The third leader likewise talked and dived, coming up with a buffalo-fish. The fourth Otter did the same and came up with a minnow. When the dance began the Otters shot these fish at each other instead of the magic white shells.

Now, we people should use the lodge on the good side, and the shooting should be done for pleasure and not for evil purposes as some do, especially nowadays. That is the way the Otters were taught, and they told our old forefather. They explained to him that the proper terms to call the leaders were: "The man sitting on the cold side" (north), "The man sitting on the sunrise side" (east), "The one sitting on the warm side" (south), and "The man sitting on the side where the sun sets" (west). These were the names they used to call their leaders, and they were supposed to be little gods (wakanda-aiinya).

Moreover, the Otters showed our old forefather some of the great things that they did. One pointed out a bird, an [248] eagle, or a hawk, sailing so high in the air that it was almost out of sight. Then he ran around in the water and whistled and shot at it with his medicine-bag, and it fell downward to them, dead. "This is another thing we give you people," said the Otter.

The man looked at it in amazement, and when he went back home, later, he told his band, but they said they thought it was wrong to do this. They decided that it was better to substitute feasts for killing by magic. "Let us rather cook on the earth, so that the juices and grease can fall on our mother, and the savor can rise to Wakanda. Feasts will promote goodwill and do away with evil."

Yet in recent years the medicine-lodge has had members who, while fasting with blackened faces to learn more of its secrets, have learned evil. It is very alluring, and the evil Powers can imitate Wakanda; yet this was by no means intended in the beginning (Skinner 1920: 244-248).

A third origin myth was recorded by Skinner and attributed the origin to a mythological character called Haxuga. The story of "Haxuga, or Wolf Cry" says that, during his quest for revenge for his brother's death, on all the animals that had eaten him, Haxuga killed several to obtain their skins, including a beaver, two otters, a toad, two squirrels, and a number of shells by the ocean:

Thus, as he travelled, Haxuga killed a lot of things that we use in the Medicine Dance, and took their skins with him. At the same time he composed the songs that we use in the Medicine Dance (Skinner 1925: 470).

When doctoring his brother, Haxuga wears a buzzard skin (Buzzard, or Vulture, is a doctor in the animal world) and shakes a gourd rattle, saying "Sha! sha!" After recapturing his

brother's skin, he shoots four arrows into the sky, which bring the brother back to life: "So it is in the Medicine Dance, a man is shot with the sacred shell, he is killed, but he rises again" (1925: 472). They made their escape to the Heavens, and "So he arose, and the incense of all food cooked in the Medicine Dance rises to Haxuga" (1925: 472).

The otterskin bags were held in high regard on many levels. It was said: "Today, as we handle our otter-skins, it is like shaking hands with the old people who have gone before us, for they used to hold them. They made this rule which we follow today, to raise up our otter's heads and dust them off" (Skinner 1920: 234).

Otterskin bags were used until they were falling apart; when their owners wished to repair them they had to wait until a formal meeting inducting a new member, at which time irreparable bags could also be thrown away:

All are told to bring thread, awls, etc., along with them, and to have ready any old rotten medicine-bags which they wish to throw away, for a "new man is coming." The idea is that it is taboo to mend or to refurbish the medicine-bags except at such a time. No matter how badly an otter-skin is torn, it cannot be mended or thrown away or a new one substituted until the members meet in the secret [211] brush when a new candidate is coming in. At this time also those who have prepared new quill- or bead-work for their bags exhibit it to the other members and announce that they are about to use it .

...All commence to paint and dress and mend their otter-skins. No one paints another's face or mends an otter-skin for nothing. Heavy fees are expected, and usually a person has a relative do the work, if possible.

Facial painting is usually done with red or sacred blue paint, or with white clay from mole hills-- circles and semi- [212] circles about the face for the men, while the women make four spots on each cheek with the first two fingers of the right hand to represent otter tracks. The heads of the otter-skins are also painted blue at this time (Skinner 1920: 211-212).

Plates illustrating Ioway material culture, including otter bags, were included in Skinner's work. These objects, in the Museum of the American Indian, were collected by M. R. Harrington (1920: 14). No catalog numbers were given. Plate XV(a-e) (1920: 195) pictured some "Iowa Medicine Paraphernalia," including a rattlesnake skin "belt" or shoulder sash, invitation quills and drumsticks, an eagle wing fan, a headdress, and invitation sticks and

a bundle of tobacco. Plate XVI(a-b) (1920: 229) pictured "Iowa quilled otter-skin medicine bags." This plate is important as it specifically described the symbolism of the wavy line design found not only on those bags, but also on both otterskin and squirrelskin bags seen at the Milwaukee Public Museum: "The vertical line of quillwork in the center of the tail of each represents the 'medicine road,' and the wavy lines show its border of broken ice ." Other designs were also used on the tails of other bags. A second plate, XVII(a-c) (1920: 231), pictures three "Iowa animal-skin medicine-bags," including a "young otter with woven quilled ornament on tail" as well as a large otter and a squirrel. A third plate, XVIII(a-b) (1920: 233), pictures two otter bags, one with a beaded floral and geometric design and the other with quillwork. A fourth plate, XIX(a-b) (1920: 245), pictures two more quilled otter bags.

The society also used drums, gourd rattles, and a "pillow that the rattles are struck upon" (1920: 233). The sacred shell used in the shooting performance, called by Algonkian tribes the *migis* or *megisa*, was called the *wacucke* [*washushke*] by the Ioway (1920: 235, 237-240).

This wavy "Medicine Road design" seems to have been often used by the Iowa, not only on otterskin bags, but also on otterskin garters, linking this motif with the Medicine or Otter Dance and the otter.

The idea that the Medicine Dance bags once were classified as a type of *waruxawe* bundle is not only seen in their classification as *ta waluxawe* given by Hamilton (n.d.; ca. 1848), but also in a passing remark mentioning outside wrappers found in Skinner: "He also wants us to fix up the family otters..., and wrap them up better..." (1920: 229).

It must not be forgotten that the Medicine Dance is classified as a doctoring society. Skinner relates the following methods.

The roots and the herbs have been learned by fasting. When the thunder [249] appeared to dreamers, there was somebody in it who spoke to them and told them what to take for certain diseases. He is one of the great Powers. if anyone falls ill, the relatives come and get a doctor from the lodge, who goes over and feels and examines the sick man to diagnose. Then he applies this medicine. He boils his roots and makes liquor for his patient to drink. Maybe he washes him with the brew, and he covers the sick man with a buffalo-robe, to sweat him. He gives medicines to inhale and others to bathe the head.

When a child is ill, and they are nearly done doctoring it, they give it a mild sweat-bath; an adult gets a much stronger one. After the sweat the patient is bathed in cold water. Then the doctor goes away, but returns later to see how his work on the case is progressing.

Another method of treatment is this: When a person is very ill, several shamans of the lodge get together and make a medicine-drum, one of the deep kind that has water in the bottom. Then they [250] all sing their great doctoring song before the patient, to please him and aid him to sleep. They tell the sick one to try to dream about himself and see if he can thus locate any cure. All these things were given to the Iowa by Wakanda for their use, though we cannot cure everyone (Skinner 1920: 248-250).

***Hanwahe Washi* : The interaction of the Buffalo Doctors and the Otter Doctors**

The Buffalo Doctors and the Medicine Lodge had a friendly rivalry, summarized in the Day Dance (*hánwahe wáshi*), in which they exhibited their powers. The Buffalo Doctors were invited by the Medicine Lodge to the lodge for the performance called "Making friends with the buffalo Doctors" (Skinner 1920: 250). First the Medicine Dance members danced one round and exhibited their shooting skills, while the Buffalo Doctors remained "respectfully silent", after which the Buffalo took their turn to dance.

The East Leader of the Medicine Lodge then says: "My friends, you are fine on wounds, we all know, but we are good at invisible trouble. We can take a person who is down to skin and bone and we can bring him back to health so that he can walk along the road (of life). That is our work" (Skinner 1920: 251).

Then each side exhibited its power. The Buffalo Doctors said,

We'll dance the Buffalo dance and you'll see a real buffalo in our midst. [They did so and explained it as] a person who turned himself into a buffalo. [The medicine doctors then took their turn and] drove a black bear in front of them. They ceased, the bear lay down, and behold! it was only an old bear-hide full of blood from which an old man sprang (Skinner 1920: 251).

There was a belief which connected the Buffalo Doctor society with danger to children and horses. "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" (Skinner 1926: 207), and "A curious belief in connection with this dance was that no children should be allowed to ride horseback for four days after a buffalo dance for fear of being injured" (Skinner 1926: 244). It is interesting to note that during the joint revenge the Medicine Lodge and Buffalo Doctors once took against a man (given below), the Medicine Lodge members killed the man with "shooting magic", while the Buffalo Doctors were responsible for "shooting" and killing the horse he was riding.

Once a big Medicine Dance was going on, and during the night a bad outsider made a wooden mentula [penis] and threw it into the lodge. Both the medicine dancers and the buffalo doctors were angry, and they quietly sent someone to find out who had insulted them. He was not hard to find, for he boasted, "If they are so powerful, why don't they find out who I am and shoot me?"

The messenger reported to the east leader, and when the dance was over, both societies got together and had a council over it. They decided to get up a horse race, as their insulter was fond of such. They planned to have someone whom he would not suspect get up the race and offer many prizes. The race was to be one of those conducted for the dead, for the Iowa had this funeral custom, and it was offered by a woman. The offender, although he had been warned to beware, was a participant. The four leaders of each society took [252] their followers and concealed themselves in a patch of woods on opposite sides of the race-course, which was about three miles long. The medicine-lodge people had told the buffalo doctors that they might shoot the horse, so when the culprit galloped by they did so, discharging their magic arrows until the horse fell with a broken neck. At the same time the medicine-lodge people shot the man, whom they killed in the same manner, so that both horse and rider came to the earth simultaneously. Then the avengers withdrew without a word, and no one was at all sorry about it (Skinner 1920: 252-253).

This story seems to present a dichotomy in Ioway doctoring society spheres of control. The Medicine Lodge members attack the human, while the Buffalo Doctors attack the animal; the Medicine Lodge concentrates on treating "invisible trouble", while the Buffalo Doctors concentrate on physical wounds. This functional split between the mental and the physical, belief and reality, seems to be folk pre-Cartesianism. This is in opposition to the anthropological convention that non-Western medical systems are holistic (e.g. Hughes 1990: 136).

While the Ioway situation probably saw disease as primarily personalistic, the actual treating society consulted depended on the nature of the illness, and to which of the two conceptual realms it was relegated. Though both societies had organic, symbolic, and supernatural methods of treatment, this example again emphasizes that "primitive" societies cannot be neatly categorized as anthropological theorists are wont to do. It is unfortunate that because of the extinction of the indigenous system, this Ioway dualism can never be fully examined. This harmful action capability of the doctors should be compared to the data presented in the discussion of witchcraft below.

Witchcraft

There is little discussion of Ioway witchcraft in the literature. Harrington collected an Ioway witch bundle along with a brief description of it. His informants seemed less than inclined to talk about it. Indeed, as Skinner mentioned (1923), it was bad for an Indian's health to be thought of as a witch, or even to display much knowledge of the subject. To understand what may have underlain Ioway witchcraft, we must seek elucidation in the witchcraft of other tribes of the area.

Louise Spindler appears to channel belief in witchcraft among the Menominee into two trends: an earlier form, in which witchcraft was an integral part of the native belief system where it could act as an integrative force, and a later, formalized system of a witch society conceived as utterly evil.

The earlier Menominee beliefs concerning witchcraft persisted side by side with the more recently formalized lore. All shamans were potential witches, an elder might possess a "witchbag," and most elders possessed "good" powers which were used more predominately in their day-to-day transactions (Spindler 1989: 51). Skinner collected a witch medicine

bandolier from a Winnebago (Skinner 1923: 108-109), and Harrington collected a witch bundle from the Ioway, discussed in the section covering Harrington's collection notes.

The Winnebago witch bandolier was described by Skinner:

..From the Winnebago is a witch medicine...of a type commonly heard of, but rarely seen, among the Central tribes. It is composed of a bandolier of blue strouding on which is sewn a narrow strip of tanned deerskin, bearing claws of the black bear, a lynx paw, beards and feathers of the wild turkey, a horned owl's head, a bullfrog skin stuffed with down, and numerous bullets and packets of medicine.

The witch or wizard (Indians make no distinction in sex, but call all persons suspected of black magic "witches") strips himself naked and puts on the bandolier. He can then, at will, take the form of any of the animals shown on its circumference, and thus is able to travel at great speed and noiselessly to the residence of the person whom he wishes to destroy, and shoot into him a fiendish charm which will cause him to waste away and die.

He can travel immense distances to do his work, taking first the form of the frog and hopping until tired, then that of the turkey, flying on his way until fatigue causes him to become a horned owl; a bear; a bullet; or a ball of fire, and so on.

Such medicines have been recorded by the writer as being found among the Sauk, Menomini, Ojibway, Potawatomi, Winnebago, and others, but he has never before been privileged to see one, much less collect a specimen, in spite of offering enormous prices. Should the members of any tribe learn for certain that any Indian possessed such a charm, his life would be in great danger, for even today the belief in the evil powers of witches is firmly established among most Indian peoples (Skinner 1923: 109).

The Ioway shamans indeed controlled Power, which may be likened to electricity: it can be harnessed usefully, or used to kill. The Buffalo Doctors and the Otter Doctors could use such harmful magic. These powers were reported to have been used for the good of the war party against the enemy through the seven bundles called *wáshe walúxawe*:

They were the bad medicine bags, by means of which they professed to deprive their enemies of power, when they had discouraged them by blowing the whistles. Owing to this enchantment, they said, their enemies could neither shoot nor run, and were soon killed (Dorsey 1894: 426).

Spindler posed the argument that the development of witchcraft, as seen in later historic times, may have been a result of the disintegration of traditional belief systems. Harmful magic once institutionalized and directed against enemies, internal or external, was a consolidating power, protecting the group and its status quo. The breakdown of tribalism and the

encouragement of selfish individuality brought about a similar increase in the use of harmful magic for individual hatred or gain.

Possibly the constructive and destructive powers once resident together among individual Wa-beno and Cese-ko [the traditional shamanic societies] were separated in the belief system as the status and legitimacy of these specialists declined with increasing secularization and the inroads of Christianity (Spindler 1989:51).

This would appear to be true also for the Ioway. When the earlier strict system was in place, harmful magic was controlled by the shamanic societies, and sometimes abused by them, although this was rare and became common only when Ioway society began to erode, and individualism became the norm. As Rubel and Hass noted:

...We now know that in societies in which formal institutions of social control are absent or weak, sorcery attributions are more frequent. In societies where institutions like a police force, courts, or an army are prominent, attributions of sickness to sorcery are less frequent (Rubel and Hass 1990: 117).

Lineage and power transference in Ioway societies

Skinner hints at the truth regarding the relative importance of original visions as opposed to the transference of power in doctoring and other societies:

Membership in these societies may have depended upon dreams to some extent, but it was requisite to purchase admission and subsequent knowledge of the ritual at high price (Skinner 1915: 693).

Individual vision could usually only validate previous rights and could not assign such rights to one in an out-group. As powerful as one Oto's vision was, a buffalo vision did not make him a Buffalo Doctor.

[The] vision of Akikita did not entitle him to be a Buffalo Doctor and join the Buffalo Medicine Lodge but it did confer on him Buffalo curing power and licensed him to call on the aid of Buffalo doctors. Had Akikita not been a great warrior who had proved his 'power', his visions would have been received with reserve (Whitman 1937: 92: ff).

The Buffalo Doctor Society was not transferred predominately by direct vision, but through family privilege, privilege that also provided economic advantage, as the doctors

demanded high fees for their services (Whitman 1969: 92). Original vision could theoretically provide Buffalo curing power, but even that did not guarantee entry into the Buffalo Doctor Society.

One is reminded of the situation today where alternative methods of healing may (or may not) be effective, but the medical profession recognizes only its own ways, and looks with suspicion or even hostility on the out-group. Without purchase and transference of power through medical school, the non-alternative healer is looked upon as invalid, and persecuted as such.

Although the cultural ideal, indeed the cultural dogma, was the story of the individual receiving direct supernatural experience, true visions were rare, and one would in any case be "bucking the system" were one to have one and pursue it. Instead "the initiator taught the novice the traditional vision" of that society, in his family line's version, along with the ritual, etc., and the vision was then considered to be as valid as one's own real vision. "...A man had such control of his Supernatural Patron that he could induce vision of it in the novice whom he 'caused to see the supernatural.' So vision by transfer was real vision". Transfer also often caused the death of the transferor (Fortune 1969:46-47). This situation was by all accounts true in every Omaha secret society, and *appears to have been the identical case with the Ioway and Oto*.

The old view of shamanic healers as emotionally aberrant is no longer accepted (Rubel and Hass 1990:126). As to recruitment, there were traditions of the healer being selected by the Powers through visions, dreams or the fast. In actuality, selection was based on family or clan prerogative, with any associated dreams mere confirmation, as they were not necessary to practice. This control was necessary in a tightly integrated and clannish society, such as that of the Ioway:

...People who are divinely selected or elect to learn informally are less subject to social control than those who undergo an apprenticeship or other formal training program (Rubel and Hass 1990: 126).

As Fortune states:

Another blunt contribution of this study is the demonstration that rights to membership in the secret societies were determined by title in hereditary disposal. ... From the results of this study it is now possible to see Omaha society as an elaboration of the one ground plan, firm based throughout on class distinction and the hereditary transmission of privilege. The culture now appears well integrated, tight formed, not amorphous in the slightest (Fortune 1969: 1-2).

With the disintegration of the original social system, the underlying framework for Ioway societies also collapsed.

Tattooing Bundles in Historical Context

Early accounts of Ioway tattooing

Tattooing was an important visible signal of social status. Rudolph Kurz said distinguished men with the titles of "brave men" or "soldiers" were almost always tattooed with blue-black designs, on the front, never on the back, but usually on some combination of the throat, sternum, chest, shoulders, arms; they also wore their robes in a special manner (Hewitt 1936: 173-174). Women were also tattooed:

...For example, many Iowa girls have a large dot between their eyebrows. Frequently they decorate themselves with two dots, one above the other, as Witthae did. One point is said to signify that the person in question has given away ten horses; two points, that she has given away twenty.

...Hauwepine was the only girl whom I knew among the Iowa Tribe having tattoo marks on the breast-- a trapeze extending from the base of the throat to the pit of the stomach (Kurz, in Hewitt 1936: 173-174).

Samuel Irvin also mentioned the larger dancing celebration connected with the Ioway tattooing ceremony, this one in 1841:

Moste all of the people old and young gone to a great danse to the object of which was to put some spots as marks of honour or distinction in the foreheads of some young girls. This is done by the old father of Ceremonies who does it by applying powder on the skin. Nearly the whole village and nation was assembled and moste of the young women and even small girls and children were painted and took an active part in the danse. I could not but admire the

courage of some little girls who would go forwards alone before the whole assembly and danse before the musick undaunted (Irvin, in Blaine 1979: 220).

With time, some tattooed women no longer wished to have this mark. In 1939, Albert Green, formerly an agent for the Oto, reminisced about "a sort of a radio gathering of Indians at the Iowa reservation at which Otos from Oklahoma were expected to participate" (Jensen 1988: 179). Although it is not stated in his account, this was probably at the Ioway reserve in Nebraska, as Green had settled in Beatrice, Nebraska after his resignation as agent (before the Otos had removed to Indian Territory), the mention of "Otos from Oklahoma," and the presence of White Cloud being there, who had remained in Kansas-Nebraska. Regarding the tattooed women, Green offers the following:

I met some very nice looking women and girls, not one of which had a "krakeh mark" between her eyes, but on the older ones a scar told the story of a surgical operation. What would their fathers think of their total disregard of the honor that his good reputation had bestowed upon them as evidenced by a bundle of painted sticks, every one of which indicated a horse given away, that hung in his lodge and of which he was proud...

...I have mentioned a tribal problem that was a source of much trouble and annoyance to the government agents, as well as harmful to the welfare of the Indians, and that tribal visitations and "Pipe Dancing"...[were] a source of much trouble, the visited tribe usually giving away more than fifty head of horses and impover[i]shing themselves by feasting and wasting time. It was to abate this nuisance that a number of Indian Agents representing all the different Indian tribes in the Northern Superintendency held a conference at Omaha [in 1870] and jointly resolved to break up that harmful but long established Indian custom, which we were finally successful in doing, greatly to the advantage of all Nebraska tribes. One good result achieved being a stop to the practice of tribal visitation and giving away of horses, the latter of which resulted in discrediting the greatly prized

"KRAKA" (tattooed) mark, that after years was in many cases removed by a surge[o]n, leaving a deep scar. But this was not the only good that resulted from the pipe-dance visitations, neither was the whole sale giving away of ponies, but it was the great waste of time and relaxation from tree-cutting and other agency work required of the young men by the Agent as well as the prolonged and daily game playing for the eneertainment of the visitors (Green, in Jensen 1988:179-180).

On a page in his recollections, Green drew a picture showing the Ioway-Otoe "krakeh/KRAKA" mark on a woman and the associated bundle of sticks symbolizing horses given away (reproduced by Jensen 1988: 180, fig. 8). His picture contains the labels "THE



**Figure 4.9: (a) Bundle of sticks representing horses given away,
and (b) pokadache (or "krakra" mark) on girl
(After Green, in Jensen 1988: 180, fig. 8)**

KRAKRA MARK/ Every stick a pony/ given away/ A BADGE OF/ HONOR - DAUGHTER OF A LIBERAL MAN". I have redrawn this picture, without the labels, as Figure 4.9: "(a) Bundle of sticks representing horses given away," and "(b) pokadache (or "krakra" mark) on girl."

The Oto had a girl's puberty lodge for the tattooing ceremony. Such ceremonies were also held among the Ioway and thus such structures are likely to have been found among the Ioway as well. According to Edward Curtis, "The lodge in which the ceremony was conducted was of inverted-U shape, opening to the north" (Curtis 1930: 155). The photograph of the puberty lodge (Curtis 1930: 157) appears to show a series of saplings or branches, possibly willow, set vertically around a large oval floor plan.

The tattooing data of Skinner and Harrington

As usual, the most extensive data on Ioway tattooing practices was collected by Skinner and Harrington (quoted in Skinner), in connection with their museum-sponsored collecting activities. Skinner says:

Ioway warriors were marked with one or two 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 (Skinner 1926:264-265).

Skinner reports that the tattooing bundle he collected through Robert Small in Oklahoma was "of very modern origin" (1926: 265).

The most thorough account of Ioway tattooing was written by Harrington, who was quoted by Skinner; Skinner acknowledged this account as "surpassing by far any data obtained by the writer" (Skinner 1926: 265). Harrington's account is herein quoted in full.

Harrington's notes which he drew this account from can be found in chapter six of the present study. The bundle Skinner describes is one Harrington collected for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (MAI 2/7804); he also collected a "tattooing set" (MAI 2/6896).

One of the most unusual objects obtained from the Ioway is undoubtedly the Tattooing Bundle, wigrexe, 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 (tainegreska) 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 as they strike one another and the jingling of the little bell. The Ioway name of this implement is manthikun. It is thirteen and three-quarters inches long over all. The second manthikun, 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 (wikunte). 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 mantonje, 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'e. 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 mancaiwak!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 (mankan) 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 fawnskin cover, was the headless skin of some species of duck (minxe), 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 Táain, 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 (*manca*), one on each cheek, while stripes (*agratcegrexe*), or spots on the arms signified warlike exploits or scalps. Men could have a stripe, star (*pikaxa*), or cross (*aremaha*) 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 [this in the original].) 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 poor people selected

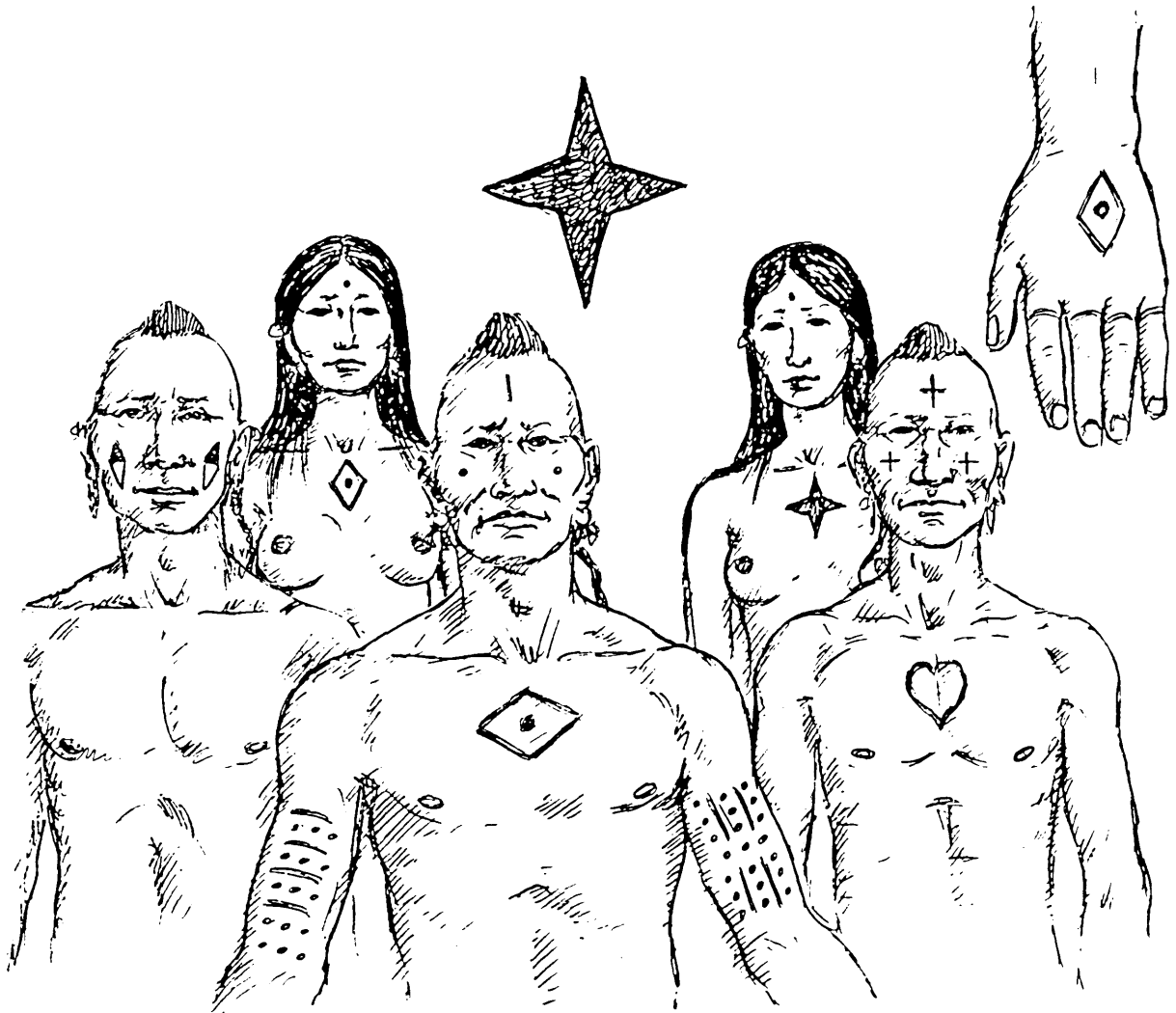


Figure 4.10: Tattoo designs on Ioway men and women
(After sketches by M.R. Harrington)

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 have never 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 (Harrington, in Skinner 1926: 265-271).

Skinner collected the tattooing bundle "of the late Chief David Tohee of the Black Bear gens" and illustrated it (1926: pl. L, fig. 2-7).

Miscellaneous Medicines and Bundles

Love and hunting medicines

There are some indications of other, mostly undescribed bundles or medicines once existing among the Ioway. These seem to have been bundles strictly belonging to an individual, rather than concerned with the group as such. The witch bundle mentioned earlier is an example, as well as medicines connected to the individual pursuits of searching for love

or hunting a deer (not entirely dissimilar pursuits). Harrington collected a love medicine bundle, discussed in chapter six. Skinner described a deer-hunting medicine once used by the Ioway:

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 (1926:290).

There is evidence that the Ioway bundle system was once far more rich than even these historical accounts indicate. Also, there is always the real possibility that some bundles or medicines, especially those connected with the interests of the individual rather than that of the clan, might still survive, and might still be used.

The Decline of the Bundle System

The expense of bundles

It is popularly thought that Indians were usually tricked or swindled into giving up sacred items by collectors and museums. It is often also said that the Indians no longer believed in the power of the objects and were glad to be rid of them for money. While fraud, greed, and unbelief in the old ways (the latter especially under the influence of Christianity and even Peyotism) certainly contributed to the relinquishment of religious items, another factor is often overlooked. Many custodians of religious articles apparently gave them up because of the expense required in keeping potentially dangerous items properly (and safely), through giveaways and feasts, at a time when the Indians were undergoing severe economic problems (Vennum 1982: 136).

The role of peyotism

The Ioway peyote ceremony was a syncretic expression of the nativistic Comanche peyote rite and Christianity. The Ioway had apparently received the rite from none other than Quanah Parker himself. The Christian-influenced Ioway ritual was, however, at least in its introduction in the early years, antagonistic to the native bundle system. Skinner gathered data on the Ioway peyote rite from Joe Springer, one of the Ioway peyote leaders, who said:

The...Caddo and Comanche have used it for very different purposes than what we do nowadays. Now a great change has taken place, and it is used to worship Jesus Christ and God, his father. It is only those who do not yet know Jesus and have not seen his light who utilize peyote for heathen practices (1915: 724).

It was the introduction of the peyote road that sealed the fate of the native bundle system.

Skinner said:

The introduction of the peyote has driven out of existence almost all the other societies and ancient customs of the tribe. Almost all of the Iowa in Oklahoma [in 1915] are ardent peyote disciples, and only Dave Towhee and perhaps a few others still follow the old practices (1915: 724).

The Ioway peyote rite was extremely Christianized in its expression, so much so that it expressed open antagonism to the older ways:

Meantime [the leader] continues to read the Bible and exhort all sinners to repent. He points out that all the old ways have been given up, and with them their "idols," such as the great drum of the religion dance, and the various other paraphernalia of magic:

"They are dead and cannot talk or hear. We worship our own true living God, who is Jesus Christ. Believe in him; repent and be baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"There are no more societies and dances as of old. This is the way we do now. Throw away liquor, tobacco, stealing, lying, and gossip" (1915: 726).

Here is seen the disdain for tobacco introduced by Christianity and the peyote rite of the Ioway version. Joe Springer was also known by his clan name of Little Elk; it was he who transferred the Dream Dance Drum (the Brave's Drum) to the museum in St. Louis, Missouri,

calling himself a "chief" and the Drum "the ancient war drum of the Ioway." He was also, apparently, something of a trickster, as we will see in the next chapter.

Requiem

The bundle system was connected to the needs of the past, like war, social privilege, and the maintenance of clan relations, while the peyote road was related to the problems of the early 1900s, like missionizing Christianity, individualization, and alcoholism. Intertribal wars had been abolished and the buffalo hunts were a dim memory. Land allotment increased individualization and concomitant social disintegration, over the older communal lifestyle. The mainstream biomedical system was replacing the older spiritually-based one, except for some herbalism. Missionaries had been imposing Christianity since the days of Hamilton and Irvin, with ever-increasing success. With its reformation of the social network, its hostility to the older system, its accommodation to Christianity, and its emphasis on the individual rather than the clan, the peyote road was answering some needs that the older system had failed to do. It was helping the individual cope with a changing world in a way that the older system was incapable of doing successfully.

By the time Skinner collected among the Ioway, all indications were that the old system had disappeared. He wrote it a requiem:

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 (Skinner 1926: 190).

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 [Joseph Springer] 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 (Skinner 1926: 218).

CHAPTER 5 SACRED BUNDLES AT THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM

Alanson B. Skinner: A Biographical Sketch

Alanson Skinner (1885-1925)

Alanson Buck Skinner (1885-1925) was born in Buffalo, New York, in 1885, and was educated at Columbia University and Harvard in ethnology. He became associated with the American Museum of Natural History in New York about 1907, where he remained until 1915. In 1915 he joined the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. In 1916, he got married and traveled to Costa Rica. In about 1917, his wife died in childbirth, along with the baby. He travelled a lot after that for the museum. He married in 1919. He left the Heye Foundation in 1920, when he took the job of Curator of Anthropology, at the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. In 1921, his second wife died in labor, but this time, the baby, a daughter, survived. He continued to collect for the Milwaukee Museum, including trips in 1922 and 1923 to the Ioway. In 1923, he married again, to a cousin of his second wife. In 1924 he returned to the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. He remained there until his death in 1925, when he was killed in an automobile accident while collecting among the Sioux in North Dakota.

Skinner's contributions to anthropology

Skinner wrote both on archaeology (especially that of the state of New York), and on ethnology, for which he was best known. He was particularly interested in the Menomini, but wrote extensively on the Central Algonkians (Sauk, Potawatomi, Cree, Plains Ojibwa, and Saukteaux) and the Southern Siouans (Iowa and Dakota). Skinner's bibliography lists over 117 publications and articles ranging from ethology, archaeology, and natural history, beginning in 1903 and continuing to some published after his death in 1925, such as the *Ethnology of the Ioway Indians* (1926).

Skinner visited the Ioway of Oklahoma on collecting trips in 1914, 1922, and 1923; he visited the Kansas-Nebraska Ioways in 1922 and 1923 (Skinner 1926: 190). In 1922, when he collected the gens pipes, not one of the traditional keepers who had the right of ritual and the knowledge of the pipes' origins remained alive, so he gathered what he could from those who knew some of the information and who were willing to share it, and supplemented it with information gathered in 1914 (Skinner 1926: 218). He also purchased several items from collector Dr. W.C. Barnard of Seneca, Missouri in 1923 (Skinner 1926: 208). His informants among the Ioway included David and Charles Tohee, Joseph Springer, and Robert Small.

His education at Columbia and his association with the American Museum of Natural History, as well as the flavor of his humanistic and historically-oriented work indicate that Skinner can be considered to have been a Boasian. Skinner's theoretical base appears to have been historical particularism (Harris 1968), with the associated emphasis on the collection of "facts" (*ex tempore*), which were expected to speak for themselves (alá Boas) and the recordation of "dying cultures."

Skinner was uninterested in physical anthropology (Harrington 1926: 276), with its evolutionary implications. He also had little interest in linguistics (Harrington 1926: 276), and his transcriptions often show this (for example, he recorded the name of the Hero twin *Lóle* as Dore; Whitman's work on Ioway-Oto language clarifies the confusion of /l/ for /d/ or /r/ (1947)). Skinner said little about the mechanics of culture change in his work on the Ioways, other than laments about the demise of the culture. Like other anthropologists of the time, he tended to isolate (or fossilize) certain aspects of culture as being "really Indian," rather than seeing, as a process, the thread of Indianness retained as needed and changed as required by a living, adaptable people.

One must understand these statements are meant as observations for the context of the consideration of Skinner's work, rather than as criticisms; without the thoroughness and dedication of Alanson Skinner, most of the old-time Ioway culture would have remained undocumented and eventually lost.

Historiography and Resolving Contradictions in the Collection

Skinner's data and informants

Alanson Skinner is the primary published source of data on Ioway material culture, in *Ethnology of the Ioway Indians* (1926), specifically as it related to his collections. The fact that he died in 1925, before *Ethnology of the Ioway Indians* came out in 1926, also explains why errors in the cataloging and publication of some items of material culture, notably the gens or clan pipes, remained uncorrected. Skinner said most of the war bundles had been bought by Harrington so that Skinner was unable to buy any from the Ioways on his second trip in 1922 (Skinner 1926: 208).

Informants to Skinner in 1914 included Chief David Tohee ("Holy Bear") (Black Bear Clan), and Joseph Springer ("Little Elk") (Buffalo Clan) who had been hired as interpreter, although Tohee's English was good enough that Springer's translation duties proved unnecessary. Other informants included Frank Kent (Buffalo Clan), who sold the Buffalo clan pipe of Wild Plum, and Robert Small ("Walks From the Creation On") (Wolf Clan). The same informants assisted him in his 1922 and 1923 trips, except for David Tohee, who had died in the 1918-1919 worldwide influenza epidemic.

Skinner's correspondence

The letters of Alanson Skinner during his work at the Milwaukee Public Museum were preserved there in Box 65 in the Museum archives; the original catalog ledgers were in the Museum's archival vault. His field notes were not at the Museum; no one was quite sure

where they might be. Skinner's letters are quite revealing, as they cast a certain light on the material he collected, as well as his ambivalent relationship to the Ioway. They also helped untangle the confusion of the misidentified pipe bundles.

Problems with the collection

The pipe bundle data is quite mixed-up. Skinner's correspondence, the Museum's catalog, Skinner's 1926 Ethnology, and West's 1934 study, as well as the catalog numbers (often two contradicting ones) on the pipes themselves, are all at variance; succeeding recorders and scholars examining the bundles and mixing contents have only added to the confusion, including West (1934).

There is also evidence that the information given to Skinner by the informants was either intentional misinformation because of the thefts involved (according to Skinner), the sensitive nature of the sacred articles, or misinformation due to ignorance, since many were not the official keepers (having often inherited them through default) or believers in and practitioners of the older ways.

Resolving the problems through historiography

In any case, in attempting to unravel the pipe bundle situation, the following assumptions were made. Critical examination of the sources was necessary. First, much of the information on the pipes must be considered questionable for various reasons; it may be impossible to definitely attribute each pipe to the appropriate clan at this time. Second, because Skinner's data are based on this information, the value of studying the pipes as they relate specifically to this clan or that is questionable. Skinner's interpretations are quoted herein. The varying sources were given the following weight:

1: Skinner's field notes would be the best, as they would have been made on the spot. Unfortunately neither the Milwaukee nor the Heye seems to know where they are.

2: Skinner's daily correspondence is the best of what we have, as they were done daily, with the data fresh in mind, and the pipe collecting process described (and often the individual pipe) as to what groups the various pipes were collected and in which order.

3: The Milwaukee catalog is the next in the hierarchy. The three lots and the order in which they were shipped conforms to Skinner's correspondence. However, the individual pipes in each of the three groups were misidentified (causing much of the later misidentification). This is probably because Skinner was still in the field, and the registrar or receiver of the shipments made the various errors. These were in one handwriting; one set of later corrections were written in the catalog in another handwriting. The latter handwriting appears to be Skinner's, in comparing it to his correspondence. Other, still later, handwriting additions and corrections have obscured things further.

4: Skinner's published works (1922, 1923, and 1926) gave him time to reflect on the objects. It is important to note that the 1926 Ethnology was published after his death, so he could not proof it for errors. In this case, the text is given weight over the labelling in the plates. The text was written by Skinner from his field notes while he was still alive. The variance of the labelling from the text is probably the result of someone, unfamiliar with the pipes, who was given the responsibility of editing Skinner's monograph for publication after his death. Given the catalog errors and the fact that Skinner was unavailable for checking information, this is probably the explanation. As Skinner was not around to correct errors, errors remained uncorrected. Confirmation of this assessment would require the location of Skinner's missing original field notes.

5: Later studies, such as West (1934) and Ewers (1986), depended upon the earlier data, which, as we have seen, is quite confused. Their identification of the pipes must be taken with a grain of salt therefore.

Method of presentation of the collection

The following body of material is arranged historically, in order to understand the sequence of events resulting in the collection. It is divided into the three different trips he took in making the Ioway collection at the Milwaukee Public Museum (1922(1), 1922(2), and 1923), as well as including the final body of material that the Museum purchased from the collector W. C. Barnard, under Skinner's direction in 1923. The data is given in a sequential, narrative style, with pertinent correspondence as well as the original catalog entries for each period delineated in the appropriate time period. Some of the items were described by Skinner in his publications. The catalog accession numbers are given in parentheses, for example: (30194-30234). The identification number of the bundle for the purposes of this study, for simplified later comparison, is given in brackets, for example: [M1]. The original catalog entries are given in quotations. Skinner's published data and his correspondence are given in italics. All other material was added by this writer.

Collecting in 1922 (Part 1): Catalog and Description

Preparations

In 1922, Skinner was appointed by Dr. Barrett, the Director of the Milwaukee Public Museum, to collect primarily among the Sauk of Oklahoma, the Sauk being former inhabitants of Wisconsin. He was also to collect among other tribes nearby, such as the Ioway, especially as he could use his Ioway informants like Dave Tohee and Joe Springer that he had met during his work for the American Museum of Natural History in 1914. He began by writing to Joe

Springer. Skinner apparently learned somehow during this exchange that Tohee had died during the great influenza pandemic of 1918-1919.

March second, 1922

Mr. Joe Springer, Perkins, Okla.

My dear friend Joe:

I wonder if you remember who I am? I am the young fellow who once spent about a month with you and Dave Towhee gathering information about the old-time customs, dances and societies of your people, the Ioway Indians. I came to you on the recommendation of our friend Mr. M. R. Harrington. That was back in 1914, the year the big war started in Europe. I remember that at that time you and some of the other Indians in the neighborhood had a good many old-fashioned Indian things, otter skins, medicine bags, decorated with quill work, medicine bundles, waruhaway of different kinds, and you had two pipes belonging to the Buffalo clan.

Have you any of these things still and would you or any of the other Ioways like to sell them? If so, I would be glad if you would write me what you have and what your prices are, or better to send me some of the things to examine. You could send them here by express collect, and if we did not want them we would return them to you at our expense as well. This is a public museum belonging to the City of Milwaukee, and you need have no fear that we will not be honest with you. I am particularly anxious to get some of those otter bags or Buffalo pipes, and any war or buffalo bundles that you may have.

I often think of you and Dave and the fun we used to have eating corn and talking together. I wonder if Dave is still living or whether the Influenza took him as it did so many people over the country. Any way, write me a line and tell me how you and your family are getting along and how my friends the Ioways are. I am to be in Oklahoma in Spring, and if so, will try to come to see you.

Ever your old friend,

AS

Curator of Anthropology

[This letter from Springer to Skinner has no date. It is transcribed here without corrections.]

Mr. Alanson Skinner

My Friend. I was so Glad to hear from you. I didn't know where you was. Well my Friend I Been Buying for Mr. Barnard in Mo. May Be you know him. I Be Glad to Buy Some stuff for you. My wife has an old Indian pipe what they call pipe of peace it Been Keep in the tribe Evary since it made I know Several things can Be goting. Yet now when this letter reach you. I would like for you to write down what you want in the line of Indian Stuff then I can look for them. I tell you what Mr. W. C. Barnard done of Seneca, Mo. he send me the money-- then I go and Buy the stuff for him I Bought Something like twenty five hundred Dols. worth stuff I want amoung the Otoes tribe and Sack and Fox tribe and other tribe also. I get from him from 2 to 3 hundred Dol. at time But if I can get the thing from the Indian. and ship them to you. on collect on Deliver that Be all right for me...

[2] *This Pipe of Peace My wife want one hundred Dol for it you got the history of it. I know two other pipe like my wife Pipe and such as War Bundle I think very few left in the Country they is lot of other stuff left yet such as Elk Horn scrapers and Red Been Bundles and War Bundle and Eagle Feather head Dress and Buck skin legon and Buck Coats and other stuff I cant think of. This is all
From you truly Frind.*

Joseph Springer

Write me what you want and what kind and write me by return Mail

Oblige Me.

this leave Me well hope you are the same. I would like to get a Job of that kind there. this is all-

*From you frind
Joseph Springer*

March 13th, 1922

My Dear Friend Joe:

Well, I was glad to hear from you, and to learn that you are still living. But it was too bad that Dave died of the flu. I was afraid for him, he was so fat. I am pretty fat too, weigh 200 pounds myself.

Well, old friend, I have been too [sic] lots of places since I saw you. I was married in 1916 in the fall, then I went to Costa Rica in South America for nearly a year. I was digging in the tombs in the forest, and we found gold ornaments and other things that the ancient Indians who used to live there had. Then I went to see the wild Indians who live in the jungle there. I came back after a year, then, when the baby came, my wife died in child birth, and so did our baby, a little girl. Then I travelled a whole lot. I went to Zuni, New Mexico, to Arkansas, and a lot of places.

In 1919 I got married again. This time to Esther Allen, whose father Edgar A. Allen was superintendent of Chillocco Indian School at or near Arkansas City. I guess you know him. His daughter was part Wyandotte. Then I came here again, and when our baby was born, last fall, my wife died the same way, only the baby, another little girl, lived. So I am alone in my home, but my mother is living with me, and we are raising the baby. She is about 1/8 Indian blood, you see. Yes, I had pretty hard luck.

Well, in May I expect to go to the Sauk and Fox Agency for a while, so I may get a chance to see you. Our old friend Harrington says he may go as far as Shawnee with me. Maybe another year I can spend some time with you again. How would you like to go up to those Ioways between Kansas and Nebraska with me? Do you think they have anything?

About the Indian things you mention. I think we would like to buy that Peace pipe that your wife has, but \$100.00 seems a pretty big price [2] for it. How about it?

I would also like to get some of the following.

War bundle

Buffalo Bundle

Buffalo Tail Bundle

Red Bean Bundle

Otterskin medicine bags with quill work

Buckskin leggings, real Ioway style

*Moccasins, real Ioway style
Buffalo horn spoons
Wooden bowls and spoons
mats made of reeds
woven bags
elkhorn scrapers
warclubs*

Do you suppose that anyone has any buffalo hide shields or buffalo robes any more?

The way we would have to work it would be for you to send me in the things with your prices and let me talk about it to our Board of Trustees, or maybe if you can locate some of these things reasonable I can stop off and see you when I am in Oklahoma. Any way, you need not be afraid to send anything here, we are not dealers, but this Museum belongs to the City of Milwaukee, and is a Public Institution, so you couldnt loose [sic] them. You see I dont have the money on hand like Dr Barnard, who bought for himself. I have to show the goods and ask for it. In shipping to me, you would send it here by express, with the express charges collect, and we would pay them here. The Museum would send back at its own expense anything we didnt want to buy.

Oh yes, another thing I want. Has anyone got a bears claw necklace with otter fur and a streamer of otter down the back? You know what I mean. The Sauks used to have lots of them, and I've seen pictures of Ioways with them too.

Well, write me what you can do. Your old friend...

Collecting in Oklahoma in May

Skinner traveled to Oklahoma in May, 1922, mainly to collect among the Sauk for the Milwaukee Public Museum, who had once lived in Wisconsin, but also to collect among other tribes such as the Ioway as circumstance presented itself. He wrote to his brother once he had arrived.

*Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Oklahoma
May 17th, 1922*

My Dear Brother;

Just a line to tell you that things are looking up. I have accomodations [sic] at \$1.50 per day at last-- meals elsewhere. The auto line [taxi] is expensive, but very necessary-- the Sauk are scattered from here to Shawnee 52 miles away! Horses wont [sic] do!

I have a good interpreter at last, & while I did fairly well all by myself (Menomini is very similar) he does 100 per cent better!

So far I have located 6 bundles-- located, I say. But nothing stirring! Still I have hopes.

As for the rest. The Sauk have been collected to death. Harrington, Michelson, Roddy, and Barnard & a certain saloonkeeper. Then the damned rich

[2] Osage, who buy beautiful stuff regardless of price, for their own use. Then the oil leases!...

[3]..Now I have a venture planned. I'm writing Binger for another check, & I intend to try taking my interpreter to Great Nemaha Reserve on the Kansas Nebraska line. There are some Sauk there who have been at sword points with all the others at Tama & here [Oklahoma] for a generation or so. These are the so called "Sauk of the Missouri." They remain incommunicado & no one-- to my knowledge-- has ever collected from them. With them are some Ioways, who have their own community. Now I may have my pains for nothing, but I [4] am going to chance it. It may pan out big. Quien sabe? If they have stuff & there has been no collecting & no oil--- ?...

Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Oklahoma
May 18, 1922

Dear Brother;

[2]..have now a good set of Sauk stuff-- except sacred articles and leather trunks-- Have only seen fragments of one of the latter, darn it, & I couldn't but that.

I will run over & give the Ioway the razz tomorrow & Monday will move base to Shawnee then, if all goes well Great Nemaha, Nebraska, then back.

Love to your self & Eileen

Your affectionate brother

Alanson

P.S. Have some good notes too.

The visit to the Ioway on May 19, 1922 was one of the best collecting days Skinner ever experienced, resulted in the collection of four clan pipe bundles as well as a number of other objects. Skinner wrote a letter to his employer, Dr. Samuel Barrett, at the Milwaukee Museum, describing this emotional day.

Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Oklahoma
May 19th, 1922

My dear Dr. Barrett;

I have just passed through one of the most dramatic, thrilling and unusual experiences ever undergone by one of our profession and I have made the greatest haul of sacred objects that any member of our profession ever landed at one fell swoop!

In historic times the Ioway Indians have had 7 gentes only, and in each gens the sacred and holy gens possession was the pipe bundle. This is true of the Otoe also.

In 1914 I was allowed to see the Tce! Kiradji pipe bundle, owned by Mrs. Joe Springer. I was told no white man had ever gazed upon it, or any other Ioway or Otoe sacred pipe before. There are none in any Museum, and Harrington the acknowledged best collector in [2] America never saw one even, & no entreaties of his availed.

Joe Springer, a prominent Ioway leader, has been my friend for 8 (2 fours of) years. He offered me his pipe-- the first ever offered, before I came out, & today I went to see it.

All the Ioways remembered me & were glad to welcome me. They had very little left, and after some palaver, I bought Joes pipe bundle-- at a much less figure than he asked. Then all of a sudden, the hereditary owner of the Bear gens pipe sold me his! Then the Pigeon gens came across! Then the Aruhwa gens!

I was ill prepared, I hated to spend much time or money except on the Sauk, but by all that is holy I saw that now [3] was the psychological moment! and I bought, bought!

4 of the hitherto unattainable pipe bundles in one haul! & a buffalo war bundle! plus a mankanshutz war bundle! & many minor objects!

Talk about a rain of bundles! and it cost me, interpreter, auto and all \$250.00--! Ye gods!

The pipes alone are rare-- unique-- priceless!

Just think of 4 wonderful ancient quilled stems with symbolic pictographs (in 2 bundles) think of the eagle fan and bird head trimmings-- the horse hair pendants, the buffalo hide cases!

Not since Catlins time has anything like them been seen.

One ancient catlinite effigy bowl has an animal head [4] facing the smoker. Around its eyes are the peculiar marks seen on our Mississippi [sic] pipes and on pipes from the Ohio mounds, Gulf states etc!

When Geo A. West sees this haul he'll go crazy! Only one more remains in Oklahoma-- the owner-- Eagle gens-- was away visiting some other tribe.

Think of it-- more than half of the rarest bundles in existence in our Museum-- enough for a very special case-- and spectacular objects like these great pipes-- and I have the data! And the price I paid! Hau! Weasel counts coup!

Moreover-- in the Buffalo War bundle is a yarn belt of very ancient origin, made of red dyed buffalo wool yarn! And-- but wait till I get the bacon home!

This is the original TEN STRIKE!

I've written Binger for more money & will wire him for still more.

Can you not have \$250.00 set aside from our specimen fund to be put to the Sioux work? You see I'm eating up our appropriation here-- but you know opportunities like this never happen twice!

I will perhaps be home, broke, in a week or ten days-- perhaps before you get this-- but today's haul alone has made the Departments field work for the year a howling success, & I may land the other Ioway pipes in Nebraska as I go home!

I sure feel happy that it has fallen to my lot to do so good a stroke for our beloved Institution and our Departments!

With best wishes

faithfully yours, Alanson S

The four quilled stems were the two in the female Buffalo bundle and the one in the Pigeon bundle. He also collected a quilled Missouri Aruhwa stem, and a stem (without quills) supposed to have been Bear clan (but which would turn out, was not). The effigy pipe bowl mentioned was the raccoon bowl (30138) associated with the Pigeon pipe. Unfortunately, the

buffalo wool yarn belt in the Buffalo War Bundle was not found there. The Ioway items associated with the first shipment received and cataloged at the Museum were those associated with catalog numbers 30132-30162. Apparently the mankanshutzi bundle and the buffalo bundle were received and numbered later, in the shipment after his next visit to the Ioway.

The following section records the artifacts in this first shipment (30132-30162), based on the original 1922 accession catalog, Skinner's descriptions in his 1926 Ethnology of the Ioway Indians (as well as the work of others like George West [1934]), and my personal observations of the collection at the Milwaukee Public Museum in April of 1993. This format, using Skinner's letters to introduce the collected objects and their descriptions, will be followed throughout the entire section on the Milwaukee Museum's collection.

The catalog makes the error of stating these items were collected in June. Skinner's correspondence clearly shows this first group was collected on May 19, 1922, Skinner described the buffalo hide cases associated with these pipes, as well as pipes collected later:

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 (Skinner 1926: 233).

Cow Buffalo Clan Pipe (30132-30135) [M1]

This pipe of the Aruhwa clan, or female Buffalo gens (cow buffalo clan) was collected in June from Mrs. Joe Springer, to whom he reported paying \$300, according to the catalog. It is pictured in figure 5.1. Skinner notes that 30133 is the major stem, with 30135 acting as a

second stem. His correspondence of May 19, 1922, suggests this is the Tce Kiradji [che kiraji] or Buffalo Clan Pipe. Skinner relates that these pipes are supposed to be quite old:

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 Nitanga, "Great Waves," or, as the Indians say, the ocean (Skinner 1926: 218).

He described two stems and mentioned the fact the bowl was missing as it was stolen long ago. He also says about these two stems in one bundle:

..In 1914 Little Elk [Joseph Springer] 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 [217] 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 (Skinner 1926: 217-218).

He called the first of the two stems "the Elder Stem." It is associated with the following elements:

30132/7287 "1- Buffalo hide outer wrapper." The smoke-stained tubular case has cloth protecting the ends. It is 1.15m long.

30133/7287 "1- Pipestem trimmed with porcupine quills, design representing buffalo trail and tracks. Sacred pipe of the Aruhwa or Female Buffalo gens, from Mrs. Joe Springer." The flat pipestem is 1.02m long, 4.5cm wide, and 1.5cm high. Skinner described this stem in his Ethnology. He seems confused as to whether it was the elk pipe or the buffalo pipe:

..The Buffalo (A'ruhwa), or Elk gens pipe bundle, obtained from Little Elk [Joseph Springer; it was actually in his wife's care] 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 [224] 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

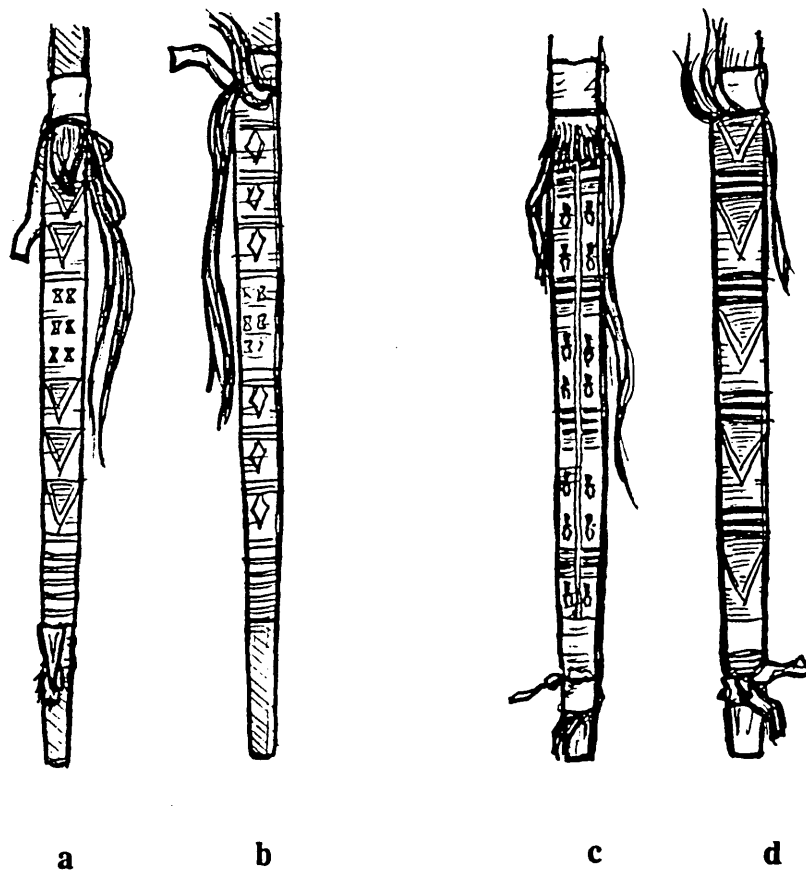


Figure 5.1: Buffalo clan pipestems [M1]; 30135: (a) above, (b) below; 30133: (c) above, (d) below

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 Orchard [1916: 32,33, fig.33] 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.

[225] 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 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 have once 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.

After examining the pipe, the following observations may be made. The hair which Skinner describes as "deer or horse hair" is definitely horse hair. The two "unusually large hoofs" may be alternately interpreted to be two pictographic buffalo figures, with the "dewclaws" instead being "arms" and the "hoofs" being "horns." Skinner says there was a buffalo tail in the bundle but this was not located. However, a buffalo tail was located in the Pigeon pipe bundle. Unfortunately its association seems affirmed there by the accession catalog.

The final item associated with the elder stem, according to the catalog, was 30134/7287: "1- Skin of bull's penis used for cover quillwork on pipestem." The buffalo bull's penis skin was not with the pipe or case, but was located in a separate drawer, and was associated through consulting the accession catalog. It is 46 cm long and 6 cm wide.

The second pipestem in the Cow Buffalo pipe bundle was called by Skinner, "the Younger Stem." It is described in the catalog as:

30135/7287 "1- Pipestem porcupine quill decoration used as substitute for 30133." It is 1.1m long, 3.5cm wide, and 1.5cm thick. Skinner provides an extensive description of this pipe in his Ethnology:

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 [226] 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, 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 (Skinner 1926: 223-226).

Pigeon Clan Pipe (30136-30140) [M2]

In the accession catalog, it was written that this pipe was the "Sacred pipe of the Tce kiradji or male Buffalo Gens, from Four Winds Woman, or Elsie Big Soldier" and cost \$250. Later, someone in a different hand crossed out "Tce kiradji " and wrote in "Pigeon." This correction appears to be written in Skinner's hand, supporting the supposition that many of the errors found by this researcher in connection with numbering and attribution came from the fact that Skinner sent in the objects by express freight and someone else at the museum actually assigned catalog numbers without having the correct information handy or Skinner available to check questions or problems. According to Skinner's letter of May 5, 1922, this is actually the Pigeon clan pipe. Additional evidence is in his letter of July 7 where he mentions that the Pigeon pipe has 7 ivory-bill heads; this is the only pipe so decorated. Current information also indicates that the Big Soldiers were supposed to have been related to the Pigeon clan.

The essential traits of the Pigeon pipe and bowl, as collected by Skinner, described in his correspondence, and reconsidered here are: a round stem, a red groove on the underside of

the stem, seven Ivory-billed woodpecker heads, and the raccoon bowl having no fin. The pipe is pictured in figure 5.2.

The elements to the bundle are:

30136/7287 "1- Buffalo hide outer wrapper." This 1.05m long, tubular, smoke-stained case is stitched along one side, with leather ties and two wires for stem cleaning attached.

30137/7287 "1- Pipestem ornamented with 7 scalps of the Ivory-billed woodpecker, horsehair, etc." The round pipestem is 1.08m long, and its diameter varies from 2cm to 1.5cm. Skinner describes the Pigeon pipestem in his Ethnology:

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'utatci 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.... [The descriptions are treated in a separate section.]

[231]..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 tailfeathers of the Golden Eagle, attached to buckskin thongs by means of sinew and bird quill wrappings (Skinner 1926: 230-231).

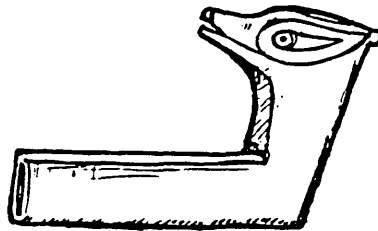
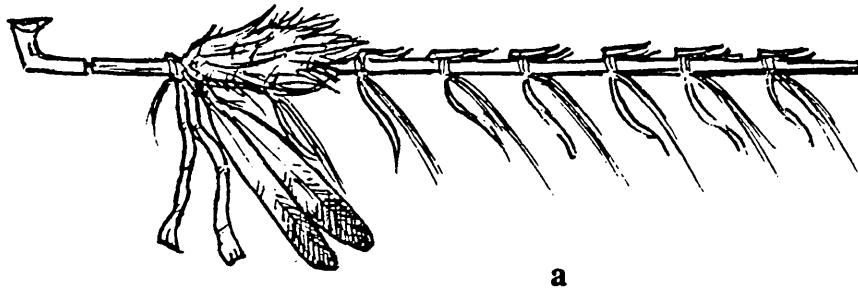


Figure 5.2: Pigeon clan pipe [M2]; (a) 30137 and 30138: stem and bowl; (b) 30138: bowl

30138/7287

"1- Antique effigy pipe bowl of red catlinite." The bowl is 11 cm long and 7 cm high. Skinner described the bowl:

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 (Skinner 1926: 231).

30139/7287

"1- Substitute pipe stem or staff." This should be compared to the Buffalo pipestem support stick (30537) which it resembles. This "pipestem or staff" is round in section, and is dark brown and polished. One end is sharpened to a chisel point, although this seems a more recent modification of an older form, as the carving exposes fresh, light, unpolished wood, with a hole drilled in the end. The opposite end has no fresh cut or hole, but had a carved "nipple" extending from the end. It seems that this may have been a stem blank reworked as a stem support, but compare it to 30537. It is also misnamed in the card file as a "pipe stem on staff."

30140/7287

"1- Buffalo tail." This is actually a buffalo tail tip, skinned and flattened, without the bone, with the tuft of hair attached. It was lying disassociated, in a drawer, and was associated through comparison with the accession catalog.

Skinner portrays the bowl on plate XXXI, fig. 3, and the bowl with stem on plate XXXII, fig. 3 (1926: 304-307). West shows the pipe on plate 185, fig. 3, as well as the bowl (in his reproduction of the plate from Skinner) on plate 185, fig. 3 (1934 II: 848-851). One

slight error in Skinner is that the Pigeon pipe's "raccoon" pipebowl (30138) is identified in his 1926 plates as catalog number 30137, which is actually the stem portion (1926: pl. XXXI, fig. 3 [bowl 30138]; pl. XXXII, fig. 3 [bowl 30138, with stem 30137]). This is probably because the 1926 work was published after his death when he could not check it for accuracy.

The pipe bowl bears "30138" on the bowl written in newer ink. Ewers perpetuates this misnumbering in his consideration of this pipebowl in his work on Plains Indian Sculpture, as well as giving the wrong accession number (30137/7322). Ewers says:

Figure 42. Raccoon effigy pipe; Iowa, from gens pipe, undated; catlinite; 4 3/4" long. Milwaukee Public Museum, cat. no. 30137/7322. "Raccoon Effigy Pipes- The raccoon was well known to many Plains Indian tribes, but I have seen only two effigy pipes portaying that animal— both in the Milwaukee Public Museum and from the Iowa tribe. The first was attached to one of the four sacred gens pipestems of the Iowa that were collected by Alanson Skinner and described by him in 1926 (pp. 215-38). Just how it became associated with the pipe of the Male Buffalo Gens is not explained. As depicted in figure 42, this elbow pipe renders the raccoon head in a highly stylized form, facing the smoker. The carver took pains to emphasize the mask-like effect of the area surrounding the eyes of this animal. The pipe is undated and presumably old, but I would doubt that it was originally intended to be used with the stem of the Male Buffalo Gens Pipe (Ewers 1986: 70)

The raccoon bowl pictured is the one without the fin (30138/7287). Ewers is thus mistaken. This raccoon bowl is not the one associated with the Male Buffalo Gens; the raccoon bowl associated with the male Buffalo gens is the one that has the fin still intact (30536b/7322). In any case, it has been shown that it is difficult to be certain that many of these pipes are actually the clan pipes of the clan to which they are attributed. However, the Pigeon Clan pipe as considered here has one of the strongest claims of any of the Ioway pipes to be that which it is claimed to be. It was collected from someone connected to the associated clan, Elsie Big Soldier. It was never purported to be from any other clan, as were the Buffalo and Bear Pipes, and it was apparently never part of the intentional misinformation given by some of the informants. In any case, it is worth considering how a raccoon bowl might be associated with the Pigeon Clan. For example, Skinner reports that the Pigeon Gens counted

as its fourth subgens, a division called *Minkaxhringe*, or "Big Raccoon" (1926: 194). Also, one of the personal names in the Pigeon Gens was *Minxaxu*, or "White Raccoon" (1926: 196).

Sacred Pipe (clan uncertain, possibly Wolf clan) (30141-30143) [M3]

This pipe is marked in the accession catalog as the "Sacred pipe of the Tunapi Kiradji or Bear Gens, from Charles Tohee," purchased for \$200. It was recorded in the catalog that way, but after examining Skinner's correspondence it appears that this is not the case.

This controversial Pipe of uncertain attribution was at first sold by Charles Tohee to Skinner as the Black Bear Clan Pipe (see 30538) on May 19, 1922 (5/19/22). It has often, since then and with great confusion, been regarded as such in various studies. However Skinner makes it clear that this Pipe was not the true Bear Pipe in his letters. He states he was fooled by Tohee, who was understandably reluctant to give up his Bear Clan's true pipe, and that this first "bear" pipe was "that miserable substitute, the wolf clan pipe" (6/20/22). He never gives a reason why he called that first "bear" pipe the wolf pipe. In fact, later he says he bought another, different pipe on July 9, 1922, which he calls the pipe of the "Wolf Clan, with a semi-effigy bowl" (7/10/22). Which is it?

We must consider here that this pipe we are presently discussing (fig. 5.3) has no definite attribution. It is not the Black Bear Clan Pipe, certainly. It may be that of the Wolf Clan (or not). The length of the stem (about a meter) implies it is the pipe of some clan rather than that of a shorter personal pipe. Here we will bypass the clan argument, except to state that it is not the Black Bear Clan Pipe. We know that there were two pipes called the Bear Clan pipe. The first pipe was not described. The second (true) pipe was bought in two pieces, first the stem and then the bowl. The stem was noted as having a Carolina Parakeet skin attached. That bowl was drawn and is the standing animal and double face bowl. As two sets of pipes/bowls were bought from Charles Tohee, the process of elimination establishes the stem

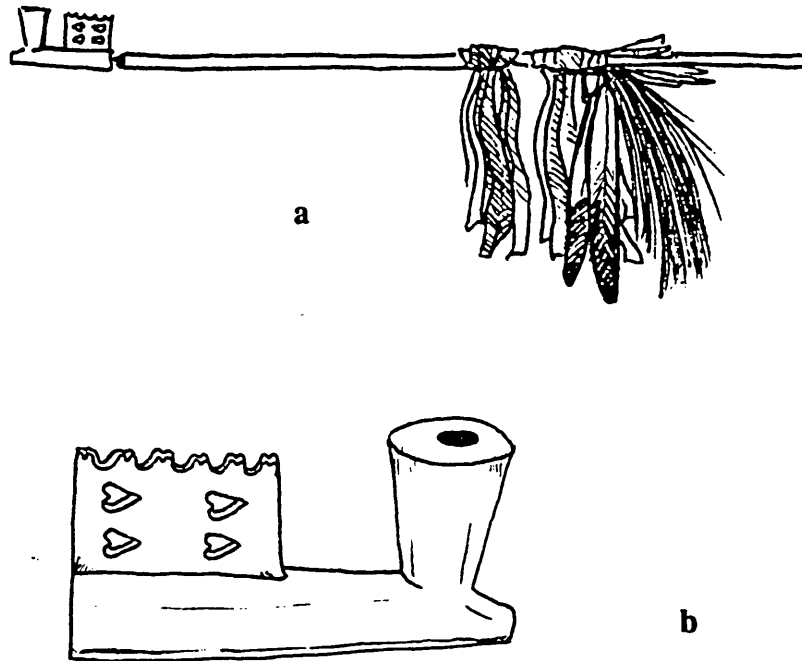


Figure 5.3: Unidentified clan pipe [M3]; (a) 30142 and 30143: stem and bowl; (b) 30143: bowl

without the Parakeet and the bowl without the standing animal/double face carving was the pipe set first bought, the one to be described here (30141-30143).

Unfortunately, Skinner also described the effigy bowl in tandem with the no-parakeet stem, and the parakeet stem with the no-effigy bowl, effectively confusing the situation further (1926: 232-233). Finally, Skinner also portrayed the heart bowl with the stem without the parakeet (as will be seen to be correct) in his 1926 plates! (1926: 306-307, pl. XXXII, fig. 4: "Bear gens (?) pipe. Catalog number 30142. Length 47 inches.").

After much thought, the primacy and immediacy of the 1922 correspondence is considered here to be the actual pipe situation. The mismatched, confused Ethnology description of 1926 is in direct conflict with that earlier correspondence and suffers from internal inconsistency. We will proceed on the assumption that the first pipe set collected was the pipe collected from Charles Tohee without the effigy bowl or the parakeet stem. The descriptions from Skinner will then be associated with the appropriate pipes.

This pipe bundle, its true clan affiliation unknown, is described in its true association here:

30141/7287 "1- Buffalo hide outer wrapper ." This stitched tubular case is also heavily smoke-stained, with woven selvage and cloth ties, as well a piece of cloth protecting one end. The cloth colors include tan, red, white, blue, striped red and yellow. A few white beads are sewn on one edge of the case, appearing to be remnants of an earlier design. Cleaners made of heavy-gauge wire are attached to the wrapper with the cloth ties. The case is 1.14 meters long.

30142/7287 "1- Pipestem decorated with ribbons and horsehair, each ribbon representing a member of the gens who was tattooed." This was written in pencil in a different hand: "Pipestem previously mislabelled as 30538. See Skinner. Relabeled 5/7/87. Attribution

goes with 30538: Area of Loss Last Bird." It cannot be said what this last phrase means. This is the stem without the parakeet. The stem has the number 30142/7287 inked on it, but also has a tag which says 30538a on it, because of the mixup. This is probably as a mistake through a later researcher's following Skinner's Ethnology description, without checking it against the correspondence.

The stem was found without any ornaments, and is 1.07 m long and 3 cm in diameter. There is one unnumbered large ornament (48 cm long) with ribbons, owl feathers, eagle feathers, and a large pendant of red horsehair loose in a drawer which belongs to this pipestem, according to Skinner's description (below) as well as the way it looked on plate XXXII, fig. 4 (1926: 306-307). A second unnumbered stem ornament loose in the pipe drawer (numbered on its plastic bag, 30538a) was made of a cluster of ribbons with a woodpecker scalp (not mentioned in Skinner). Comparisons with descriptions and stems in plates from Skinner and West, also associate this ornament with the false Bear stem 30142 rather than the stem with which it is usually confused (30538a).

The stem is portrayed correctly on Skinner's plate XXXII, fig.4: "Bear gens (?) pipe, cat. 30142, L: 47in." There it is portrayed with the hearts on fin bowl "30531b", and the unnumbered ornament.

The following description is from Skinner's Ethnology, but it must be emphasized that this description is accurate only regarding the physical characteristics of the stem; the attribution to the Bear gens is in error, according to his field correspondence, and those notes should apply to the true Bear stem 30538a:

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) [as corrected, this should be fig. 4] 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 [sic] 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 (Skinner 1926: 232-233).

The bowl which should be associated with this stem is 30143/7287, "1- pipebowl of red catlinite," which is the pipe bowl with the negative-heart flange design.

The Janus-face bowl of the real Bear pipe is numbered 30143 in ink on the bowl, but that number is unlikely, as Skinner specifically says in his correspondence that the Janus-bowl belonged to the real Bear pipestem which was not acquired until later; indeed, Skinner notes that he located and acquired the missing Janus-bowl (for \$25) after he got the real Bear pipe (June 22 and June 27). There is also a tag attached to the bowl which reads 30538b. Instead, 30143 is, as Skinner notes, the bowl with the negative-heart flange (Skinner 1926: 304-305, plate XXXI, fig. 7): "Black Bear gens pipe. Catalog number 30143. Length 7 inches." This bowl had the faded numbers 30-38- written on it in ink, and a tag with 30143 attached as well.

George West later contributed to the mix-up. He adhered to Skinner's published 1926 text rather than disentangling why Skinner portrayed the pipes with switched bowls and stems, trusting to the text rather than the photographs, and seemingly failing to check either against his correspondence or his field notes, wherever they were (we must remember that Skinner had been dead for years). West portrays the Carolina parakeet stem with the heart bowl (fig. 5) as

the "Thunder gens Pipe" and the janus-bowl with the other stem (fig. 4) as the "Black Bear gens Pipe", the reverse of how Skinner had portrayed them (West 1934 II: 850-851).

In the case of the pipebowl, West reproduces Skinner's plate XXXI. West is in error, as he calls the Janus bowl catalog 30143, but the Janus pipebowl is the lost one later recovered by Skinner, as earlier noted in his correspondence. West then proceeds to identify the heart-bowl as "Figure 7. Minnesota catlinite pipe-bowl for Thunder gens pipe. Locomotive type. A high fin at the rear ornamented by scalloped edge and four heart-shaped apertures. A pronounced anterior projection. L. 185 mm. H. 90 mm. Oklahoma. Cat. No. 30538. Stem of this pipe illustrated in figure 5 of Plate 185" (West 1934 II: 848-849, plate 184). The heart-flange bowl may be Minnesota catlinite, but it was sold to Skinner first as the bowl to the Black Bear pipe, then identified by Skinner as being actually the Wolf pipe bowl, and numbered 30143 in the catalog.

In his description of the heart bowl (corrected 30143), his plate (XXXI, fig.7) portrays the right image but it is mislabelled the Black Bear gens pipe (which is actually 30531b):

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 (Skinner 1926: 233).

Buffalo Pipe of the Missouri Tribe (30144-30147) [no number given]

This pipe was the fourth pipe set collected by Skinner in the first of the three incidents in which he bought clan pipes. Although the pipe set 30144-30147 is included in the Ioway pipes, it is actually the Buffalo gens pipe of the Missouri tribe, and thus will not be counted in the later comparisons. Fred Big Soldier was born a Missouri but married into the Oto community and considered himself part of the Oto community as the Missouri tribe had been

absorbed into the Oto (Skinner 1926: 217). The catalog also mistakenly calls it the "Sacred pipe of the Lutci Kiradji or Pigeon Gens obtained from Fred Big Soldier." This was scratched out and written in different hand, which looks like Skinner's: "Aruhwa or Buffalo gens." This correction is confirmed by both Skinner's correspondence and his Ethnology description (1926: plates XXXI (fig. 5), XXXIV (figs. 1, 2), XXXV (figs. 1, 2). The pipe is 92 cm long, 4 cm wide and 1.5 cm thick. There was also a penis skin cover numbered 30146 with it. Skinner did not mention a penis cover with this pipe although he did for the Female Buffalo pipe (penis skin 30134) and that skin was not found; 30146 may actually be that missing skin, misnumbered and belonging to stem 30133.

Catalog accession numbers 30148-30153 cover various Ioway artifacts, like a wooden bowl and a coupstick, not connected with sacred bundles, so they will not be dealt with here.

Medicine Dance bags

As mentioned by Hamilton, the Medicine Dance articles, or at least the otterskin bags, were kept in a sacred bundle. None of the bags collected by Skinner were found in that state. It may be argued that the otter bags themselves might be considered sacred bundles themselves, as they are considered sacred, and have a cover containing smaller components, such as medicines and amulets. At present, they (like the eagle wing fan below) are included because of Hamilton and Dorsey's characterizations as their being kept in the *ta waluxawe*, although no such bundle appears to have survived.

The Eagle wing fan and mat cover (30154-30155) was supposed to have been used in the Medicine Dance:

30154/7287 "1- Eagle wing carried in Medicine Dance by leader." This eagle wing fan, bought enclosed in the following mat from Charles Tohee, was unadorned except for a few ribbons at the base. It is badly deteriorated.

30155/7287 "1- Small reed mat used to contain 30154 (C.T.)." This rush mat, used to wrap eagle wing 30154, was probably not originally intended as a cover. It does not have the pocket found on other mat covers. It is also much thicker than those others, and may have originally been made as a sitting or sleeping mat. The design on it is also different from the usual diamond design found on those other mat covers. This design is made of alternating brown, green, and yellow zones of interlocking zigzags which overlap to make diamonds. Rolled up, the mat is 52 cm.

An early entry by Hamilton described Ioway mats:

The mats are made of long grass, about three times the size of a stalk of wheat, and 3 or 4 ft. long. These are tied together with twine of the inner bark of [linden] or basswood. These are winter tents, and [the mats] are carried about from place to place in their travels. Within, they have mats of the same material, [which are] woven into various figures, and [are] plaited around chairs or [a frame]work of twine which keeps them firm and [these mats] are about 6 or 7 feet long and 3 [feet] wide. Some of them are very nice, nicer than the matting you get at the merchants, but heavier (Hamilton ca. 1848).

Buffalo Doctor woven bags (30156, 30157)

The next two items apparently did not belong to a larger bundle, but had been used for medicines by the Buffalo Doctor Society, so they will be described here. Skinner stated that woven bags were called "panhkre", and were made of hemp, yarn, nettle fiber, and beads (1926: 285).

30156(a-b)/7287 "2- woven bag containing felted buffalo hair, used by Buffalo Doctors (Charles Tohee)." 30156a is the small woven bag itself, rectangular with zigzag and diamond patterns done in brown, black, green, white, and red wool yarns. Inside was 30156b, a large patch of shed buffalo hair. A piece of white gauze containing desiccant or poison (?) is attached to the latter, as a curation measure by the museum.

30157/7287 "1- small woven bag containing root medicines. \$5, Charles Tohee." This is a woven bag, found empty of whatever root medicines it may have once held.

The designs are bluish black, done on a natural color (tan) background. On one side is an underwater panther, in "x-ray" style, with a diamond above it. On the other side is a human figure, with the arms held down. The figure has a heart in the chest area. A wavy line extends from each arm down to the ground. On each side, the figure is enclosed by vertical bands in red and diagonal lines in bluish-black. The combination of the two figures may imply that whatever power the medicines were associated with were connected with the Underworld Forces, and thereby, perhaps, evil. Skinner says the following:

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 (Skinner 1926: 286).

As stated above, this bag is pictured in Skinner 1926: 340-341, plate XLIX, fig. 3:

"Small woven bast bag, panther design. ...Length 5 3/4 inches."

Catalog numbers 30158-30162 cover other Ioway artifacts not connected to bundles, such as cradleboards and an elkhorn scraper. From 30163 on, items from other tribes, such as the Kickapoo and Oto, were accessioned. Skinner was finished for that season among the Ioway, and prepared to return to Milwaukee.

Collecting in 1922 (Part 2): Catalog and Description

Return to Milwaukee

At the end of May, Skinner returned to Milwaukee for a while, but stopped at the Northern Ioways on the Nemaha Reserve for a quick and unsuccessful visit. He again returned to Oklahoma in June to again collect and take notes. His enthusiasm begins to decline, although his workload does not. He is also trying to purchase some of the Ioway

items from Dr. Barnard's collection. Barnard had also used Springer as an agent. There are some troubling passages in some of Skinner's letters concerning his relations with Springer and the Ioways, as well as his collection methods, ethics, and attitudes. His first letter is to Joe Springer; he apparently does not know that he will return in June.

May 31, 1922

Mr. Joe Springer, Perkins, Iowa [sic: Oklahoma]

My dear Joe:-

I am back in Milwaukee for a little while, and found that all the pipes and things that you and I bought from the Ioway Indians are safely here. They look very nice together.

I spent a day at Nemaha and saw some of your relations but did not get anything very much, as they claim to have thrown away all their bundles. Mrs. Duroin told me that she had given an otter skin to your daughter, Elsie Big-soldier. If she has it yet I would like to buy it, so I wish you would ask her about it. I am also sending you a check for \$30.00. I wish you would buy the otter bag that old Mrs. Dave Tohee has. You know she said we could have it for \$25.00, so that would leave \$5.00 for you. If you can get her to come down to \$20.00 that will be \$10.00 in your pocket. Also, I would like to buy that eagle clan pipe that you spoke of. You remember the woman was away from home when I was there.

Joe I expect to come back to Oklahoma perhaps about the first of September, and I would like to pick up anything more that you can locate from the Ioways, and then take you up to Red Rock to spend some time collecting among the Otoes. I heard from a man who is a particularly good interpreter up there who would like to take me around, but for Old Time's sake I would rather have you. I may be down before then, any way, get Mrs. Tohee's otter and see what else you can locate around home. I will buy any kind of old Ioway stuff that you may turn up -- woven bags, mats, elk horn scrapers, wooden bowls, buffalo horn spoons or medicine bundles....

June 6th, 1922

My Dear Dr. Barnard;

I am interested in your Iowa material of whatever nature, especially medicine bundles, either for purchase or exchange....

[To J. P. Schumacher]

June 9th, 1922

...You will be interested to learn that I have just returned from quite a long trip south, to Oklahoma, where I have been collecting for the Museum among the Sauk and Ioway Indians. My primary object was to visit the Sauk, who of course were formerly Wisconsin dwellers...

I also got some very wonderful antique things from the Ioways, especially four out of the seven sacred peace pipes of the tribe. It is thought that two of the remainder are destroyed, and I am promised the remaining one....

Oklahoma again

By late June, he has returned to Oklahoma. The second collection success is marked by a letter on June 20, which explains the Black Bear pipe incident. The description of this pipe clears up later confusion about which pipe is really the Bear pipe.

*Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Oklahoma
June 20, 1922*

My dear Dr. Barrett;

Have just returned from the Ioways and I have some haul. Joe Springer was away so I did not get to see the woman who is said to have the Eagle & Thunder gens pipe. I started, but, as I unearthed the real bear pipe and another one on the way, an otter, a few rawhide trunks, a complete Dream Dance outfit etc. I was so darned broke I gave up on the way.

About the pipes. It seemed Charlie Tohee who kept the Bear clan pipe held out the real one on me and sold me that miserable substitute, the Wolf clan pipe, which is similar, the last time. But Weasel [2] made him own up, and at last he coughed up the real Black Bear clan pipe bundle. It is a pippin-- not so many ivory bills, but a complete bird which I take to be a Carolina Parroquette! --It cant be anything else that I could concieve [sic] of. It certainly is a miniature "Jew duck"! Of course Tohee howled and wailed & held me up for \$60.00 bucks on his pipe, and I at last, with oaths & tears, paid it.

Whereupon, up speaks a visitor, Frank Kent, "If these clan pipes are bringing \$60.00, nows the time I'll sell mine!"

Well, dammit all, that cost me another \$60.00 & no escape. However-- its some pipe! Also it has an ancient animal bowl, archaic, but otherwise like the former.

Meanwhile, I hear the keeper of the Otoe Buffalo [3] dance headdresses is on his way here to see me, and two Sauk have offered to sell warbundles.

I dont know why all this is breaking now, but I do know its our golden hour. Can you possibly send me any more money? Hypothecate our archeological fund, reduce everybodys wages, rob a bank, but-- and this is no joke send me some more money-- otherwise I may never even get to the Otoe. I could easily use another \$1000.00 if I had it, and I believe never to better advantage! Its the chance of a museum's lifetime. I think the Ioway are nearly cleaned out-- but not the Sauk-- and the Oto-- oh boy!

Please let me know about dough as soon as you can-- hastily Alanson

[Telegram to S.A. Barrett, June 20, 1922]

...HAVE MADE WONDERFUL HAUL 5 SACRED BUNDLE INCLUDING 2 MORE PIPES MUCH MORE IN VIEW LETTERS FOLLOW CONSIDER THIS OUR GREAT OPPORTUNITY WILL NEED MORE MONEY CAN YOU POSSIBLY RAISE \$1000.00

*MORE CHANCE OF LIFE TIME EVERYTHING FAVORABLE WIRE ME AT
THOMPSON HOTEL THIS CITY...*

[Telegram to Alanson Skinner, June 22, 1922]

*...AMOUNT YOU REQUESTED WILL BE DEPOSITED YOUR ACCOUNT TOMORROW.
CONGRATULATIONS.*

(Signed) S. A. BARRETT

The next letter shows his success, but also indicates his growing fatigue. The missing effigy pipebowl he has located is the standing animal bowl for the Black Bear parakeet stem.

*Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Okla.
June 23, 1922*

Dear Dr. Barrett-

Thanks for your telegram which I received a little before midnight last night -- I had been out since 6 a.m. -- and it cheered me up mightily. I am still -- lucky. Yesterday landed 4 Ioway buffalo dr. society bundles, 3 of the same for the Oto, 3 beautiful quilled med. bags -- 2 Ioway, 1 Oto and a mass of sacred & ordinary material, some of which is nothing less than wonderful -- 1 Ioway scraper handle of elkhorn with 6 symbolic figures representing coups & decorative bands -- several stone mortars & manos etc. etc. Located the missing effigy head of one of our Ioway pipes. I think I will try to get it.

We were out 18 hrs. yesterday & covered nearly 200 miles over [2] rough roads, visiting Ioway & Oto.... All is well -- but days of inaction follow days of intense activity -- that is days of non success -- I'm active -- god knows -- also tired -- ditto.

Will not bother you with details except Springer has sickness in family & I can't get him for steady work as yet -- weather very hot....

*Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Okla.
June 24, 1922*

My dear Dr. Barrett;

Your kind letter recieved [sic] & I have deposited my check in the bank for \$1000.00. I'm sorry to make you pare other funds but -- oh boy! My sorrow will not prevent me from asking for more -- can you possibly raise any if I do? We will have one of the world's best collections of Central Algonkian & Southern Siouan ceremonial stuff -- we have now, by the time I get back.

Unfortunately Harrington raked in just about all the Ioway & Otoe warbundles, & Barnard gleaned most of the rest. War bundles were first to go among them -- but I have hopes. One thing -- I doubt if I can do so very much with the Otoe this [2] season -- the Sauk

& Ioway are keeping me plenty busy. I think I wrote you about some of the bacon -- bacon? --

Whole Hog is what I want. The list is today --

Sauk- Witch bundle 1, war bundles 2, Charging warbundles 2 -- total 5

Ioway. Sacred pipes 2, Buffalo Doctors bundles 4.

Otoe, Buffalo Drs. Bundles 3, small Buffalo war medicine 1

Quilled Otters

Ioway, 1 [otter], 1 quilled squirrel, 1 beaded otter

Sauk, 2 quilled otters

Otoe, 1 beautiful quilled otter

I have a fair lot of other Ioway ceremonial & household stuff, a little Otoe, & some Sauk to boot. -- Oh yes -- a whole Ioway Dream Dance Drum outfit, beautiful, that I got dirt cheap...

[3].. I have in view an Ioway buckskin shirt, a Missouri buffalo bundle, and a few other nubbins. Incidentally I have several complete sets of stone corn mullers & mortars -- Ioway & Otoe, that are very primitive -- and did I say I located & an negotiating for the wonderful missing effigy bowl of the Ioway Bear Clan pipe? An Otoe stole it, & I've seen it, but couldn't agree on the price then.

[Sketch of the Janus-face pipe bowl, with standing animal figure on it] something like this.

Expect my Ioway friend in town tomorrow & will pump him [for information] a week maybe before doing much collecting. Am very much persona grata with all the Indians, I think....

The next few letters indicate that his success is being tempered with disappointment. It also indicates that, as far as the Ioway go, the honeymoon is over. His time in the field is beginning to wear on him, even if he is staying every night in a hotel. His letters also begin to intimate some ethical questions, as well as a deteriorating attitude--- especially note the highlighted passages.

Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Okla.

June 27, 1922

My dear Dr. Barrett--

Am hard at work getting Ioway material culture data. I have fine notes also a full account of the pipes. Have done little collecting lately yet have landed another quilled Sauk otter, the last Ioway woman's dress -- a remarkable Otoe Grizzly Bear Drs. Bundle, another Buffalo Drs. bundle, and the last Ioway pipe bowl.

I had to give \$25.00 for the latter, damn it, but if you bring charges against me I know West will back me up! It's some pipe-- also Pip!

I hate taking Ioway notes. They-- the Ioway-- are simply beastly in their habits, and that flatters them immensely. [2] They had earth lodges and even wattle & daub houses it seems -- made clay pots in the childhood of my informant etc. I'm sure sick of them as [undecipherable]. Sauk are very clean & much more pleasant to be

among. I have rounded up a pretty good Ioway collection but there is little left -- still watch my dust! Will go to Oto perhaps tomorrow for a pre-fourth'o-July raid -- then back here to garner med. bundles that I am trying for.

Saw the famous [Sauk] Ten Turkey Clan outfit -- man asked \$500.00 for lot, but when he took me into clan house there were only 4! He still, unabashed, demanded \$500.00-- so we won't [3] get them -- ahem, of him, at least! I fear some other Indian may steal'em, but no savvy. 3 more Sauk bundles promised but you know -- no trust'em Injun...

*Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Okla.
 June 29th, 1922*

Dear Dr. Barrett;

..The Ioway are cleaned out of specimens but I am [2] getting good data by the sweat of my brow. Imagine a whole tribe of Joe Satterlees -- lazy, dishonest, smart, and unutterably & disgustingly filthy and you have the Ioway. They may have toilets, but why walk 100 feet from the house when all outdoors begins at the threshold? I have spent several scorching days in an atmosphere of ordure and urine, & I

hope I never see another Ioway when this is done. The Sauk are very clean and decent, thank God!

By the way -- note this -- the Ioway made wattle & mud daub houses at one time, as well as typical earth lodges. Aztalan brickettes? I wonder. Please let me know Prof. Keyes address, I want to see an ancient Ioway site that it bona fide -- maybe I'll come home that way.

Well -- I made a wholly fruitless trip to the Otoe yesterday. Couldn't buy a thing -- my [3] first water haul this trip. Prices simply impossible where last week-- before payment-- they were cheap.

But tonight I had a little luck. Unlike the other tribes we know the Sauk do not keep either their bundles or their otters individually, they are held in the gens bark house-- or a special bark house-- by a special officer.

I have corrupted 2 of these officers and the score to date is 9 midé bags, all but 2 of which are quilled. The beaded ones are remarkable too-- more are promised-- all depends on chance & opportunity -- I also await bundles. Got into the Turkey Clan house & saw the famous 10 -- there were in reality 4. As the man asks \$500.00, I am waiting. # others are still in the air -- 2 I am quite sure to get -- eventually. Another week ought to tell....

The next letter seems to show that Skinner was not necessarily the one who committed the thefts of some of these Sauk bundles, and that it was an important enough issue to write to Barrett about. However, he certainly aroused the greed of less-ethical people and was not one to ask undue questions. He cannot be seen as an innocent party whether he received the goods or not.

Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Oklahoma
July 4th, 1922

My dear Dr. Barrett;

It is noised about here that four holy bundles belonging to deceased members of the Turkey gens of the Sauk have disappeared from under the nose of the gens bundle keeper, and, as it is well known around here that I openly offered as high as \$200.00 for them, I want to assure you, first, in case an inquiry should ever be made, that not only have I not personally "acquired" them, neither has any Indian brought them to me for sale. Neither have they been shipped to the Museum by me, nor will they be shipped to the Museum, by me or anyone else.

Of course, since I have [2] bought many sacred bundles of the Ioway, Otoe, and Sauk, I cannot say that I might not have purchased these, since all bundles look alike outside and so far as I can learn no living person has ever seen the interior of these Turkey bundles among the Sauk. Naturally, I do not insult the vendor of an important sacred article by asking him if he stole it.

This note is just to tell you that should ever inquiry be made you may truthfully say that no such shipment has been made to the Museum.

All is well. Mainly gathering Sauk & Ioway data -- expect to have enough for a couple of excellent monographs....

By July 5, he feels his work is done, and is ready to go home.

Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Oklahoma
July 5, 1922

My dear Dr. Barrett;

I intend to wire you tomorrow for \$250.00 to pay up my debts & come home on, as I hope to pull off another coup before the week is out. Of course, I may fail, in which case I won't use the money, but as matters stand I feel that the expedition has been a most brilliant success. I have succeeded in making not only a representative collection but in striking some of the high spots. Not even the Museum of the American Indian has more beautiful Sauk quillwork for example. In other words, they have got to come to us now, if they want to see real ancient Sauk & Ioway material of the best....

Thompson Hotel, Cushing, Oklahoma
July 10th, 1922

My dear Dr. Barrett--

Had hoped to start home today, but, as I failed to pull off [f] the coup I had intended yesterday, must stay on a while. However, I "coued" a little-- got another Ioway sacred pipe! Wolf Clan, with a semi-effigy bowl, and a plain old Ioway buffalo robe. I am going to keep at it, plugging at some prospects including the last complete Ioway deerskin suit of which I have hopes. I have now 6 Ioway & 1 Missouri sacred pipes -- there is at least 1 more Ioway pipe-- maybe more-- informants testimony conflicts-- anyway I guess the Ioway are about cleaned out here. Have hundreds of pages of data on both Ioway & Sauk, mostly Ioway....

The Wolf bowl is the "lizard" or otter bowl. By July 17, he was back in Milwaukee, and made a final report to Barrett on the 1922 collecting trip. He also wrote a letter to a fellow Masonic lodge member at the American Museum of Natural History which he had collected for in 1914.

[In-house memo from Skinner, Curator of Anthropology, to S.A. Barrett, Director]

July 17, 1922

My Dear Dr. Barrett:

In reply to your inquiry concerning the results of the two field expeditions of the Dept. of Anthropology to Oklahoma, during the past season. I am happy to report that both were exceptionally successful.

<i>The amount of the original appropriation was,</i>	\$2500.00
<i>Later augmented by the sums of:</i>	\$1000.00
	\$300.00
	\$200.00

<i>Total</i>	<u>\$4000.00</u>
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Under the circumstances it was possible to gather a quantity of most unusual specimens including principally two collections illustrating the material culture of the Sauk Indians, who formerly inhabited the State of Wisconsin, and also that of the Ioway Indians for whom the State of Iowa was named, the latter tribe is now nearly extinct. Besides these articles certain of the tribal sacred shrines known as "Medicine Bundles", and "medicine bags["] of animal skin. These objects are almost impossible to obtain as a rule and our good fortune in securing these places us ahead of nearly every Museum in the country. For example, no other museum has any of the Ioway sacred clan peace pipes. Only seven of these [2] are supposed to exist and of these we possess six. A partial list of the ceremonial objects obtained follows below:

Sauk Indians

*10 sacred bundles
16 medicine bags*

Missouri Indians

1 sacred pipe bundle

Otoe Indians

*5 Buffalo-Doctor's Bundles
1 grizzly bear bundle
2 red medicine bundles
1 otter-skin medicine bag*

Ioway Indians

*6 clan peace pipes
6 medicine bags
4 Buffalo bundles
1 tattooing bundle
1 love medicine bundle
2 buffalo robes
1 chief's personal bundle
1 Peyote religion outfit
1 complete Dream-Dance Drum outfit*

In all seven sacred pipes, twenty-five other bundles, twenty-three medicine bags, besides hundreds of other articles, some of great rarity and value.

If these articles were to be sold again, undoubtedly a very much larger sum than that expended could be realized. It should also be born [sic] in mind that many of these specimens such as the Ioway sacred peace pipes and for that matter, the entire Ioway collection with many of the household utensils of the Sauk can never again be duplicated and will increase in value as time goes on.

*Yours very sincerely [sic],
Alanson Skinner, Curator of Anthropology*

[To James P. Chapin, American Museum of Natural History, New York]
July 20th, 1922

Dear Brother James [Masonic address]:

Last Sunday I returned from the second of two field trips that I have made to Oklahoma this summer, with a very large quantity of specimens. Among other things I succeeded in getting six of the seven clan peace pipes of the Ioway Indians. The other one seems to have been lost, and may well not be in existence. The interesting thing about these pipes is that the stems of them are magnificently ornamented with porcupine quill work, dyed hair, and the heads of birds, including not only the pileated but the ivory billed woodpecker. In addition two of them have the entire skins of carolina parakeets attached to them...

One of the sacred pipes, that of the pigeon clan, has no less than 7 ivory bill heads on it, the others have less. The pipes are supposed to be exceedingly ancient, and also to have been made in Wisconsin or Minnesota....

The following section describes the objects collected during this second trip in late June of 1922.

Wolf Clan Pipe (30532-30533) [M4]

30532(a-b)/7322 "2- Sacred pipe of the Wolf gens." This pipe was bought from the "Ioway wife of Chief Little Deer of the Otoe" for \$150. It was collected by Skinner on July 10, 1922 as the "Wolf Clan pipe with semi-effigy bowl" (7/10/1922). It is pictured in figure 5.4. The notable characteristics of this pipe are the ovoid stem, a Carolina parakeet, and the so-called "lizard" bowl. 30532a is the stem of the pipe. It is 1.05 m long and 2 cm in diameter. It has a Carolina parakeet attached, 20 cm long. 30532b is the bowl, 14.5 cm long and 8 cm high. Skinner described the pipe:

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.

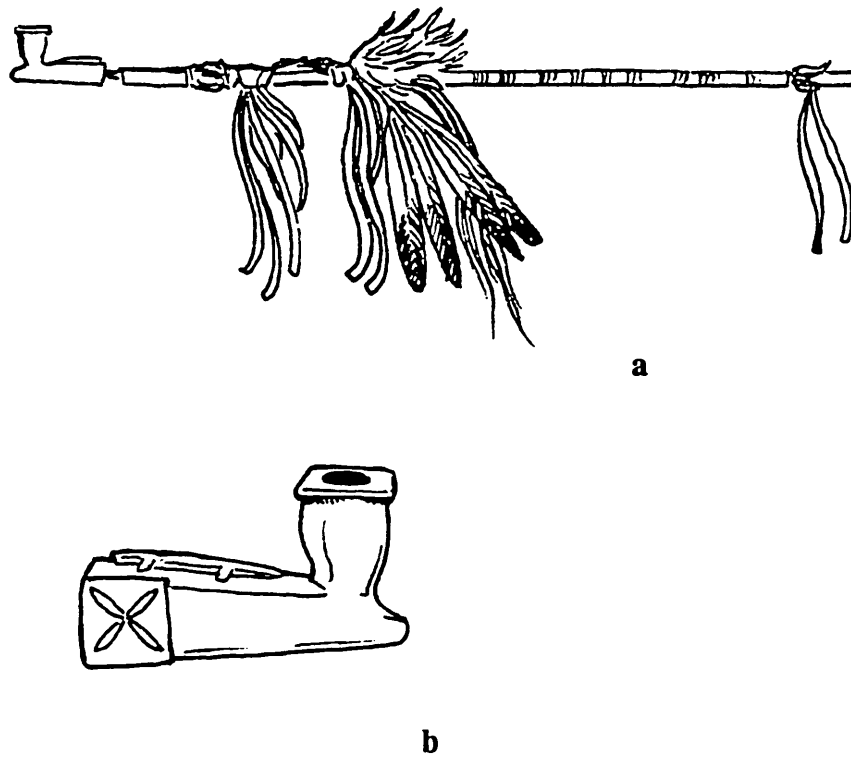
The stem of this pipe, which, unlike the others described, is ovoid in cross section, measures forty-one inches in length. The quillwork, which is of the same technic as that on the others, and is applied by [229] wrapping in the same way, bears the same design on both sides. It consists of alternate 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 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, [230] 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 identical, was noted in the possession of an Oto woman. To what gens the latter pertained, could not be learned (Skinner 1926: 228-230).

Skinner pictures the complete pipe with bowl as "Wolf gens pipe. Catalog number 30532a-b. Length 45 inches" (1926: 306-307, pl. XXXII, fig. 2). West has it also as the "Wolf gens Pipe" (1934 II: 850-851, pl. 185, fig. 2). The woodpecker scalp and tuft of red hair near the mouthpiece end described by Skinner is now missing from the pipe, and was not located elsewhere. The Skinner and West plates also show two long ribbons there, also missing.



**Figure 5.4: Wolf clan pipe [M4]; (a) 30532a-b: stem and bowl;
(b) 30532b: bowl**

Skinner pictures the "lizard" bowl by itself as the "Wolf gens pipe" (1926: 304-305, fig. 4). West uses a reproduction of Skinner's pipebowl plate (West 1934 II: 848-849, pl. 184, fig. 4). This writer feels that the proportion of the legs, the shape of the head suggesting ears, and the importance of the otter in Ioway religious thought pose a strong argument for interpreting the figure as that of an otter, rather than a lizard. A Winnebago-Omaha friend, Irma Wilson-White, corroborated this perception. John Ewers mentions this bowl, but believes it to be of Pawnee origin:

One of the so-called gens pipes of the Iowa Indians in the Milwaukee Public Museum has a long-tailed, short-legged creature spread out on the shank facing the smoker, which may have been intended to represent a lizard (figure 55). With its rounded sides, topped by a rectangular platform at its opening, the bowl of this pipe resembles that of the old bear effigy pipe from the Pike-Pawnee Site (figure 10 of this book) and other known Pawnee pipes. I think it likely this pipe is also of Pawnee make (Ewers 1986: 78, fig. 55).

Many of Ewers' comments must be questioned, because in his comments on Ioway pipe bowls, he ascribes most of them to non-Ioway origins. As often reiterated in this paper, Ioway material culture seems always to be attributed to diffusion from other tribes. The cause is simply one of familiarity (or the lack of it), as the Ioway have been little-studied as compared to the Pawnee, Sioux, and the others. The proof is not there for the directionality of diffusion, materially or logically, for anyone to make such assertions.

30533/7322 "1- buffalo hide wrapper for the above." Unfortunately there are two pipe cases numbered 30533 for the single stem 30532. It is likely one was misnumbered, as the case 30534 for the Bull Buffalo clan pipestem was not located. At this time, which is which remains problematic. Both cases will therefore be described here (although one actually belongs with 30534, below). One pipe case (90 cm long) has a little of the hair left. The yellowish hair color suggests the case may have been made from the hide of a buffalo calf. The second case (also 90 cm) has wires for pipe cleaning attached.

Male Buffalo Clan Pipe (30534-30537) [M5]

The male buffalo clan pipe (as opposed to the female buffalo pipe described earlier) did have an associated bowl, although a question is raised as to its wrapper. It is pictured in figure 5.5.

30534/7322 1- Buffalo hide wrapper." There was not a pipe case found numbered 30534 (see 30533, above). At the same time, two pipe cases were numbered 30533 for the single Wolf stem 30532a. Doubtless, one of the cases 30533 should actually be numbered 30534. Which one, however, remains problematic at present.

30535/7322 "1- stick used to support pipe." This is a flat slat of shaved and thinned wood, warped, with both ends broken and rotting away. One end is darker than the other, as if it were the end exposed to moisture or dirt, lying on the ground perhaps.

30536(a-c)/7322 "3- Sacred pipe of the Buffalo gens. Tce Kiradji or Bull Buffalo. Bladder used to wrap pipe bowl." The catalog says Skinner bought the pipe for \$150 from Frank Kent. However, his correspondence says Skinner paid \$60 to Frank Kent for his clan pipe, with an animal bowl "like the first" (referring to the Pigeon raccoon effigy bowl). Skinner doesn't say what clan it is in the correspondence; Kent was Buffalo clan though. This bowl retains the fin, however.

The raccoon on this bowl appears to have been carved by a different carver but within a definite tribal style. This stylistic similarity, expressed by two different carvers, its occurrence only with Ioway-associated pipes, as well as the apparent Wisconsin origin of the catlinite used and the Mississippian appearance (Oneota ancestors of the Ioway are considered a Mississippian manifestation) tends to support the Ioway origin of these two bowls.

The stem (30536a) is 1.01 m long, 4 cm wide, and 2 cm thick. The raccoon bowl (30536b) is pictured in Skinner (1926: 304-305, pl. XXXI, fig. 2). It is 12 cm long and 5 cm

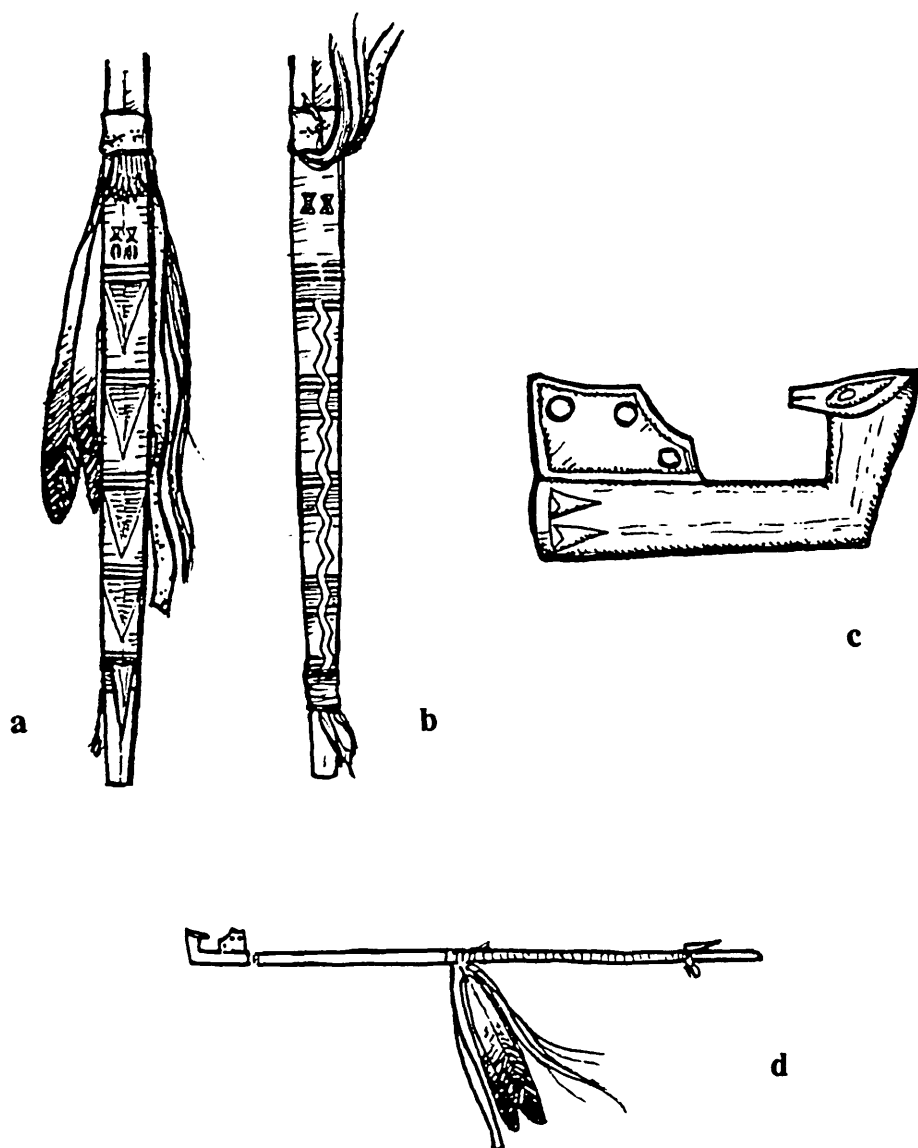


Figure 5.5: Male Buffalo clan pipe [M5]; 30536a: stem, (a) above, (b) below; (c) 30536b: bowl; (d) 30536a-b: stem and bowl

high. 30536c is the dried bladder pouch used as a cover for the pipe bowl. It was not found in association with the pipestem, case, or bowl; instead, it was lying loose in another drawer and was associated here with comparison with the accession catalog. Again, this is in conflict with the description in Skinner's Ethnology, which, as can be seen below, states that the bowl was kept in a wrapper of calico.

30537/7322 "1- upright stick used to support pipe." This is a round (in section) stick, appearing dark and polished. One end is rounded, with a small hole in it. The other end is sharpened into a chisel-point, also with a hole in it. It is likely that the sharpened end was inserted in the ground. The hole may provide an analog to the stem the stick would support, or symbolize an idea of an axis mundi, or emergence metaphor, unifying heaven and earth. Dualistic and emergence themes run throughout Ioway-Oto-Winnebago religious thought. Skinner described the stem and bowl:

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- [227] 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 [see note on bladder 30536c, above].

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 [sic] 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 [228] 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* [*Procyon lotor* is the scientific name for the raccoon]. 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 (Skinner 1926: 226-228).

Black Bear Clan Pipe (30538-30539) [M6]

As described earlier, this is the real Black Bear clan pipe (fig. 5.6) with the complete Carolina parakeet from Charles Tohee, its Janus-faced bowl originally missing, as described by Skinner in his correspondence (June 22, 1922).

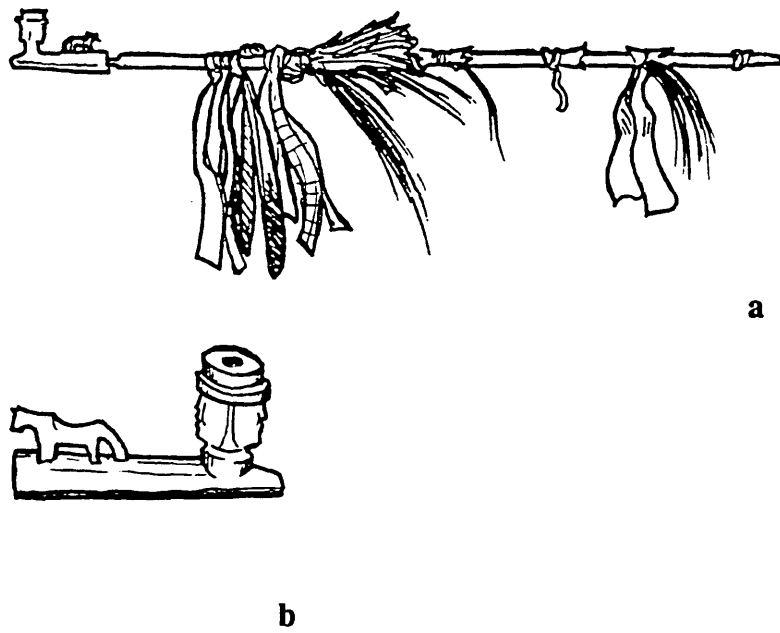


Figure 5.6: Black Bear clan pipe [M6]; (a) 30538a-b: stem and bowl; (b) 30538b: bowl

30538(a-b)/7322 "2- Sacred pipe of the Black Bear gens." Chief David Tohee had been the Keeper of the Black Bear Clan Pipe, as well as "other pipes [which] remained in his charge at that time because of the death of their owners" (Skinner 1926: 216-217). However, David Tohee died in the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919, and the pipe passed on to his brother, Charles. As related in the description of pipe 30143, Skinner bought 30143 as the Black Bear pipe from Charles Tohee. He found out later that this was not the Bear Pipe. He bought the Bear Pipe 30538 from Tohee later, first the stem with a Carolina parakeet, then the bowl with the standing effigy figure and two-faced bowl.

As described earlier, the description Skinner gives in his Ethnology associated the wrong stems and bowls. There is also an incredible mess involving the numbering of the pipe and bowl in successive works. Thus the descriptions are herein divided and placed in the correct context. The true Black Bear pipe 30538 has the parakeet stem and the Janus-faced bowl. The corrected version of the Black Bear pipe bundle description follows, beginning with the stem (30538a).

The stem is correctly inked on the stem as 30538. Someone confused by the mix-ups has added the incorrect tag "30142." The essential characteristics of this stem include ribbons, sweetgrass, owl feathers, three eagle feathers, a mallard duck's neck, a woodpecker scalp, and the skin (with head) of a Carolina parakeet. The sweetgrass is braided. The stem is 1.02 m long and about 2.5 cm in diameter. The parakeet is about 20 cm long with its head folded; stretched out, it would be approximately 24 cm. The pipe looks to have at one time been split and repaired, as a beeswax-filled crack runs along its underside. It is also important to note that the woodpecker scalp nearest the mouthpiece in Skinner's and West's plates is now missing.

Skinner has a number of contradictions in connection with the stem. In his correspondence from the field, he identifies the stem with the parakeet as the second and only authentic Black Bear stem collected from Charles Tohee, the first one being supposedly the Wolf Clan pipe. In his 1926 *Ethnology*, he identifies the stem with the parakeet as the first, unidentified, stem collected from Tohee (which in his correspondence he stated was the false pipe), and names it a Thunder pipe, not even addressing his earlier comment that it was the Wolf pipe. Here, Skinner described the Black Bear stem 30538a with the parakeet as the unidentified pipe, which is in attributional error, based on his correspondence, however, the physical description is valid:

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 sweetgrass, 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 (Skinner 1926: 233).

The true Black Bear bowl description follows (30538b), that is, the Janus-faced bowl with the standing animal:

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 Ixtopainye, 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 (Skinner 1926: 232-233).

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 Henghru, 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, Maon (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 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. Henghru, the eldest, ordered one of [219] 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" (Skinner 1926: 218-219).

The writer wishes to call attention to the fact that 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 (Skinner 1926: 219).

In Skinner's plate XXXII, fig.5: "Bear gens pipe, cat.30538. L: 53 in.," the stem is the Bear gens stem with the correct Janus bowl, but the latter has been mislabelled "30143."

George West later contributed to the mix-up. He adhered to Skinner's published 1926 text, rather than disentangling why Skinner portrayed the pipes with switched bowls and stems, trusting to the text rather than the photographs, and seemingly failing to check either against his correspondence or his field notes, wherever they were (we must remember that Skinner had been dead for years).

West portrays the Carolina parakeet stem with the heart bowl (fig. 5) as the "Thunder gens Pipe" and the janus-bowl with the other stem (fig. 4) as the "Black Bear gens Pipe", the reverse of how Skinner had portrayed them (West 1934 II: 850-851). He again portrays the janus-face bowl as the bowl of the Black Bear gens (1934 II: 848-849, pl. 184, fig. 6).

Further errors associated with this bowl include the following: The janus bowl is numbered on the bowl itself as 30143/7322 and in the file catalog as 30143/7287. A paper tag attached is numbered 30538b/7322. In Skinner's plate XXXI (1926: 304-305), figure 6 shows this bowl as "Black Bear gens pipe. Catalog number 30531b. Length 6 1/4 inches." This is the only place in any catalog or text which correctly names this bowl 30531b, even contradicting the text (see quote above), further emphasizing the unreliability of the artifact numbers in the Ethnology of 1926. 30531b is not even a number given to any Ioway artifact in the accession catalog. In Skinner's plate XXXII (1926: 306-307), figure 5 shows the "Bear gens pipe. Catalog number 30538. Length 53 inches." Here the Janus bowl is associated with the correct accession number 30538.

In examining the bowl, the following observations were made. The bowl is 16 cm long and 8 cm high. The faces have a rim above their foreheads which may appear to be a hat brim, but this interpretation involving the projection of one's own culture should be guarded against.

The animal figure has been interpreted by some as a horse and some as a wolf. Examination of the animal suggests another interpretation. The short legs and long, straight body, as well as the short face with a vertical notch in the very short muzzle give the appearance of a mountain lion or panther rather than a horse or wolf. In addition, the two-faced beings are associated with the underwater panther in a surviving legend of the Ioway. In the story, "the Janus-faced Man," the Janus-faced man defends his adopted human sister from the Underwater Panther. The bowl may commemorate this story, for pipes were used in adoption ceremonies and "it is said that this is the way that the custom of adopting some one to take the place of the dead started" (Skinner 1925: 474).

There is another pipe bowl at the Detroit Institute of Art, attributed to the Ioway, which appears to be very much like this pipe bowl. The pipe bowl (cat. no. 81.44) is described in the museum's catalog system as follows:

Pipe bowl (c. 1840). 9.21 cm x 21.59 cm (3 5/8 in. x 8 1/2 in.). "Catlinite, extended base pipe bowl carved as janus form, with human heads wearing a low top hat. Distal extension of the base is short, narrowing and faceted. A standing wolf-like figure is carved atop the proximal end of the base." Founders Society Purchase, formerly in the collection of Mrs. William Englund, Caro, Michigan, 1962.

David Penney pictured this bowl: "Iowa or Sioux pipe bowl. Nebraska, South Dakota, or Minnesota, c.1840. L.8 1/2 in., H. 3 5/8 in. Catlinite" (1992: 272-273, fig. 204). He says:

The Iowa pipe bowl (pl.204), with its distinctive image of two faces wearing a top hat carved on either side of the bowl, has been attributed to the Iowa because it resembles the Black Bear clan pipe collected by Alanson Skinner and now in the Milwaukee Public Museum

(Skinner 1926, pl.XXXI, fig. 6). Its inverted conical bowl and slightly convex top relates closely, however, to pipe bowls collected among the Sioux of Minnesota and the Middle Missouri region before 1850 (see Ewers 1986, figs.25 and 61). It appears likely that many of the Iowa clan pipes collected by Skinner were acquired by the Iowa through trade (1992: 267, 269).

While the style of the bowl may resemble many Sioux bowls, the broadness of the statement is ludicrous. The bowls may be similar, but there is no good data or logic presented as to how one is attempting to establish stylistic origins. I have learned to distrust bald statements based on supposed authority. In any case, Penney does not support his statement as to how similarities between two single bowls establish the likelihood that many Iowa clan pipes were acquired through trade. The Ioway as far back as their Oneota roots were making things from pipestone (or catlinite), as well as trading it to other tribes like the Winnebago. Then one must also remember the Ioway were driven from the Pipestone area only after wars with their former allies the Dakota in the 1720s. Finally, even if some of the bowls prove (scientifically) to have come through later intertribal trade, the stems are a separate element entirely. Trade in catlinite during a time when the pipestone quarries were off limits to non-Sioux does not necessarily require trade in easily obtained ash or bird feathers. This question of the "Ioway-ness" of Ioway material culture will be addressed in the conclusion of this paper.

This Detroit pipe bowl is also pictured in Feder (1971: 80, fig. 92). It is noted there as having come from the collection of the Chandler-Pohrt Collection at the Great Lakes Indian Museum in Cross Village, Michigan. One of the differences between the two bowls is that the Detroit bowl's animal figure faces away from the smoker; it appears more wolf-like, with short neck and pointed muzzle, than that animal on the Milwaukee bowl.

30539/7322 "1- Extra stem for the above, partly burned." The dark brown stem was split and broken off at one end and was without decoration. The stem was 95 cm long, 3 cm wide, and 2 cm thick.

Black Bear clan chief's pipe (30540)

This pipe (fig. 5.7), called *wangegihi lanuwe* (chief's pipe), was considered the personal property of David Tohee and was kept with the Black Bear clan pipe, although they were not considered to be connected. The pipestem had no bowl, and was 25 inches long. The pipe seems to have been made more recently than the clan pipe, as its quillwork is colored with aniline dyes. It has a design made of banded zones, with two rectangles in two of the zones; the colors are green, blue, scarlet, and purple on a white ground, with trimmings of ribbon and a male mallard duck head skin.

Medicine Dance bags (30541-30551)

A number of animal skin medicine bags used in the Medicine Dance, or, as the Ioway called it, the Otter Dance, were collected by Skinner.

30541/7322 "Otterskin medicine bag, quill decoration." It is pictured in Skinner (1926: 298-299, pl. XLI, fig. 2): "Small otterskin medicine bag. Double tail ornament of porcupine quillwork on cloth. Quilled ornament of porcupine quillwork on cloth. Quilled ornaments on feet...Length 34 inches." It is also pictured in Blaine (1979: 107, fig. 8). This has been misidentified as a weasel skin in the card file.

This "double-tailed" small otter bag (84 cm long) is very old. Like other otterskin bags, the skull stays inside, with the head painted blue, and a spot of red paint added, the fur nearly worn away. The eyes are brass tacks. Medicine is stuffed into the rear of the skull; it was not removed, but buffalo hair, some other kind of fur, and down could be seen through a slit that goes through the upper and lower parts of the neck. Red plumes are attached on either side of the mouth. Small, quilled pockets are sewn over each foot, red geometric figures over a yellow background. Tinklers are attached to the bottom edge of each panel, along with dark

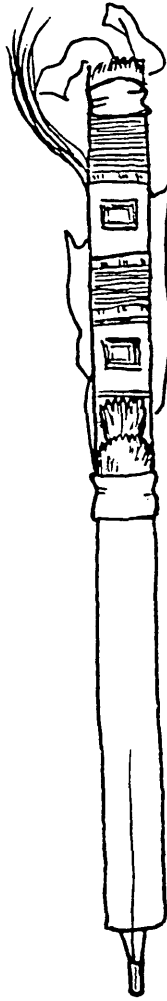


Figure 5.7: Black Bear clan chief's pipestem (30540)

blue ribbons on the forefeet. These tinklers or tin cones are attached all over the body (where broken thongs also show where more tinklers once had been) and the edge of the tail.

Red cloth is sewn under the tail with a yellow-quilled wavy "Medicine Road" design. A big hawk bell is attached at the end of the tail. A second tail-shaped panel of red cloth is sewn under the real tail. This second "tail" has a double wavy line design in yellow quills which may represent the edge of the broken ice in the Ioway Medicine Dance origin story (Skinner 1921). Both complementary designs are edged in white beads and can only be seen from the underside of the skin.

This medicine road tail design was also found on Ioway otterskin garters. A plate illustrating the Ioways who travelled to Europe in 1844-45 has several of them wearing such garters (Blaine 1979: 230, fig. 15). The design is also seen on a pair of otterskin garters at the Smithsonian (SI-NMNH 2468). These garters may be described as made from two small otterskins with cloth backing. On the underside of the tails a design similar to that found on ottersin medicine dance bags (wavy lines surrounding the medicine road) may be seen, worked in light-colored porcupine quills against the cloth backing. The edges of the tails are lined with white beads. The heads of the otterskins are covered with a square flap of cloth. One flap is apparent to the viewer. On this flap a design resembling an outline of a human figure with outstretched arms and legs is worked in light and dark quillwork. A hawk bell is attached to the edge. The edge is sewn with dark ribbon and light beads. On both garters leather ties may be seen. On the second garter a ribbon and a dark-tipped eagle feather is attached at the tie.

30542/7322 "Otterskin medicine bag, bead decoration." This 1.09 cm long bag is pictured in Skinner (1926: 298-299, plate XLI, fig. 3): "Otterskin medicine bag, beaded ornamentation. ...Length 42 inches."

The bag is made from a cased female otter skin (the teats are visible). The skull is still in the head, the whole head painted blue. Blue and navy ribbons are tied at the mouth. The front paws are covered with rectangular black cloth panels beaded with green and light blue diamond and floral designs. The hind paws are beaded in a different design, a floral cruciform, which corresponds to the design beaded on the tail panel. The background is pink, and the white-bordered designs are in red, dark green, light green, navy, light blue, and greasy yellow. The edges of the tail and the hind paws are sewn with hawk bells.

The neck is slit open, with a cloth medicine package inside, tied to the hide with a leather thong. The first element is tied with a dark blue cloth package tied with dark green cloth. Inside, tied with blue cloth, are three smaller cloth ties (two dark green and one white) with three different medicine plants inside. The second element was loose inside the bottom of the skin. It is a natural membrane sack (a bladder?) filled with white down and a hawk bell in the center.

30543/7322 "1- otterskin medicine bag, bead decoration." This cased otterskin retains the skull in the head. The face is painted medium blue, the eyes are flat brass tacks, blue encircling them. Red feathers are fastened to either side of the mouth. The feet are wrapped with yellow ribbon, thongs attached there dangle brass thimbles from each foot. The tail is decorated with a curvilinear motif in beads on red cloth backing, edged with yellow ribbon. The beaded panel includes seed beads of navy blue, sky blue, greasy yellow, salmon, and light green. Very small hawkbells are attached all along the edge, and a large regular bell-shaped bell is attached at the tail's tip. This otterskin bag was pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XLI, fig. 1: "Large otterskin medicine bag, beaded ornament. ...Length 46 inches."

30544/7322 "1- black squirrelskin, quill decoration." The cased skin (56 cm long) is that of a melanistic fox squirrel, used in the Medicine Dance. The skull is in the head;

the head is painted blue, with red plumes tied at the mouth, and green stripes down the back. The forefeet are decorated but not the hind legs. The opening in the chest conceals a cloth tie, with down inside. The tail has a quilled yellow "medicine road" motif on a red cloth background. It is pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XLI, fig. 5: "Medicine bag of fox squirrel skin, with quilled ornament. ...Length 22 inches."

30545/7322 "1- fox (squirrel) skin." The cased fox squirrel skin (48 cm long) was mistakenly numbered 50545. It was used as a Medicine Dance bag, its skull still in the head, its face painted green. It is open at the chest but was empty. There is no other ornamentation of the skin. It is pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XLI, fig. 4: "Medicine bag made of fox squirrel skin....Length 20 inches."

30546/7322 "1- weasel skin." This skin was not located, and 30547/7322, "1- feather head ornament for medicine dance" is not a medicine bag.

30548/7322 "1- rattlesnake skin belt for medicine dance." Grouped together with Medicine Dance paraphernalia, this "belt" is actually a Medicine Dance bag, similar in function to the otter bags. Although grading of members and their associated bags do not appear in Skinner's work on the Ioway Medicine Dance (1922), it is worth noting that the Ojibwa do count rattlesnake bags/belts (a similar snakeskin can be seen on display on the exhibit on the Medicine Dance at the Milwaukee Public Museum) in a graded system as higher in rank than otter bags. This Ioway snake belt/bag has its flattened skin mounted on a strip of red wool, with an edging of buckskin sewn on. The edging is cut on the side near the snakeskin in a saw-edged pattern. The snakeskin retains the head but the rattles are missing. The head is painted blue-green, with six stripes painted similarly across the back, dividing the skin evenly; the tail is also painted this blue-green. On the reverse, a set of leather ties terminate in tin cones; bits of red-dyed horse hair protrude from some of the cones.

Other items were collected as being used in the Medicine Dance, although none were connected to any bundle.

30549/7322 "1- gourd stem for face paint for Medicine Dance." The cut stem is polished. The carved, rounded end of the gourd stem has a pin-sized hole. The larger, open end has green paint on its lip, and on the inside.

30550/7322 "1- metal jinglers worn on moccasins for Medicine Dance." These are a number of metal cones attached to a flat piece of the same kind of metal; the metal is an olive drab color, as if cut from a piece of metal used in the armed services.

30551/7322 "1- Stone supposed to be bone of an underwater panther used as medicine." This is actually a piece of fossilized bone. It was apparently associated with the Medicine Dance, and is thus included here. Fossilized bone was frequently used in Ioway medicine bundles; Harrington's notes describe several he collected.

Mescal bean necklace (30555)

The catalog numbers 30552-30580 are used to designate other Ioway artifacts which do not appear to pertain to any bundle. However, one necklace is made up of mescalbeans, which were usually associated with the red medicine war bundle.

The "necklace" is numbered 30555/7322. Skinner collected this necklace, made of strung mescal beans with a small shell gorget with scalloped edges attached and incised border decoration, from Charles Tohee (1926: 263). Merrill examined the necklace, "composed of about one hundred and fifty mescalbeans perforated and strung on red commercial twine" (Skinner 1926: 263; Merrill 1977: 101). Merrill said the necklace "was examined in 1933 by Volney H. Jones who determined that the seed beads making up the necklace are *Sophora secundiflora* " (1977: 101).

Doctoring implements (30581-30584)

A few unassociated implements used for doctoring were collected by Skinner. Even though they were not collected as part of a bundle, they were part of the material culture associated with doctoring and thus are described here.

30581/7322 "1- bone tubes used by medicine man for extracting disease."

Although not in a bundle, the fact that these bone tubes (30281, 30582) were used in doctoring (as well as the cupping horns whose descriptions follow) made the inclusion of their descriptions here appropriate. Neither one was decorated, and 30582 had the larger diameter. Tube 30581 was pictured in Skinner (1926: 348-349, plate LIII) as fig. 3: "Bone tube, used in doctoring. ...Length 4 inches."

30582/7322 "1- bone tubes used by medicine man for extracting disease."

This tube was pictured in Skinner (1926: 348-349, plate LIII) as fig. 5: "Bone tube, used in doctoring....Length 4 3/4 inches."

30583/7322 "1- Cupping horn." Dark tan in color, this cupping horn was

likely made from the tip of the horn of a domestic cow. The small end is carved down and then swells out to form a flat ended terminus which looks like the mouthpiece of a bugle. This horn was pictured in Skinner (1926: 348-349, plate LIII) as fig. 2: "Cupping horn....Length 3 1/2 inches."

30584/7322 "1- Cupping horn." It is a light cream, darker brown at the

small end, which has been trimmed down to form an enlarged, squared end, with a small hole in it. It appears to be made from a domestic cow horn. It was pictured in Skinner (1926: 348-349, plate LIII) as fig. 6: "Cupping horn. ...Length 4 1/2 inches."

The catalog numbers 30585-30594 cover other Ioway articles, such as peyote paraphernalia, which are not bundle associated and are not considered in this paper.

Wolf clan chief's pipe (30596)

This pipe (fig. 5.8) was called a *wangegihi lanuwe*, a chief's pipe, and was collected from Robert Small of the Wolf clan. It has a stem (18 1/2 inches) and a bowl (5 3/4 inches long). The stem (30596a) is decorated with quilled bands of scarlet, yellow, and purple, and male mallard duck head skin, red feathers, and ribbon trimmings. The bowl (30596b) is of the typical Siouan "T-form." Skinner described the material as "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" (Skinner 1926: 238).

Love and gambling medicine bundle (30610-30612)

This small bundle was described as being a "love and gambling medicine bundle" in the catalog. The packaged components were mixed up and were put into this proper association through catalog examination.

30610(a-b)/7322 "2- a) small woven bag, b) small calico inner wrapper." The bark string and wool yarn woven bag has a set of horizontal stripes and five angled bands on one side; on the other side is a set of ten connected diamonds. This bag was located inserted erroneously in bundle 31576 (see). Inside there was also an old museum label: "Yarn Bag. Used for storage purposes," along with a stapled piece of paper the same size as the label. There were two elements inside, a cloth package (30610b).

Inside was a tied white calico cloth (30610b) containing five elements, 30611a-d and 30612, as well as a small beaded bag 30612. It is probable that this association with 30610a-b is original, because of the size of the enclosed elements, the sequential numbering, and the association in the accession catalog: "\$10 bundle of love and gambling medicine, from Joe Springer."

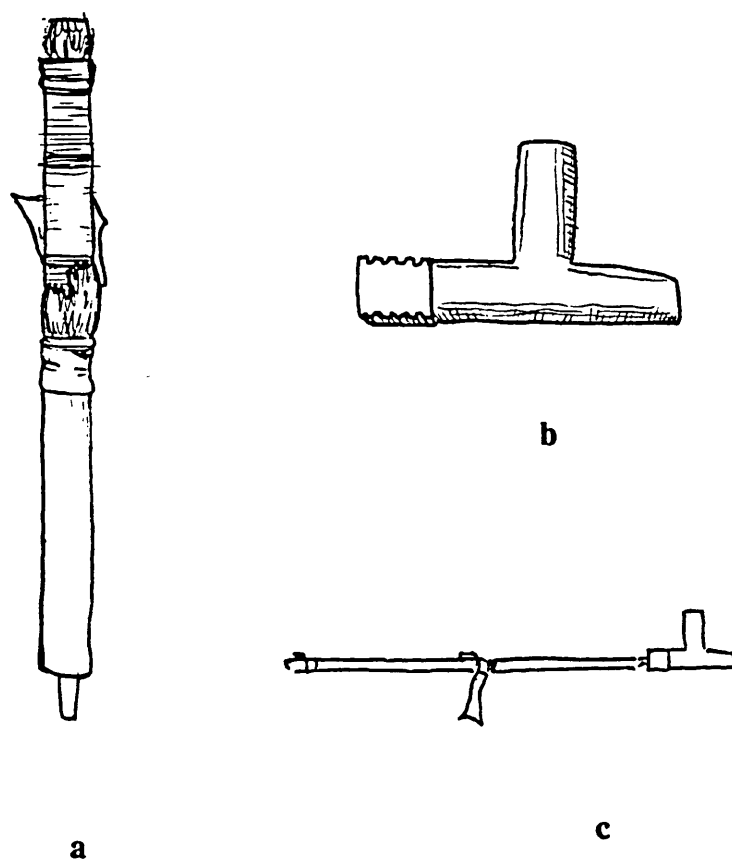


Figure 5.8: Wolf clan chief's pipe; (a) 30596a: stem; (b) 30596b: bowl; (c) 30596a-b: stem and bowl

30611(a-d)/7322 "4- packages of medicines used in gambling and horseracing."

30611a is a small cloth tie containing fibrous roots. 3011b is a cloth tie with paper inside holding small bits of plant (?) material resembling mouse droppings; there is a purple stain on the cloth. 30611c is a piece of brown paper with two large pieces of light-colored woody stems or roots. 30611d is a piece of brown paper with two gray roots or stems.

30612/7322 "1- small beaded bag containing love medicine."

Skinner described this bag:

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 (Skinner 1926: 287).

The bag (30612) is a loomwork bag, with white as the background and navy blue as the design color. This beaded bag was found inside 30610, which in turn was misplaced in bundle 31576. Inside was a small yellow silk bag with a drawstring closure, containing tiny black roots or stems in a newspaper fragment. The fragment was from an Oklahoma newspaper, with various legal notices, two dated "Sept. 1905" and "1905." Also inside the beaded bag was a little leather tied "bag," unopened, with some red material coming out (paint?).

Tattooing bundle (Wolf Clan) (30614-30627) [M7]

This tattooing bundle was supposed to be that belonging to the Wolf clan (or gens), and was bought for \$50 from Robert Small. The bundle was found totally taken apart, none of its items found together. Most of the elements were spread throughout the numerous Ioway drawers. They were associated through consultation with the original accession catalog.

30614/7322 "1- large woven yarn bag." This woven bag appears to have plant fiber as its woof (or warp), and green, yellow, black, and red wool yarns as its weft. The designs are varied, including diamonds, zigzags, steps, and other geometric figures, arranged into a series of alternating thick and thin horizontal zones. Each side has different designs and different colors, with no apparent unified theme. It almost appears more as a sampler type of bag showing different designs. It also has a woven handle.

30615/7322 "1- braided tying cord." This is a whiteman's braided green rope with tasseled ends, like those used for old-time, large draperies. It has four loops tied into it. It was not with the bundle, but was loose in another drawer, and was associated through comparison with the accession catalog.

30616(a-c)/7322 "3- circular stamps for marking forehead." They appear to have been made from willow, carved down at the ends to achieve a spindle-shape. 30616a has not been used. 30616b appears to have been the most used, with blue paint on both ends. 30616c has paint on only one end. These objects were not within the bundle context, but were loose in another drawer; they were associated here through comparison with the accession record.

30617/7322 "1- stick charred to get black pigment."

30618/7322 "1- stick charred to get black pigment." This willow stick has been heavily charred at one end. This object was not within the bundle context, but was loose in another drawer; it was associated here through comparison with the accession record (shown in fig. 5.12 (d)).

30619/7322 "1- stick charred to get black pigment."

30620(a-b)/7322 "2- sticks to be used for black pigment." These two cut willow sticks were otherwise unmodified. They was not within the bundle context, but again were loose in another drawer and associated here through comparison with the accession record.

30621/7322 "1- stick to be used for black pigment."

30622(a-d)/7322 "4- tattooing needles." These four needles are composed of a wooden stick, possibly peeled willow, with steel needles set into one end. These objects were not within the bundle context, but were loose in another drawer; they were associated here through comparison with the accession record. The needles have been mistakenly numbered on their surfaces as 30662. 30622a and 30622b are undecorated, with 30622a the longer of the two. 30622c and 30622d are both a faded red, with 30622d also having three hawk bells attached. 30622a is shown in figure 5.12 (c).

30623(a-b)/7322 "2- twists of sweetgrass used for incense." 30623b was loose in another drawer. It is actually not a twist, but is instead a piece of plaited sweetgrass. A length of braided sweetgrass (30623 [a]) was located in yet another drawer. It appeared to actually be a piece of a sweetgrass rope necklace, with a wrapping of sweetgrass corresponding to other sweetgrass necklaces in Skinner's Ioway collection.

30624/7322 "1- bag of blue paint." This is a piece of white cloth, tied with black cloth, with a big, hard lump of bright blue pigment inside.

30625/7322 "1- package of buffalo lard." This is a deteriorated paper bag with a palm-sized lump of hardened buffalo lard inside. It was not in the bundle, but was loose in another drawer, and was associated through comparison with the accession catalog.

30626(a-c)/7322 "3- patterns for star figure." Three paper four-pointed star patterns, with a small hole in the centers, located loose in another drawer, and numbered 30624, were determined to be this item. 30624 has been confirmed by the accession catalog to be the proper number for the blue paint also numbered 30624 (above). The paper patterns were made by folding them over and cutting them, in the same way that we are taught to make

paper snowflakes when children. This star pattern is also described by Harrington in his notes on tattooing as being used on women's hands.

30627/7322 "1- sinew for repairing tattooing needles." Not located in the bundle or elsewhere.

Buffalo doctor's bundle (30628-30630) [M8]

This Buffalo Doctor's bundle was bought for \$15 from Mrs. Headman, an Ioway wife of an Otoe man. Closed, the bundle measured 30 cm long. It is presently numbered 30630a, as well as being misinterpreted as a warbundle.

30628/7322 "1- Deer hoof rattle, handle of skin of buffalo bull's penis." This rattle is made of a leather handle, purported to be a buffalo bull's penis; in appearance, this does appear to be the case. The body is stitched along one side, with the handle end narrowing to a point, and the rattle end globular in form. The hoofs attached by thongs to the globular end appear to be hoof sheaths rather than dewclaws. The hoofs are notched and serrated at the bases. This rattle is pictured in Skinner 1926: 318-319, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 5: "Deer hoof rattle. Handle made of the penis of a buffalo....Length 13 1/4 inches."

30629/7322 "1- Belt ornament made of white steer's tail with buffalo fur attached." This article was not located in the bundle.

30630(a-b)/7322 "1- a) tie made of strip of otter fur, b) cloth wrapper for bundle." The cloth wrapper is red and white striped.

Buffalo Doctors bundle (30631-30636) [M9]

A second Buffalo Doctor's bundle was bought from Mrs. Headman for \$50. Closed, it is 60 cm long. As a whole, the bundle is numbered 30631, and is also misnamed a warbundle.

30631(a-d)/7322 "4- (a-c) 3 calico outer wrappers, (d) braid of sweet flag." The cloth wrapper is blue and red. No "sweet flag" braid was located. Sweet flag is a common

name for calamus root; "sweetgrass" may have been intended. As a whole, the bundle is numbered MPM 30631/7322 and is misnamed a war bundle.

30632/7322 "1- belt ornament made of buffalo tail."

30633/7322 "1- belt ornament made of buffalo tail."

30634(a-c)/7322 "3- ornaments made of felted buffalo hair."

30635/7322 "1- deerhoof rattle."

30636(a-c)/7322 "3- cane whistles to call the buffalo." 30636c is a cane whistle,

like all the others, roughly the length of one's arm from the wrist to the shoulder. The airhole, fixed with a flattened bird quill as a reed, attached with sinew wrapping, is nearer the mouthpiece end than is usual. A sweetgrass plait is wrapped around the whistle near the airhole, the loose ends worked into three small braids and three small twists. The whistle is well-polished and has a leather thong for suspension around the neck. This whistle (30636c) is pictured in Skinner 1926: 318-319, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 8: "...Length...21 inches."

Unnamed bundle (Buffalo Doctor's bundle) (30637-30642) [M10]

As a whole, this unnamed bundle is numbered 30637, again misnamed a warbundle. The elements identify it as a Buffalo Doctor bundle. No origin was given, but as it is sandwiched between two other Buffalo Doctor bundles purchased from Mrs. Headman, it is likely this bundle came from her as well. It is 56 cm long closed.

30637(a-d)/7322 "2- (a-b) cane whistles to call the buffalo, (c-d) 2 cloth wrappers for bundle (letters and "2 cloth..." added later in new hand)." The cloth has a black and white floral design.

30638/7322 "1- rattle made of deer's hoofs and buffalo tail." This rattle has the tail skin stitched around a wooden handle, the tail tuft still attached. The hoofs, attached by thongs, are arranged along the upper part of the handle, their bases notched and serrated.

Some appear to be dewclaws and others the main hoof sheaths. This rattle is pictured in Skinner 1926: 318-319, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 2: "Rattle made of deer's hoofs attached to a buffalo tail. Length 17 in."

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| 30639/7322 | "1- belt ornament of buffalo tail." |
| 30640/7322 | "1- belt ornament of buffalo tail." |
| 30641/7322 | "1- braided sweetgrass head ornament." |
| 30642(a-c)/7322 | "3- masses of matted buffalo hair." |

Buffalo Doctors bundle (30643-30655) [M11]

This Buffalo Doctor's bundle was bought from Mrs. Headman for \$75. The entire bundle is presently numbered 30644.

30643(a-d)/7322 "4- cane whistles for calling." 30643a is a cane whistle (length 55 cm) with no reed over the air hole (it doesn't whistle), with some white twine tied near the hole. 30643b is made of a cane with its airhole partially covered with a flattened bird quill as a reed, wrapped with sinew at midpoint. The distal half of the whistle has a slight reddish tint to it, as from faded paint. A hank of shed buffalo hair is attached near the mouthpiece. It was not in the bundle, but was loose in another drawer, and was associated through comparison with the accession catalog. 30643d is a small cane whistle (28.5 cm long) with red, pink, and blue ribbons attached. One is pictured in Skinner (1926: 318-319, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 7):

"Shaman's reed whistles....Length 21 1/2...inches."

In this bundle is also a cracked cane whistle, 31535c, which should actually be with warbundle 31533-31543.

30644/7322 "1- deer hoof rattle [added later: (a-c) 3 cloth wrappers]." The entire bundle is presently known as 30644. It is a white cloth-covered bundle, with rope tied at each end and strung across the middle so that it can be hung. Three successive cloths wrap up

the bundle's contents. The white cloth is numbered 30644 (no "a"). Inside this is another cloth wrapper with black stripes on a white background (30644b). The last cloth wrapper is a floral print cloth of purple, yellow, green and blue. The other elements, including the whistles numbered previously as 30643 belong in these wrappers. Also originally, but confusedly, numbered 30644 is the deer hoof rattle 30644, pictured in Skinner 1926: 318-319, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1: "Length 19 1/2 in." It is of the straight wood stick handle type.

30645/7322 "1- deer hoof rattle." This rattle (54 cm long) is based on a straight stick, covered with hide (worn through in places), and deerhoof sheaths (not dewclaws) attached on its upper length with thongs.

30646/7322 "1- buffalo tail head ornament beaded." This buffalo tail hide amulet (60 cm long) has no bone, and the hair and tuft is intact. The base of the tail is beaded in bands of green, pink, and red. Dark blue, green, and yellow ribbons are also attached.

30647/7322 "1- buffalo tail belt ornament." This buffalo tail (62 cm long) retains the tailbone, over which is sewn the hide, and onto which shreds of buffalo wool is tied. Small leather thongs are attached.

30648/7322 "1- buffalo tail belt ornament." This tail has the bone and tuft intact, and is otherwise unadorned. Large separate thongs are attached. The amulet is 66 cm overall in length.

30649/7322 "1- buffalo calf head ornament showing sprouting horn." This is a long triangular strip of hide (29 cm long) from a buffalo calf's head, with the hair on and one sprouting horn sheath left attached. Two small holes near the base of the triangle admit a leather thong; two similar holes near the apex probably once provided a similar attachment place for a thong now missing. On the underside of the hide there is red paint. The piece may have been used as a roach center.

30650/7322 "1- bag of red paint (leather)." Not located in the bundle.

30651/7322 "1- glue stick of buffalo hoof glue." This stick has an elongated oval glob of cracked tarry-looking substance said to be glue made from buffalo horns and hoofs. It was pictured in Skinner 1926: 318-319, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 4: "Stick with glue of buffalo horns and hoof at end....Length 9 1/2 in." It is 24 cm long.

30652(a-b)/7322 "2- packages of green paint." 30652a-b are two folded pieces of paper (each 9 cm long) containing green pigment. The paper from 30652a is the cover of Chaperone Magazine, Vol. 22, No. 5 (January 1901); the paper from 30652b is plain.

30653/7322 "1- package of blue paint."

30654/7322 "1- sweetgrass necklace." This necklace (43 cm long) is made of three braided ropes, tied together with wrappings of sweetgrass twists. It is pictured in Skinner 1926: 318-319, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 6: "Shaman's sweet grass necklace. ...Length 16 inches."

30655(a-g)/7322 "7- ornaments of matted buffalo hair." 30655a is a throw cape of shed and matted buffalo hair or wool. Sweetgrass is attached on what would be the left side, over the heart, if the cape were worn over the back and shoulders. The sweetgrass is attached at its midpoint, and is composed of one large twist, three small braids, and three small twists. The cape has some of its edges tied and the underside is red in places where it rubbed against the wearer. It is 78 cm wide and 50 cm long. It is mistakenly identified in Skinner's Ethnology as 30654 and pictured that way in Skinner 1926: 318-319, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 3: "Shaman's cape of felted buffalo wool with painted green spots. ...Length 25 in." This is even on the same page and plate where Skinner correctly illustrates necklace 30654.

The other buffalo hair articles are made in two different ways. Three amulets are each two flat patches are sewn together at the centers. 30655b is 43 cm long, 30655c is 45 cm long,

and 30655f is 43 cm long; 30556b also has a smaller dark piece sewn on. The other three are each two pieces of ropy and shredded buffalo wool pieces, tied together at one end. 30655d is 60 cm long, 30655e is 56 cm long, and 30655g is 43 cm long.

Buffalo robes (30656, 30657)

Skinner collected "two plain buffalo robes from the Ioway residing in Oklahoma. As these show nothing in the way of decoration... They had survived as head throws used by members of the Buffalo Doctor's Society" (1926: 264). The following two robes were not within any bundle but they were used by buffalo doctors, each bought for \$25.

30656/7322 "Buffalo robe used by buffalo doctors." This robe is small and fragile and pieced together in places. It appears to be the hide of a buffalo calf, tanned with its hair on. Pieces of clay stuck to the hide and reddish discoloration on the skin side suggest the hide was indeed used actively and that the wearer probably had red body paint on. It is interesting to note that some of the Buffalo Doctor bundles do have clay inside.

30657/7322 "Buffalo robe used by buffalo doctors." The larger of the two robes, it appears to be that of an adult buffalo. It is fragile, with much of its hair worn away. It is also undecorated, although reddish discoloration on the skin side indicates some who wore it may have worn red body paint during ceremonies.

Grizzly Bear doctors bundle (30658-30660)

Skinner reported that he purchased this bundle for \$50 from "an Ioway woman." There was no wrapper, unusual for a bundle, and it was supposed to have belonged to the Tohees. The fact that Skinner does not mention her name makes one suspicious that this set may have been stolen. The articles from this bundle are shown in a reconstruction of their use in figure 4.8.

They [the Grizzly Bear Spirits] gave him [Little Rock] a bearskin hat, which is still in the possession of Dave Towhee, and told him that if he had a patient who was suffering from the hot weather he could take this cap and sprinkle water on it and it would be foggy, rainy, and cool for four days. If it was placed under the head of a very sick man it would watch his spirit and prevent it from getting away.

When chief Dave Towhee's father wore his hat in the buffalo dance he wore only a clout besides. He painted his body red and drew lines obliquely from the corners of his eyes and mouth to make him look like a bear (Skinner 1915: 712-713).

30658/7322 "1- arm band made of grizzly bear's paw." The armband is made of a rectangular piece cut from a grizzly bear's paw, the brown hair on and yellow claws attached, and fastened together as an armband by a leather thong. At the end of this thong is a very long grizzly claw, the length of which implies it must have come from another, much larger grizzly bear. The armband is pictured in Skinner 1926: 320-321, plate XXXIX, fig. 1: "Grizzly bear paw armband. Length 6 inches."

30659/7322 "1- rawhide rattle, ring-shaped." The rattle is made of a rawhide tube, tied around in a ring. It is covered with tanned hide stitched around the rawhide ring, the hide fastened over a willow stick handle. The rattling inside sounds like small pebbles, like those found on an anthill. On top of the ring, a cluster of fringe and small feathers are fastened. Nine green paint spots are pressed into the hide on each of the ring's sides. The handle has a smudge of red paint on it, possibly from the user's hand. The rattle is pictured in Skinner 1926: 320-321, plate XXXIX, fig. 2: "Ring-shaped rattle of rawhide....Length 7 1/8 inches."

30660/7322 "Hat made of grizzly bear fur with ears attached." This is pictured in Skinner 1926: 320-321, plate XXXIX, fig. 3: "Cap made of skin of a grizzly bear's head, with ears attached...Length 10 inches." The hat, or band, is a rectangular piece of hide taken from the grizzly bear's head, with the ears attached. It is open on the side opposite the ears, and is tied closed with leather ties. A decorative three-inch wide band of red wool is sewn around the bottom edge, with zigzag ribbon work in green, yellow, and navy blue.

The catalog accession numbers 30661-30667 cover articles associated with the Drum or Dream Dance, transferred to the Ioway by the Kickapoo of Kansas in 1898 (Skinner 1915: 721), including the associated pipe stems.

Fall 1922: Interlude

Return to Milwaukee

After Skinner had returned home to Milwaukee in July, he had time to look over the objects which he had shipped to the Museum and correspond with many of his fellow museum professionals and friends, including Robert Lowie. He also had apparently found out that he had been cheated in his enterprises among the Ioway by his informant Joseph Springer, who had also played the collector Barnard. As had happened in stories of Coyote, the trickster had been tricked. Unfortunately for Springer, a devoted member of the Peyote Road and scoffer at traditional religion, such manipulation of sacred objects had its price.

Sept. 25th, 1922

M.R. Harrington, Museum of the American Indian

My Dear Raymond:

Your letter enclosing the letter from Barnard came safely, and needless to say I never got Barnard's about Joe. But Barnard cannot recover for a recent card from my Sauk interpreter says that Joe Springer suddenly dropped dead about 2 weeks ago. Joe was as crooked as they make them, all right, and I too fired him after a similar experience....

[2] By the way, did you get my important official letter sent you in the field about Ioway material? Barrett and I are going to print my material on the Ioway. I have a great quantity of notes on material culture, ceremonies, and folklore and have purposely refrained from working on bundles because I knew you had so much on them. Barrett wanted me to ask you if you would be agreeable to publishing your Bundle material with mine over your name and using your specimens for illustration, if so, let me know, and he will communicate with Geo. G. [Heye] on the subject and get his permission. It would be a fine thing to get out a good complete paper on the Ioway....

September 27th, 19 [22]

My Dear Dr. Bernard;

I have just received a letter from Harrington enclosing your letter to him dated August 12th and concerning your troubles with Joe Springer. Needless to say I never got your letter sent me, I presume, when in the field. Possibly it was sent me after my return here -- I left Oklahoma on July 14th, and was therefore not delivered, although I left cards at the post offices where I was. The only letter that I received from you was that in which you offered to sell the Museum certain Ioway bundles, which I promptly replied to, suggesting that you send your available specimens here for our inspection, but I never had any further word from you.

A card received from my Sauk field man a couple of weeks ago said that Joe Springer had dropped dead a few days before. If so, I am afraid you are out of luck. As a matter of fact there are NO trustworthy Ioways in my opinion, but Joe was the worst of the tribe. He swindled me aplenty, and was, I afterwards learned, accepting money from you to collect while in my employ. The result was that every time I went out with Joe and located something I wanted Joe would have them boost the price enormously so that I could not buy, and then, after I had refused, would return later and borrow the specimen for his own use, or buy it for a song and then send it to you at a few thousand percent profit. Everyone told me about it when I finally caught on and fired him. Then I was able to buy things in reason. He swindled the Indians quite as much as he did us, I also learned. No doubt many objects you and I have got from Joe he merely borrowed from the real owners and then sold us, afterwards giving them a hard luck story as to how he lost them etc.

As matters now stand I have secured all the sacred Peace pipe bundles of the Ioway, and indeed I think all the remaining specimens of their work that [2] were in their possession, of all sorts, except a few inferior pieces, so (I also went up to Nemaha you know,) be very careful what you buy as Ioway in the future for when I left they were trying to palm off Kiowa and even Yuchi stuff as their own.

Now I think the Museum would be very glad to consider any or all of your Ioway material, especially if you have any genuine garments or war bundles. I got some very fine articles of clothing from them, but they seem to have sold you most of the real war bundles. I had my best luck not among the Ioway at Perkins but among those who dwell with the Otoes, whom everybody had previously overlooked. They had quite a lot, and I cleaned them out. I would be very glad to hear more from you about your Ioway stuff, and it may be that we will have a number of Sauk sacred bundles etc. (Which, by the way, are very much harder to get than Oto or Ioway) for exchange. I have been exceptionally successful in getting these, partly because I can speak some of their language, and also because I am a member of the Menomini Medicine Dance, and as such can get access to the places where the Sauk keep their otter bags stored etc. as an ordinary person can not. Nor do they object to parting with the bags to a Brother. (Oh yes, I am a Mason and a Shriner).... [The connections between anthropological research, museum collecting, and membership in such organizations as the Masons would be an interesting one. Skinner often addressed other researchers as "Brother" and proceeded to make his requests and inquiries based upon shared society memberships.]

[To Professor Robert H. Lowie, University of California, Berkeley]
 September 30th, 1922

My Dear Robert;

...[2]...The Ioway had seven gentes, each of which possessed a sacred peace pipe bundle, all of which have hitherto been inaccessible even to examine, yet I got six of these beautiful objects, the seventh apparently having dissapeared [sic], as I could locate it neither in Oklahoma nor Nebraska, where I also went to Great Nemaha. I did however discover and grab the last gens pipe of the practically extinct Missouri....

Collecting in 1923: Catalog and Description

Trips to Oklahoma, Missouri, and Nebraska

In 1923, Skinner again travelled to Oklahoma to finish his work among the Ioways.

With both Dave Tohee and Joseph Springer dead, he contacted the last of his primary informants, Robert Small.

February third, 1923

*Mr. Robert Small
 Perkins, Oklahoma*

My dear Friend Robert:--

I have been hoping all fall and winter that maybe you would take it into your head to write to me, but as I haven't heard anything, I thought I would write to you instead....

I am still planning on coming back to Oklahoma in the spring, probably in March or April, and I would like to get some more old Ioway relics from you and your wife, and any other information that you can think up, so I am giving you warning in advance. I would also be glad to buy any more Ioway or Otoe relics, especially sacred pipes or war bundles or bear claw necklaces. You know pretty well the things I want.

Billy Harris wrote me that poor old Joe Springer fell dead last fall, I was sorry to hear that. I saw a Winnebago Indian last week -- his name is Oliver Lenie and says he knows you quite well. My father-in-law, Edgar Allen, also remembers you and sends his regards.

I was married last week to a cousin of my first wife, also an Oklahoma girl.

Please write me a letter and tell me the news, and what prospects are of finding some more things next summer.

With kindest regards to yourself and family, I am

Your old friend,

AS

Curator of Anthropology

He also travelled to Missouri in April, to buy a large part of collector W. C. Barnard's Ioway collection, including some war bundles, the calumet (pipe) dance outfit, and an unidentified clan pipe, which had been sold before to Barnard by Springer.

Wyandotte, Okla
April 10, 1923

My dear Dr. Barrett;

...[2] I sent to the Museum by express collect (from Seneca Mo.) the greater part of Dr. Barnard's Ioway collection. It includes 3 very fine war bundles containing quilled objects, portions of scalps, etc., the Bear gens tattooing bundle, and a series of other bundles including some exceptionally fine buffalo doctor & "buffalo tail" bundles -- ten in all, also a complete calumet dance outfit -- the male & female calumet wands, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, buffalo heart sack tobacco bag, etc. etc., also [3] an Ioway gens pipe with a double bowl [sketch here] and new type of stem and a fine buffalo horn and feather headdress. With a few exceptions this will practically complete our Ioway collection. The material is very good, and I got it at what I consider the low price of a thousand dollars, after four days of hard labor. B. [Barnard] originally wanted the sum paid for the bundles alone, and only the fact that he was not aware that he had a corner on them enabled me to jew him down. I think there are no more in existance [sic] except Heye's. I couldn't get his one good otter, bear claw necklace & mortar at what I thought reasonable rates, but we may find others in the field....

He also travelled again to the Nemaha in Nebraska in May, where he collected his last clan pipe, attributed to the Owl clan, from Lucy Curly.

5/11/1923

Dear Dr. Barrett-- yesterday I unearthed the missing Ioway Owl clan pipe in Nebraska-- and it is the most beautiful of all-- has bear, buffalo, elk, owl (or pigeon) tracks on the quillwork....

He was also working on the text for his later publications, and had begun work with the Potawatomi in Nebraska.

June 21st, 1923 (American Museum of Nat. Hist.)

My Dear Dr. Wissler:

...The summer's work was unusually successful. I managed to secure a very fine lot of material from the Sauk, Ioway, Oto, and Prairie Potawatomi, especially sacred pipes, bundles, and antique quill and wampum work, to say nothing of the largest amount of data that I have ever secured in any similar length [sic] of time, the Potawatomi notes alone running close to 1000 pages....

...Have augmented my Ioway data also, so that between Potawatomi, Ioway, and Sauk manuscripts, I am literally swamped with data. I also have a considerable mass of Eastern

Dakota (Wahpeton) folklore and mythology quite like that of the Ioway, that I obtained from Oneroad last year.

Ioway culture is now a thing of the past. Practically all of the old people are dead, and I know of only one specimen in the possession of the Oklahoma band, and that is merely an ordinary wooden bowl. There are only 79 of them enrolled in Oklahoma, and, although there are more in Nebraska, the latter are very much advanced. Not a single pagan remains, and virtually none of the old customs....

With kindest regards, I am, as ever

Very cordially yours

AS

Curator of Anthropology

Catalog numbers 31444-31447 include the Ioway rawhide trunks. Numbers beyond 31447 are connected with collections from other tribes like the Omaha, Wichita, and Cheyenne, except for 31451-31459, which are miscellaneous Ioways items like a peyote rattle and a wooden mortar. The Ioway bundles begin with the Owl clan pipe collected in Nebraska.

Owl clan pipe (31491) [M12]

31491(a-c)/7557 "3- stem of Ioway owl gens pipe, beautiful quill ornamentation, bowl (has been mended), and case. From Mrs. Lucy Curly, Nemaha, Neb." Although the Ioway collection was thoroughly searched, this pipe was not accounted for at the museum. It may be misplaced, but the situation is nonetheless disturbing. It was drawn from the plate in Skinner, and is labelled here as figure 5.9. Skinner described it:

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

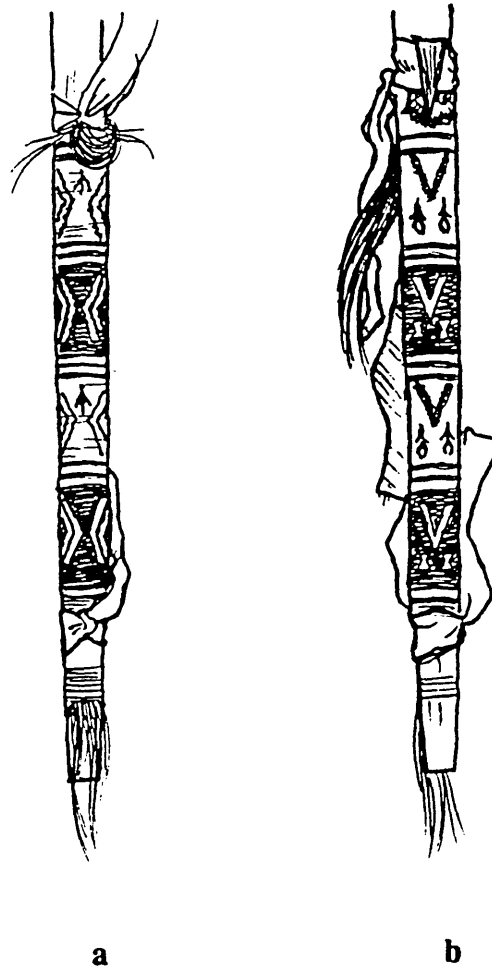


Figure 5.9: Owl clan pipestem [M12]; 31491: (a) below, (b) above

black. It terminates 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 polychrome 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 (Skinner 1926: 233-235).

Again, this pipe could not be located in the Museum's Ioway collection. The quilled decoration on the stem was pictured in Skinner (1926: XXXIII, fig. 1, 2) and this plate was reproduced by West (1934 II: 856-857, fig. 1, 2). No picture of the bowl was located.

Unidentified clan pipe (Thunder?) (31492) [M13]

31492(a-b)/7557 "2- plain stem and double bowl of Elk ([crossed out:] Thunder-Eagle) gens pipe." This pipe (fig. 5.10) was said in the catalog to have been bought for "\$150 from the late Joe Springer." Both correspondence and the Ethnology indicate this was bought from Barnard actually. The original catalog entry reads as above, but Skinner, in his 1926 work, says of the pipe with double-bowl (1926: 306-307, fig. 1): "Figure 1. Thunder-and-Eagle gens pipe. Catalog number 31492a-b. Length 45 inches." For some reason, in the

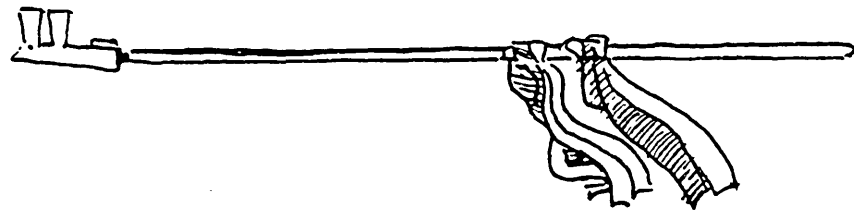
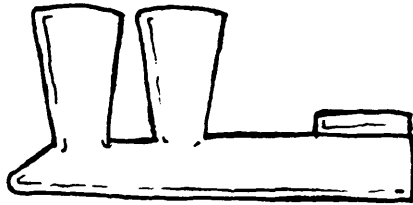
**a****b**

Figure 5.10: Unidentified (Thunder?) clan pipe [M13]; (a) 31492a-b: stem and bowl; (b) 31492b: bowl

original catalog "Thunder-and-Eagle" has been crossed out and "Elk" inserted. There is no record of who did this or why it was done. It is probable done because Skinner noted that Springer's name "Little Elk" actually belonged to the Elk Clan.

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).... (Skinner 1926: 235-236).

When examined, the pipe (97 cm long, 4.5 cm wide, and 25 cm thick) had only a few scraps of green, blue, and golden ribbons attached rather than the thick bundle of ribbons evident in Skinner's plate XXXII, fig. 1. It was highly polished with a medial keel on both of the flat sides. It was also split along its length and repaired with beeswax. A bit of adhesive or wax sticks to one of the flat sides, where ornamentation must have been at one time. The double-bowl pipe head was not located in the museum's Ioway collection and there is no record of what happened to it. West has this pipe as the "Thunder-Eagle gens Pipe" (1934 II: 850-851, fig. 1).

Pipe Dance outfit (31493-31500)

The accession numbers 31493-31500 cover articles from an Ioway Pipe Dance outfit. There is no evidence, linguistic or historical, which classifies this as a bundle in the strict sense

within the Ioway bundle taxonomy. Of course, lack of positive evidence should not be confused with the presence of negative evidence. The information is simply insufficient.

Thunder clan war bundle (31501-31513) [M14]

This was identified by Skinner as the war bundle of the Thunder gens (clan), and as having "once belonged to Raining-All-Day." "Raining-All-Day" was the Thunder clan warchief Nyiyumanyi (also spelled in various other ways, as Neomonni, etc.) (*nyi* + *yu* + *manyi* : water + to fall =(rain) + walk, go along). Nyiyumanyi was painted by Catlin and Charles Bird King, and was written about in McKenney and Hall. He was an important leader during the removal period from Iowa in the first half of the 1800s. Skinner paid Barnard \$200 for the bundle in 1923. The bundle is pictured here as figure 5.11(b), with the gourd rattle attached to the outside. It was pictured in Skinner (1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 8): "War bundle, unopened, with gourd rattle attached. Catalog number 31501. Length 15 inches." Unopened, this bundle was measured at 41 cm long. It is also pictured in Blaine (1979: 107, fig. 8).

31501(a-d)/7557 "4- (a) wrapper of tanned deerskin for warbundle, [diff.hand: b-d) 3 small inner wrappers of cloth." The deerskin appears quite old. 31501b is a tan cotton cloth used as wrapper, 74cm long. 31501c is an empty rectangular cloth bag (tan (white?) cotton), 20 cm wide and 15 cm high. 31501d is a cotton print cloth used as a wrapper, 96 cm long.

31502/7557 "1- gourd rattle attached to bundle." The rattle (27 cm long) is made of a hollowed gourd (some rattling elements still present), dark with use and age, attached to a whittled stick handle. It was attached to the outside of the bundle, thrust through the bundle ties.

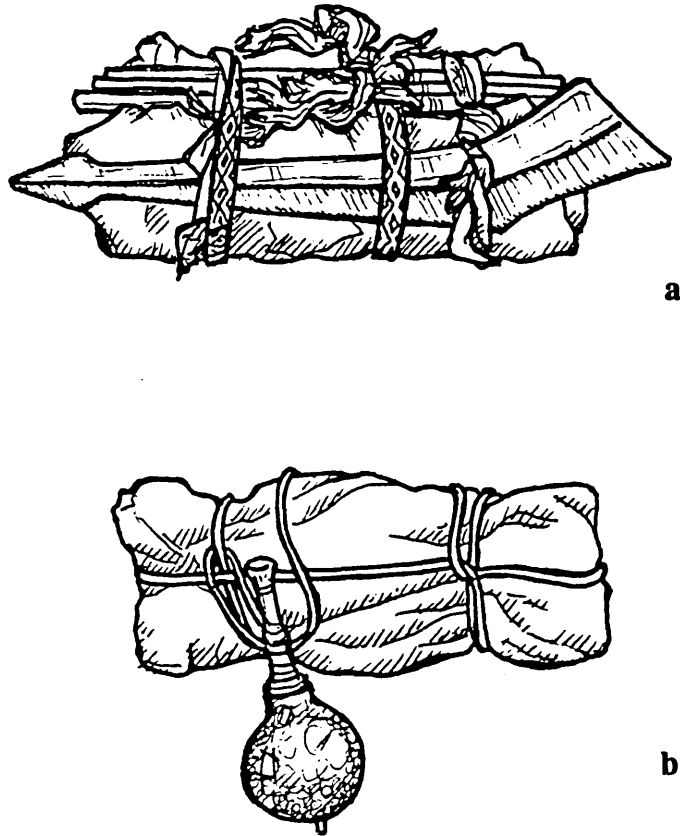


Figure 5.11: Warbundles; (a) Wanathunje's scalping bundle [H1] (2/7814), [*wach'e waluxawe*]; (b) Thunder clan warbundle [M14] (31501), [*wathe waluxawe*]

31503/7557

"1- war amulet composed of Ivory-billed

Woodpecker and duck hawk heads, plumes, and scalps." This complex amulet (20 cm long) is composed of the scalp and upper beak of an ivory-billed woodpecker tied with what Skinner identified as the head of a "duck hawk." The hawk's skull has been removed, with only the beak and scalp remaining. Also attached are 7 bundles of small wing or tail feathers (species not identified, but probably not those of a raptor), wrapped from their bases halfway up with cotton twine. 5 portions of human scalps are attached as well as 1 larger scalp, with braided scalplock (27 cm long). The amulet was fastened to the wearer with a leather tie. It is pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 2: "Amulet made of the scalps of an Ivory-billed Woodpecker and a hawk, with portions of human scalps attached...Length 8 inches."

31504/7557

"1- otter fur headdress." The otter hide is 38 cm long (folded),

with an attached small leather bag and feathers. Skinner notes this as an "otter fur headdress." The otterskin is sewn in half lengthwise, hair out, and folded at midpoint (if it were not folded at midpoint the skin would be perhaps 78cm long). A small leather bag (possibly containing paint) is attached; its mouth was cut into two long, sharp pieces, with the margins cut into short fringes. Also attached are two golden eagle tail feathers (white, dark-tipped) mostly eaten away, and with red-dyed plumes, attached at their bases. It may be compared with some war bundles of the Omaha, the ends cut to resemble wings, the effect intended to create the metaphor of a bird.

31505/7557

"1- otter fur and bear's claw amulet, once had scalps attached."

The otter skin piece (35 cm long) has attached bear claws, scalp, and streamers. The two grizzly bear claws are painted red at their bases, and strung together, with two large light blue glass beads on each of the outsides and two large dark blue beads between the claws on the

inside. Skinner's catalog entry says "once had scalps attached" but at least one scalp remains attached. The dark brown/black braided scalplock (32cm long) is attached to the scalpskin, which is attached to the rest of the amulet. The streamers have porcupine quillwork covering them, some dark blue bands alternating with yellow, some red alternating with yellow. The streamer ends have brass cones attached, with red-dyed hair (deer?) coming out their ends. The museum's card file misidentifies the grizzly claws as "beaver teeth". The amulet is pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 4: "Amulet of otter fur and grizzly bear claws, with portion of a human scalp attached. ...Length 23 inches."

31506/7557 "1- wolfskin amulet." Skinner describes it as a "wolfskin amulet" but it actually appears to be an entire coyote skin, folded in half lengthwise, hairside in, and sewn shut. Thongs tied to the nose and its size and shape suggest it was worn over the shoulder as a sash. It also has a small folded piece of paper filled with red paint attached. Folded in half again across its midpoint, the skin amulet is 36 cm long (unfolded it should be about 72 cm long).

31507/7557 "1- horned owl skin amulet." Amulet. 24cm long (folded). This is a great horned owl skin (24 cm long, folded), its skull removed, but retaining the beak (upper and lower mandibles) and its taloned feet. The amulet is wrapped in cloth. A number of quilled streamers are attached at the feet. There are alternating bands of dark red, bright red, and yellow, and brass cones with red-dyed hair at the terminations.

31508/7557 "1- mole skin amulet." This is a mole skin (turned inside-out) bag (14 cm long) with what appears to be tobacco inside. Separate in the bundle, but also numbered 31508 is a small leather bag of red pigment (4 cm long) which was probably attached to the moleskin at one time (the moleskin is badly deteriorated).

31509/7557 "1- weasel skin amulet with bead band." Pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 3: "Amulet made of weasel skin attached to a beaded band. ...Length 13 inches." This item is made of a cased brown weasel skin with the skull still in it. It is attached to a five-row band of loomwork beads; all the beads are white, except for a section of blue glass beads on one end of the band near the weasel. The white beads are irregular and appear to be made of shell. This object was not within the bundle context, but was loose in another drawer; it was associated here through comparison with the accession record.

31510/7557 "1- remains of fawn skin bag." Fawnskin bag. 38cm long. The spotted skin is badly deteriorated; even Skinner described it as the "remains of fawn skin bag."

31511(a-d)/7557 "4- bag of medicines." The woven fiber bag (a?) (12 cm high and 14 cm long) appears to have dark brown buffalo hair yarn as its warp, and green and gold wool yarn as its weft, creating geometric figures on the bag. Red-dyed down is interlaced at the bag's rim. A leather thong serves as a tie. It contains three elements. 31511b is a cloth and paper containing powdered red pigment. 31511c is a blue plaid cloth wrapping containing bunch of red-dyed down feathers. Also tagged 31511c (could it be 31511a?) is a separate item (amulet) which is a portion of a weasel's head, tied up with sticks painted red, red ribbon, and dark blue ribbon, all wrapped in tan wool yarn. This may be 31509, mistakenly included as part of 31511, although there is no "bead band" (could "head band" have been intended?). 31511d is a small leather bag with powdered red pigment inside.

31512(a-b)/7557 "2- bag containing medicine with portion of scalp attached." The woven fiber bag (a) (10 cm high and 12 cm long) appears to have dark brown buffalo hair yarn as its warp, and buffalo hair, and golden tan and rust wool yarn as its weft, all woven into

geometric designs. A leather strap was attached. It contained 31512b, an amulet made of a small leather bag of red pigment, dark scalplock, and cloth (selvage) tie.

31513(a-c)/7557 "3- bag containing medicine with portion of scalp attached."

The fiber bag (marked "c", should be "b") (8 cm high and 11 cm long) appears to be woven like the other two in this bundle on a warp of buffalo hair yarn with trade wool yarn as its woof to add color in the geometric design. Here the woof is overall a golden tan with three fields (from top to bottom) accented by designs in red wool yarn (top), dark brown stripes in buffalo wool yarn (middle), and dark green wool yarn (bottom). It contains two elements. 31513a is an amulet made of a piece of dark-haired human scalp with weasel skin wrapping, and green ribbon, with short segments of sticks, all tied together with leather and tan cloth. 31513c is a small braid of sweetgrass.

War bundle (31514-31532) [M15]

This war bundle is one of those purchased from Barnard, for \$200.

31514/7557 "1- outer wrapper of tanned deerskin for war

bundle." This bundle is tied in a single, fragile deerhide (31514), with a thong (1.26 m long), also numbered 31514. Unopened, the bundle is 49 cm long. The card file mistakenly attributes the deerhide to bundle 31544. A loose thong, the bundle tie, is numbered 31514.

31515/7557 "1- Indian hemp prisoner tie with porcupine quill ornaments."

The prisoner tie is a native-made rope (1.8 m long), gathered into a flattened and quilled loop (probably for the prisoner's neck) at one end. At the other end of the prisoner tie, the two ends are wrapped with quills, and terminate in several small quilled drops ending in tin cones. This is the end the captor would have grasped. The porcupine quills are worked in red and blue bands. It is pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 7: "Prisoner tie of Indian hemp with quilled ornament. ...Length as shown, 19 inches [folded]."

31516(a-b)/7557 "2- Deerskin (spotted fawn) wrapper containing snake and weasel skin amulet." The fawnskin case was mistakenly numbered 31517, which is actually the number of the whistle below. The catalog clearly shows the correct numbers. Although brittle, the cased fawnskin (30 cm long) had its hair intact, the spotted newborn pattern still clear. Sticking out of the case can be seen a brown weasel's hindparts with a hawk bell tied to one foot, as well as the head of a cased blacksnake, and part of its folded length. Overall the bundle was 43 cm long. The bundle and the skins were too fragile to open and examine. It is likely that this is the amulet case Skinner mentioned in his letter.

31517/7557 "1- Reed war whistle." This is actually a cane whistle not a reed whistle. It was not in the bundle, but was loose in another drawer, and was associated through comparison with the accession catalog. It was also mistakenly numbered on its side as 31516, which is actually the snake and weasel amulet seen above, which was in turn mistakenly numbered 31517. The whistle had no ornamentation, and was polished from long use. A flattened and spread bird feather quill served as a reed over the air hole. This was tied there by a wrapping of sinew.

31518(a-d)/7557 "4- Leather wrapper containing amulets." The leather wrapper (28 cm long) is rolled up, tied at the top and stitched along the sides. Inside is a navy blue cloth wrapper tied with red cloth. Inside this blue cloth are the following elements: 1) a white weasel skin is turned inside out, and is tied near the head with sinew to make a small pocket; it was not unwrapped because of its fragility, 2) a plume, 3) an inside-out weasel skin, 4) a vegetal husk (corn?) with a root inside, and 5) a root or bark piece. Only the white weasel skin and the plume are numbered, although even they do not have letter designations, being numbered only "31518."

31519/7557 "1- amulet made of melanistic fox squirrel skin." The melanistic squirrel skin retains the skull. The skin is very brittle, hair-out, doubled-up (doubled-up it is 22 cm long) and tied with what may be a hand-woven strip of cloth.

31520(a-c)/7557 "3- woven bag containing 2 war medicines." The woven bag (31520a) has a drawstring handle and is 15 cm long and 10 cm wide. The bag is decorated with horizontal bands and angled figures in natural fibers and wools of pink, brown, yellow, red, and green. Inside was an old and brittle doubled-up squirrelskin (31520b), the tail broken loose, with a little packet tied to one leg. Also inside was a green cloth bundle (31520c) tied up. Inside this bundle were bits of a snake segment (snakeskin and vertebrae) and a little packet wrapped in printed paper (too brittle to unwrap).

31521(a-g)/7557 "7- woven bag containing 6 war medicines, closed by a feather." The woven bag (31521a) measures 26 cm by 15 cm, and is decorated by bands and zigzags in natural fibers and wools in dark brown, green, and red. It is closed by a feather woven in and out the two top sides of the bag. 31521b is a string-tied package of five elements: 1) a bit of cloth with what appears to be a dropping inside, 2) folded paper with tobacco (?), 3) folded paper with red paint, 4) a tied-up and very fragile small mammal (mouse?) hide turned inside out, and 5) newspaper piece folded up, which is empty now; stains indicate it must have once held a medicine and a date is mentioned, 1825. 31521c is a bundle made of two tied packets (red cloth and paper) tied with leather, each with a different kind of plant material inside, fine fibrous roots and segmented material. Another, separate, woven bag is also numbered 31521c. The woven bag has a vertical wavy-line motif in yellow and green, and it is closed by a leather drawstring. Inside are a number of elements: 1) three small twists of sweetgrass, 2) a brown weaselskin with the skull still in; a brass thimble, with a red piece of medicine or clay inside it, is stuffed in the weasel's chest cavity, 3) tip of a squirrel's tail, and 4) a large twist of

sweetgrass. 31521d is a red, brown and white cloth containing root fragments and two folded paper packets. The smaller packet contains fragments of leaves and flowers; the larger packet contains a broken quartz crystal. A moleskin with the skull still inside is numbered 31521d as well; a paper is stuffed inside the skull. 31521e and 31521f are unaccounted for. It is likely that, as 31521c and 31521d each have two items given the same number, that this is where the error lies. 31521g is a small mammal hide (mouse?) turned inside out with something that feels like plant material inside.

31522/7557 "1- fox squirrel skin amulet." This cased skin is hair-side out, doubled over, and tied with a little woven band edged with beads, looking very much like a miniature sash. There was nothing inside, other than red paint residue; it may have served as a paint bag. A little package of medicine is tied to one foot, wrapped in paper with unreadable print.

31523/7557 "1- fox squirrel skin amulet." This cased fox squirrel skin (27 cm long) is turned inside-out. The head has been tied into a bundle with sinew. It seems there is something in that tied portion, but the skin is so fragile it was unopened.

31524/7557 "1- bag of red war paint (penciled in: cinnabar)." This is a finely tanned and stitched plain leather bag (8.5 cm long), flat and full of red pigment.

31525/7557 "1- bag of red war paint." The red-painted leather bundle (8 cm long) is tied with a cloth strip. Although the bag says "red war paint," examination repudiates this. Inside was a twisted and dried gray substance; it is hard to say whether the piece was animal, vegetable, or mineral, but it looked like flesh.

31526/7557 "1- amulet of weasel skin." The brown weasel skin appears to be that of a least weasel. The skull remains inside, stuffed with fur. The rear half of the skin has deteriorated, but 21 cm remains of the skin.

31527(a-c)/7557 "3- amulets of weasel skins." 31527a is a light brown weaselskin with the skull still in. It is 31 cm long, which would make it either an ermine or a long-tailed weasel. 31527b is a brown weasel, with a tie around its middle. Some medicine is inside its belly, but the skin was too fragile to see what it was. It is half rotted away, but it is still 19 cm, making it one of the larger weasels. 31527c is a white weasel skin, with the skull in, and 19 cm long; it is likely this is a least weasel.

31528/7557 "1- packet of medicine." This is a piece of cloth (7 cm long) tied with a cloth strip, containing a large lump of white clay.

31529/7557 "1- packet of medicine, used as amulet, portion of a human scalp attached." This has been mistakenly numbered as 31729. It is a necklace with thong ties and a medicine package in the middle. The package is a small leather bag with a fragment of a human scalp attached and red paint coming out the opening. Each thong is 45 cm long.

31530/7557 "1- bundle of sweetgrass braids." The bundle (26 cm long) is actually nine twists of sweetgrass tied together with a leather thong.

31531/7557 "1- packet of medicine." This item was not located.

31532(a-b)/7557 "2- old woven garters (?) yarn ["?" in original]." The flat rectangular woven strips (46 cm long, each) are made of natural fibers and bands of green and red stripes. The ends are square-cut, with no ties or loose ends for tying.

An unnumbered, loose sweetgrass braid is also associated in the bundle, 31 cm long.

War bundle (31533-31543) [M16]

This was one of the bundles bought from Barnard, this one for \$250. Unopened, it is 46 cm long. Through a mistake in time allocation, the museum closed on the last day of my visit at the museum, before I could examine the elements in this bundle, one of the inevitable frustrating miscalculations of field work. Lack of funding precluded a third trip to the

museum. The elements must be determined solely from the catalog for the purposes of this study.

31533(a-b)/7557 "1- (a) cloth outerwrapper for warbundle, b) coyote skin war amulet, with red beans attached."

31534(a-b)/7557 "3- wrapper of fawnskin containing 2 eagle plumes with metallic ornaments."

31535(a-d)/7557 "4- wrapper of fawnskin containing 2 feather boxes and sweetgrass amulet." But, pictured in Skinner (1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 6): "Cane war whistles in fawnskin wrapper. Catalog number 31535a-c. Length 16 inches." A cane whistle, numbered 31535c, was mistakenly in another bundle (with whistle 30643). This undecorated 37 cm long whistle is cracked along its length.

31536/7557 "1- reed tube with intestine lining as cover."

31537/7557 "1- wolfskin amulet."

31538/7557 "1- buffalo and deer tail amulet."

31539(a-b)/7557 "2- fawnskin wrapper with weasel and snake skin amulet enclosed (very fine piece)." Pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 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....Length 20 inches."

31540(a-b)/7557 "2- fawnskin wrapper with otter and wolf fur amulet enclosed." It is pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 9: "Otter and deer fur amulet, with quilled ornament. Catalog number 31540. Length 13 1/2 inches." The catalog says the amulet is otter and wolf, while the Ethnology plate says otter and deer. This question remains unresolved as the bundle's contents were not examined. For the purposes of tabulation, the wolf or deer element is not counted.

31541(a-b)/7557 "2- buffalo wool amulets."

31542/7557 "1- packet sagebrush incense."

31543/7557 "1- war whistle, deer hair pendants." This is pictured in Skinner 1926: 298-299, plate XXVIII, fig. 5: "Cane war whistle. ...Length 16 inches."

War bundle (31544-31551) [M17]

Skinner paid Barnard \$75 for the bundle. Unopened, it is 48 cm long.

31544(a-b)/7557 "1- a) tanned deer skin wrapper, b) cloth inner wrapper." The cloth has a dark maroon and cream "water drops" pattern.

31545(a-c)/7557 "3- small woven bag of medicine." This small woven bag with medicines is 11 cm wide and 8 cm high. The woven fiber bag, with buffalo hair yarn warp and wool yarn woof, has different designs on each side. One side is striped, with the design worked in dark brown (buffalo), red, rust, yellow, and gold-tan yarn. On the other side, the colors are creamy yellow, gold-tan, and rust, with a cloth selvage border. It contains two elements. 31545b is a small, roughly-stitched navy-blue cloth wallet, divided into 3 sections, each with a pocket, all empty. Closed, the wallet is 6cm high and 5cm wide; opened, it extends to 16cm long. The middle pocket is red cloth. Green and red embroidery is sewn on the inside of the open wallet. 31545c is a faded cloth bag (once red), with a large amount of cut-up roots inside.

31546(a-b)/7557 "2- fawnskin wrapper containing skin of Carolina parakeet." The spotted fawnskin wrapper (44 cm long) contains the skin of a Carolina parakeet (26 cm long). The parakeet is tied with leather and has plant material stuffed into its head. The parakeet is in excellent condition, its feathers still brilliantly colored. The fawnskin wrapper is mistakenly numbered 31548.

31547/7557 "1- deerhoof rattle." The rattle is 42 cm long, with a leather-wrapped cane handle; about 9 clusters of hoofs tied to handle with thongs.

31548/7557 "1- war whistle." This cane war whistle is 54cm long. The reed for the whistle might be part of a bird's beak, secured to the whistle by bark wrapping. Wavy "power/lightning" lines (incised) run its length.

31549/7557 "1- amulet of eagle plume, sweetgrass and buffalo hair." The amulet (48 cm long) is made of an eagle's primary feather, with matted buffalo hair and two large twists of sweetgrass tied to it. About halfway down each of the two sweetgrass twists, they are each further divided into four sweetgrass twists.

31550/7557 "1- amulet of buffalo wool." The amulet (43 cm long) is simply a mass of matted buffalo wool.

31551(a-b)/7557 "2- braids of sweetgrass." Each of these long braids of sweetgrass are doubled; doubled, each measures about 43 cm.

Tattooing bundle (Black Bear clan) (31552-31564) [M18]

This was one of the bundles bought from W.C. Barnard for \$100, and was originally the property of Chief David Tohee. It was incomplete as found, as many of its elements were spread around in other drawers. The bundle is re-associated here through comparison with the accession catalog. A few of its components are shown here in figure 5.12. This bundle was pictured in Skinner (1926: 342-343, pl. L, fig. 7): "Mat case for Tattooing Bundle....Length 21 inches." It is also pictured in Blaine (1979: 107, fig. 8).

31552/7557 "1- reed mat cover." The mat cover (31552) (fig. 5.12 (a)) is divided into five zones, each with a large diamond. The pocket at one end has stripes across it. Rolled up, the bundle is 52 cm long. Skinner said:

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 culture (Skinner 1926: 285).

31553/7557 "1- tattooing needle with heron feather rattles." This long needle (fig. 5.12 (b)) is tightly wrapped in blackened (glued?) sinew along its body. A series of blackened steel needles are set in one end. From the other end, three large, creme-colored, doubled-back heron quills protrude, with two small hawk bells on each. Each quill also functions as a rattle, as some small unseen objects roll around inside the pockets formed by the doubled-back quills. It is pictured in Skinner 1926: 342-343, plate L, fig. 2: "Tattooing needle....Length 12 3/4 inches". This object was not within the bundle context, but was loose in another drawer; it was associated here through comparison with the accession record. An additional quill end fragment from this needle was found in yet another drawer, the end split, folded over and into itself like the others.

31554(a-b)/7557 "2- packets, 1 of paint with hare's foot brush." This is a small leather bag which had contained red pigment, now gone, although some of it has intentionally or accidentally been smeared all over the surface. It was tied together with the severed foot of a rabbit or hare, which had once been white, but had become red through use. It is pictured in Skinner 1926: 342-343, plate L, fig. 4: "Bag of red pigment with hare's foot attached as a brush. From Tattooing bundle. Length 4 inches." In the plate, Skinner mislabeled it as

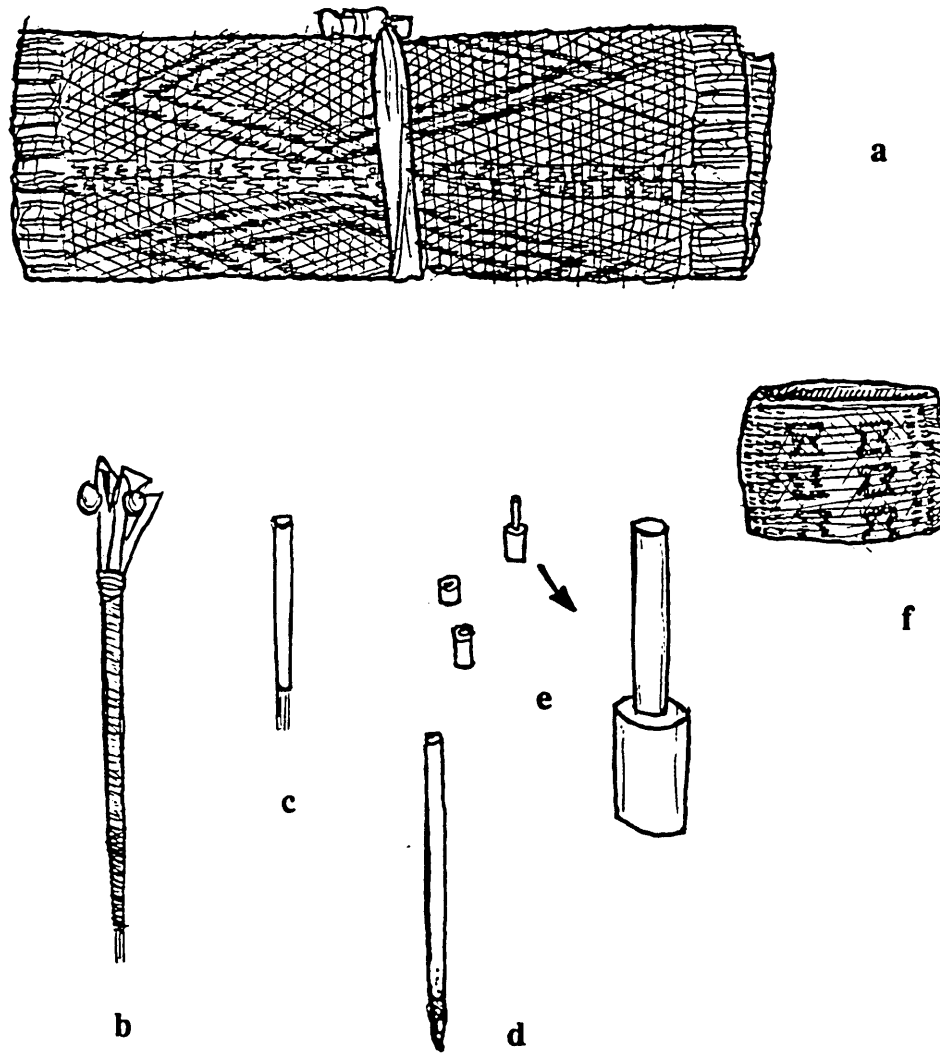


Figure 5.12: Items from tattooing bundles; (a) mat case (31552); (b) tattooing needle (31553); (c) tattooing needle (30622a); (d) charred willow stick (30618); (e) cane and willow stamps (31559a-d); (f) woven bag (31556)

31551a, 31551 actually being sweetgrass braids, as shown above. At the same time there is a second 31554a, found in the bundle 31552; this 31554a is a white and red cloth tie with tobacco inside. As there are two "packets" counted as 31554 (a and b), 31554a will be considered the foot and paint bag, while the tobacco tie should be henceforth considered 31554b.

31555(a-c)/7557 "3- braids of sweetgrass." These were not in the bundle, but were loose in another drawer, and were associated through comparison with the accession catalog. Two are actually sweetgrass plaits. 31555a is a 8-row plait. 31555b is a four-row plait. Both have their free ends terminate in twists. Neither appear to have been burnt. The file card mistakenly says "31551(a-b) sweetgrass braids". 31555c was located in yet another drawer; it was a large twist of sweetgrass. These appear to be the unnumbered plaits pictured by Skinner in 1926: 342-343, pl. L, fig. 3: "Pieces of plaited sweet grass from tattooing bundle. Length 16 1/2 and 9 1/2 inches [31555b and 31555a, respectively]."

31556(a-d)/7557 "1- woven bag of medicines." This bag (fig. 5.12 (f)) was located in bundle 31576, where it had been erroneously placed. After consulting the accession catalog it is correctly considered here. It is made of what appears to be bark cordage, with the design in dark brown yarn, possibly buffalo wool. On one side are four vertical zigzag trails; on the other are six hour-glass figures. It was pictured in Skinner 1926: 342-343, plate L, fig. 6: "Small woven bag containing pigments and medicines, from Tattooing bundle....Length 6 1/8 inches." Inside were eight elements, only two of which are numbered, and which do not appear to belong to the bundle. They are two scalplocks (31580 and 31581), to be considered later, in their proper context. The remaining six, unnumbered medicines which appear to belong to the bundle include: 1) a gray calico cloth bundle containing plant material (flowers and woolly stems), 2) a red and white calico cloth tie, containing lumps of charred wood and a

piece of down, 3) a cloth tie containing real fine dark soil, 4) a tiny leather bag holding red paint, 5) a slender root, 6) a thick root, possibly calamus root.

31557(a-i)/7557 "9- leather wrapper and 9 bone cylinder stamps for designs." 31557a-h were located and were all bone tubes (stamps); 31557i was the only bone tube in the bundle 31552, found with stamps 31559 in the plaid green bundle. Eight of the tubes (a-h) were not in the bundle, but were loose in another drawer, and were associated through comparison with the accession catalog. Each tube evidences cut marks and polish, with one having a line etched around the rim, along with a zigzag, and a little paint on the edge from use. These tubes (a-h) are pictured in Skinner 1926: 342-343, plate L, fig. 5: "Set of bone tubes used to mark circles for tattooing. Catalog number 31557a-h. Length of longest specimen 7/8 of an inch." At the same time, within the bundle a brittle animal skin (also numbered 31557a) was found; inside was a root.

31558/7557 "1- stick for charring to obtain black pigment." This willow stick was shaved smooth, the ends squared. One place was slightly discolored with a dark stain.

31559(a-d)/7557 "4- wooden stamps for designs." These were found together inside a plaid green cloth bundle. They are pictured in figure 5.12 (e). 31559a is a longer stick wedged into a wooden tube, 31559c, which must have acted as a locational guide for the paint-dabbed stamp. 31559b is a wooden stamp carved down into a spindle shape, with a blue stain from paint at each end. 31559d is a wooden tube. Some of the "9s" looked like "7s". A root with bark on it was also found in association. Also in this green cloth was what appears to be a small, incised, grit-tempered pottery rim sherd.

31560(a-c)/7557 "3- packets of medicines." 31560a is a green cloth bundle, with a little leather wrap inside, painted red on the outside, with a piece of root or wood inside that.

31560c is a checkered gray cloth bundle; inside were three plant stems (or roots) as well as a small leather bag tied with sinew (unopened due to its fragility). A loose tag has "31560b" on it. This was probably attached to an unnumbered cloth bundle made of two cloths, the outer one a navy blue bandanna, covering a black calico tie which contains tobacco.

31561/7557 "1- packet of medicines." This is a red calico (or bandanna) bundle wrapped around two small, folded paper packets, tied together with pale yarn. They appear to be possibly pieces of newspaper or advertisements. They are old enough that words with double "ss" is spelled "ff", as in "Depreffions" (depressions), and "f" is often substituted for "s". The first paper includes the following passages: "peppermint is a plant peculiar to our own country...known for its quick, penetrating smell and its warm, strong taste, pungent like pepper...Mr. Ray, in the supplement to his History of Plants...use in women, sucking infants." There was nothing inside this paper, which was unstained. The second paper does contain crumbly bits of some plant material; text on the paper mentions London, Cheapside, and Newcastle and a "tincture to preserve the teeth and gums."

31562/7557 "1- packet of down in skin wrapper." This was a very small and brittle hide, perhaps a fawnskin, though the hair was gone. Inside was a bundle of white plumes, some with the ends cut off.

31563/7557 "1- pair antique spectacles." These are old, oval, metal-framed spectacles, colonial-looking, with a broken thong attached to the earpieces. It was likely used to see better during tattooing ceremonies.

31564/7557 "1- piece of paper used as medicine wrapper, date 1754." This label was removed from the bundle and was loose in another drawer, associated here through comparison with the accession catalog. The label was sandwiched by the Museum between a piece of glass and a piece of cardboard, held together by black electrician's tape, possibly for

an early display. Apparently a label or advertisement for a patent medicine, the text included the following passages: "LONDON. JAN 26 1754. BY THE KING'S PATENT GRANTED TO ROBT. TURLINGTON FOR HIS BALSAM OF LIFE...physick...human body...external sprains, bruises, wounds...cures burns...15 or 20 drops or more...drop same on sugar...1 hour later and you may depend on relief...preferable to bitters...women...colossal fits...windy disorders."

In addition there were two small roots of differing appearance lying loose inside the mat wrapper.

Buffalo doctor's bundle (31565-31575) [M19]

This bundle was one of those purchased from Barnard, this one for \$200.

31565(a-b)/7557 "1- a) reed mat bundle cover, b) cloth inner wrapper." Rolled up, the mat bundle is 60 cm; unrolled, it is 98 cm long. The envelope section is 60 cm wide by 28 cm high. The length of the woven rush mat (31565a) is divided into six zones. Each zone has a zigzag across it. The zigzags are dark blue or red, alternating, against a natural background. The envelope at one end has four black stripes across it. The envelope contained the following items, which had been wrapped in a creme-colored calico cloth (31565b).

31566/7557 "1- package of medicine." Not numbered, the following mini-bundle rolled up inside the "buffalo cape" (31569) is probably 31566. A piece of folded manila-type paper, tied with a piece of cloth of the same pattern as made the calico inner wrapper (31565b), contained a large piece of a white-feathered birdskin (goose? swan?). Wrapped inside the feathered skin were three items: a fragment of what appeared to be a tobacco label with the partial date "189-", a smaller birdskin turned inside out and painted red, with white down coming out, and a small piece of paper folded around red powdered pigment.

31567/7557 "1- drumstick." The drumstick was missing from

the bundle, but was located in another drawer at the Museum. It is based on what may be a whiteman's snaredrum stick, with the head exposed. The attached head is located at the opposite end, as a padded white cloth striking surface. It is not known why a drumstick would be a part of this bundle.

31568/7557 "1- bone and plume hair ornament." A red-dyed plume, tied to a bone carved into a smooth wedge; two old ribbons (white and navy) are tied similarly with sinew onto the bone. This object was not within the bundle context, but was loose in another drawer; it was associated here through comparison with the accession record.

31569/7557 "1- cape of felted buffalo hair." This is a large flat piece of shed buffalo hair, with buffalo hair patches and ribbons apparently randomly sewn on. This may be an attempt to close holes in the shed hair patch, but it is possible there may be some symbolic significance. No number was located on the artifact. It was wrapped around the "package of medicine" (31566).

31570/7557 "1- hair ornament of buffalo hair." (card: wood, cloth, buff felt hair ornament). This amulet is made of a dark hank of shed buffalo hair, with attached long piece of wood carved into a long curve reminiscent of the beak of a shorebird (such as a sandpiper), red cloth, and leather thong.

31571/7557 "1- ball of clay (buffalo paint)." This is a brown ball of clay, about three inches in diameter.

31572(a-c)/7557 "3- deerskin cover containing a red quill and an amulet of buffalo tail embroidered with blue and white wampum." The objects were not within the cover but were found in other drawers. 31572a is a buffalo tail amulet sewn with wampum. This object is pictured in Skinner 1926: 342-343, plate L, fig. 1: "Buffalo tail amulet with wampum

bead embroidery. From a Buffalo Doctor's bundle....Length 16 inches." Skinner also describes this amulet in "Some Unusual Ethnological Specimens":

From a Buffalo Doctor's bundle of the Ioway Indians...was taken an amulet made of the tail of a buffalo which is ornamented with embroidery of wampum beads, both in white and purple, sewn on the skin with sinew.... It is, so far as the writer is aware, the only surviving example of this technique in America [emphasis added], although there are frequent references to wampum bead embroidery in the writings of the early colonists and explorers (Skinner 1923: 106-107, fig. 70).

When examined, this item was incorrectly numbered 21572a. It was also not within the bundle context, but was loose in another drawer; it was associated here through comparison with the accession record. The amulet is made of a large tuft of a buffalo tail, a rectangular piece of the tail skin just above the tuft attached and flattened. The tuft is braided and is secured at present by a piece of white cloth tied onto it. Early photographs do not show this and it is therefore probable that it was added as part of its curation at the Museum. The white and purple wampum beads are sewn onto the hide in a simple band series. Red paint covers the skin side, although there is also a smudge of blue paint. A hole in the skin is probably where the scalplock was pulled through and the amulet fastened. Three tin cones, with red-dyed hair protruding, dangle from the hide opposite the tuft. 31572(b?) is a large bird quill is cut at the distal end, and a smaller plume stuffed into the created opening. The whole amulet is dyed red and is the same size as the buffalo tail and wampum amulet. This object was not within the bundle context, but was loose in another drawer; it was associated here through comparison with the accession record. The deerskin cover was not located (probably 31572c), but comparison with other such amulet covers indicate it was probably a fawnskin.

31573(a-b)/7557 "1- deerskin cover containing plume." The skin was extremely worn. Inside was an amulet made of two dark-tipped eagle tail-feathers, attached at their bases with a leather thong, red ribbon, a bit of what may be beaver or muskrat fur, and a hawkbell.

31574/7557 "1- deer dewclaw rattle." It was not located.

31575/7557 "1- buffalo tail with strips of legskin (with hoofs attached [crossed out])." This was not located.

Buffalo doctor's bundle (31576-31582) [M20]

Another bundle purchased from Barnard; it cost \$75. This bundle is a good example of the transformation many artifacts undergo after collection. Apparently, the bundle represents what happens when artifacts which were on display or which have been examined are thrown together carelessly. For example, an old, yellowed card inside read: "Buffalo Rattle put on exhibit in Ioway case." Today, bundle 31576 is mixed up, with some original bundle items gone and items from other bundles inserted. For example, the yarn bag with medicines (30610a-b) was erroneously inserted in this bundle, as was the woven bag 31556. This latter bag (31556) also had the scalplocks 31580-31581 in it, which should not be there, although they do belong to this bundle 31576. In other words, except for the cover, scalplocks, the cane whistle, and plume bundle 31579, the elements found with this bundle did not belong there, and others that did belong were not there. The following reconstruction of how this bundle was once and should be again is based on comparison with the original accession catalog.

31576(a-b)/7557 "1- woven reed mat outer wrapper; (b) cloth inner wrapper."

The woven rush mat cover for the bundle (31576a) is made of an envelope or pocket at one end of a rectangular mat. The rectangular portion is divided into four decorative zones. Each zone has a large central diamond, surrounded by four smaller diamonds. Two of the zones have a darker cast to them due to interweaving of another fiber. The pocket has a few light stripes across it. The flat portion was rolled around the pocket and attached with a leather tie. Rolled,

it was 57cm long. Inside, the elements of the bundle were wrapped in a light calico cloth wrapper (31576b).

31577/7557 "1- deer hoof rattle." This rattle is made of a long wooden handle, covered with tanned hide, smeared here and there, perhaps through use by someone wearing ceremonial paint, with red. The hoof sheaths are large and do not appear to include dewclaws. They are attached by thongs along the distal half of the handle. This rattle was not within the bundle, but was located loose in another drawer and associated with the bundle through comparison with the accession catalog.

31578/7557 "1- whistle." This cane whistle was mistakenly numbered 3158. It has the same quill-covered air hole wrapped with sinew as are many of the whistles. It is otherwise undecorated.

31579/7557 "1- bundle down feathers." This bundle was found within 31576, and had two cloth wrappings. The outside wrap was red calico, and the inside was a red and black checkered cloth. The plumes themselves were tied together with a strip of red cloth. They were red, although it is hard to say whether they were intentionally dyed or they suffered inadvertent absorption of dye from the red cloth covers or tie.

31580/7557 "1- scalplock." This is a cut scalplock (no skin attached) about 18 inches long. It is tightly braided. The hair is light brown, and the fineness may indicate it came from a child. Both this scalplock and the next (31581) were found stuffed into bag 31556, which had been erroneously placed in bundle 31576. These scalplocks are misleadingly numbered 1-2-3.

31581/7557 "2- scalplock." Also a cut scalplock of about the same length as 31580. This scalplock is also made of fine hair, but the hair is black.

31582/7557 "3- scalplock." This was not located.

There is also an unnumbered cane whistle in the bundle.

Buffalo doctor's bundle (31583-31594) [M21]

This bundle was purchased from Barnard for \$75.

31583(a-b)/7557 "2- calico wrappers. The cloth is predominately purple." This is misnamed a warbundle in the card file. The bundle is rolled up and fastened by a single strip of tan cloth crossed back over itself. Tied up, it is 54 cm long. The outside cloth (31583a) is of a checkered, predominately purple pattern. The inside cloth (31583b) is striped brown.

31584/7557 "1- deer hoof rattle." The rattle (43 cm long) is based on a stick handle covered with hide, and deer dewclaws attached by thongs. Some of the dewclaws are notched at the base.

31585/7557 "1- buffalo tail with belt made of strips of buffalo legskin with hoofs." The shrunken skin is stitched around the tailbone. Buffalo wool is tied at the tuft base. The tail would have been worn as a belt. A strip of skin was taken with the tail to function as a belt, down along the hind legs to the dewclaws. One dewclaw was retained on each end of the belt. This object was not within the bundle context, but was loose in another drawer and numbered; it was associated here through comparison with the accession record.

31586/7557 "3- packet sweetgrass." This cloth wrapper with sweetgrass is 30 cm long. The cloth is blue with white checks, tied with a string. Two sweetgrass elements protrude, both cut at the ends. One is a braid with dung or clay on it. The other is a four-part plait.

31587/7557 "1- whistle sweetgrass pendant." This cane whistle had a plaited wrapper of sweetgrass around it, the free ends of one side, that facing the distal end of the whistle (away from the mouthpiece) drawn into many small twists. A leather thong

suspended the whistle from the neck. It was not in the bundle, but was loose in another drawer, and was associated through comparison with the accession catalog.

31588/7557 "1- cape of felted buffalo fur." This shed buffalo wool cape (73 cm long by 21 cm wide) is not like the others seen in that it has a neckhole (29 cm long) rather than being simply thrown about the shoulders. On what is probably the front of the cape are three green paint spots. By the "right" paint spot is a bundle of sweetgrass twists (33 cm long) tied to the cape. The bundle is tied at one end and at its midpoint but it is only attached to the cape at the midpoint. The bundle is actually divided into two units. One has ten twists; the other has a single braid that divides at midpoint into 17 tiny twists.

31589/7557 "1- amulet of felted buffalo fur [sic]." This amulet (overall length 57 cm) consists of a hide bundle tied with a thong, and with shredded hide, not fur, of a different type attached. The small leather bundle or bag was unopened due to its fragile nature, although a piece of dark cloth could be seen extending from it. The amulet's attachment thong was tied here. The leather bag had two long ends coming out from the tied portion, each treated differently. One was cut into a long point, with jagged fringing cut into the edge. The other was cut square, the fringing made by cutting uniform slits along the edge. The long strip of shredded skin was different than anything seen before, and certainly did not have the same appearance as any of the "felted" or matted buffalo fur or wool seen elsewhere. Its thickness and feel was different. Although most of the hair was gone, a few thick, straw-colored hairs remained, which looked dog-like. It is worth noting that in the story of *Wanathunje* it was reported that a strange hyena-like animal was once killed and that its hide was divided up for use as amulets. It is supposed to be in the *Wanathunje* bundle at the Heye collection, but it would be interesting to compare that skin with this one.

31590/7557 "1- buffalo tail belt." The hide is that of the section of the tail of one piece (33 cm long) with the belt thongs (77 cm long). The hair remains on the hide as well as the tuft, and appears to be that of a buffalo calf. The tail does not retain the bone.

31591/7557 "1- buffalo fur amulet." This is simply two hanks of buffalo wool tied together with a thong. It is 50 cm long.

31592(a-e)/7557 "5- packet paint and stamps for marking face and body." This is a wrapped, bright green cloth bundle (11 cm long) tied up with a strip of light green-patterned cloth. Inside this is a whitish cloth bag. Inside the bag are a number of things. 31592a is a brush, made of a 5 cm section of cane stuffed with a piece of buffalo wool which would act as a swab. Overall, the brush is 8 cm long. The other elements are rectangular folded papers (each about 7 cm long) which contain pigment. A loose cloth seems to have been the wrapper for the papers. 31592b contains a bright red pigment; an ink stamp on its paper reads "patented Nov. 30, 18--." 31592c contains a silvery powder blue pigment. 31592d contains bright red pigment. 31592e also contained a powder blue, but the pigment is gone, with only telltale staining left. Several elements remain. A hollow cane (4 cm long), numbered only 31592, has blue residue on one end. A folded paper numbered 31592g(?) contains a light green pigment.

31593(a-d)/7557 "4- packets of medicine." 31593a is a red cloth knot with cedar needles and berries inside. 31593b is a tied red calico cloth knot (23 cm long) with what appears to be natural red earth pigment inside, the same rusty red color found on the underside of tail 31590. 31593c is light colored cloth knot tie (12 cm long) containing fine black seeds and chaff. 31593d is a red-checkered cloth package (12 cm long) tied with a strip of tan cloth. It contains what appears to be a fragment of a mammal's long bone in a tobacco matrix.

31594/7557 "1- buffalo fur amulet." This is simply a loose hank of buffalo wool, with no ties, 33 cm long.

31594 ends the Ioway entries until 31738.

Buffalo doctor's bundle (31738-31742) [M22]

This bundle, purchased from Barnard for \$100, was not located. As the catalog said it was "up for exchange," maybe it was deaccessioned and traded away.

31738/7557 "1- woven yarn bag."

31739/7557 "1- deerhoof rattle."

31740/7557 "1- deerhoof rattle, buffalo tail attached."

31741/7557 "1- reed whistle."

31742/7557 "1- cape of felted buffalo hair."

Buffalo doctor's bundle (31743-31752) [M23]

The bundle was purchased for \$150 from Barnard. Its length unopened is 64 cm.

31743(a-d)/7557 "1- (a) sweetgrass necklaces, weaselskin amulets; (b-d) 3 cloth wrappers." The bundle is one of those named in the card file as a "warbundle." The bundle is made of three cloths wrapped successively around the bundle elements. The outside cloth cover (31743[b]) is brown and white-striped, measuring 60cm by 15cm. The next cloth is plaid brown and white (31743c). The inner cloth is a small, rough tan cloth, unnumbered, but logically it would be 31743d. The elements inside include 31743a, a sweetgrass and weasel component.

31743a/7557 This bundle is tied together with strips of cloth, and was not untied because of the fragile nature of the cloth. It measures 54 cm overall. It includes a sweetgrass necklace, a number of sweetgrass twists and braids, and a wrapper with weasel skins. The necklace is about 54 cm long, and is made of dual sweetgrass braided ropes tied by

sweetgrass twists. Also in the bundle are two large sweetgrass twists, 4 medium twists, and 4 small twists. Finally, a tan cloth wrapper contains two cased brown weasel skins, each about 33 cm long. The skulls are still inside and one has a tiny red medicine tied in its mouth.

31744/7557 "1- reed whistle, lightning decoration." This cane whistle, 44 cm long, has its air hole covered by flattened brass, rather than a feather quill. It is wrapped by sinew, and sinew is also wrapped near the mouth end, and near the middle, where it holds six sweetgrass twists to the whistle. Along the length of the whistle are etched four dual sinuous lines, probably representing power or lightning.

31745/7557 "1- sweetgrass, eagle feather, and buffalo wool amulet." This amulet has a dark eagle feather cut at the quill base, and wrapped with bark strips. Tied to the feather with a strip of cloth are several small sweetgrass braids and a hank of shed buffalo wool. The amulet's overall length is 44 cm.

31746/7557 "1- buffalo tail for belt." This amulet is made of a buffalo tail (29 cm long) which is made of an old tail skin stitched around the tailbone. A separate leather thong (40 cm long) passes through a slit at the tail's base. The missing tuft is replaced by a tied-on hank of shed buffalo wool. Two yellowed, dark-tipped eagle tail feathers (each 33 cm long) are attached near the tuft by thongs, red cloth wrapping their quill bases.

31747/7557 "1- buffalo tail for belt, portion of human scalp attached." The tail portion of the amulet is 27 cm long. The hairless skin, tuft also missing, has been stitched around the bone. A shaved, small stick sticks out the small end of the tail. At its base, the two ends of the hide have been cut into loops, and two more thongs (each 80 cm long) with loops also at their ends passed through them and secured. Tied onto the tail is a hank of shed buffalo wool, a large cast hawkbell (with a "3" on it), and a cut and braided black scalplock (26 cm long), not the scalp itself, which due to its coarseness appears to be that of an adult.

31748/7557 "1- beaded sweetgrass ornament." This amulet (51 cm long) consists of a beaded base, the colors in bands of greasy yellow, light blue, white, green, and red, above which the amulet splits into two sections. At this point a woodpecker scalp is attached, as well as a thong tie. Extending from this point are two sections of sweetgrass, one of four small braids and the other of five small twists. Both are beaded at their bases where they extend into the amulet. This indicates the body of the amulet is likely a sweetgrass bundle. The twist segment is beaded with bands of light blue and red, while the braided segment is beaded with stripes of red, pink, and light blue.

31749/7557 "1- buffalo tail for belt." The tail is hairless and no tuft remains. It is made of tail hide stitched around the defleshed tailbone. A slit at the base allows a leather thong to be passed through it. The tail is 26 cm long, and the thong tie is 70 cm long (doubled).

31750(a-b)/7557 "2- braids of sweetgrass." 31750a is a sweetgrass twist 57 cm long. 31750b is a sweetgrass braid 37 cm long. Neither appear to have been cut or burnt.

31751/7557 "1- cape of felted buffalo wool, bird attached." This is actually probably not felted, but is rather a large patch of shed buffalo hair/wool. Some edges have been gathered into points and tied with cloth. Tied to the cape is a deteriorated head of a woodpecker, fragments of sweetgrass also attached. The cape is 74 cm long by 26 cm wide.

31752/7557 "1- wooden tube." This appears to be a hollow willow stick, shaved smooth and cut at a sharp angle at one end. The stick is 30 cm long and 3 cm in diameter.

This bundle seems to have both Buffalo Doctor paraphernalia, like the tail belt and the buffalo cape, and war amulets, like the eagle feather amulet. It may be a dual-purpose bundle, thus pointing out a blurred taxonomic distinction between the usual healing bundle and the war

bundle.

Epilogue

Correspondence and comments

After returning from the field, Skinner corresponded with his friend Harrington in New York, relating to him the work he was doing among the Potawatomi in 1923. Perhaps there was more than one reason why the Menominee named him "Little Weasel."

[To Harrington]
June 23, 1923

My Dear old Pal:

How are you coming along anyhow? I have been back from the field for a month, but I have been closeted all the time up to Wednesday with one of the leading men of the Prairie Band of the Pots [Potawatomi], gathering in nearly a thousand pages of ritualistic and other material...it will make available the life history of a tribe that is today practically unknown.

I landed a lot more Ioway and Sauk data, and gathered up some swell specimens from all the people in question. Got 12 Ioway bundles, all that there are, now, two Oto, nine Sauk, and seven Potawatomi, also a Winnebago sent me one by parcel post!!!! And some lovely antique quill work too. In one Ioway bundle there is a snake with quilled tail and head, a big scalp is attached to the head, and tied with him is a weasel with a small scalp attached to its leg. And many other fine things...

[Letter to Skinner from Harrington, written on Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, letterhead]
July 17, 1923

Muy distinguido Senor:

Recibi su attenta carta, fecha - oh shux [sic], what I mean is that your weighty e-pistol reached me O K and did my heart good. Think I'll just slip out to Okla one of these days and get all the remaining ethnological specs [specimens] in the course of a week or two. I'll go easy on Oto bundles if you say so, unless they fo'ce [sic] them on me.. As to the Missouri "clam" pipe, with two stems, case and all, the Sr Jefe says send it along sometime between now and Oct. 1st and if its good enogh [sic] we will send you a typical Osage bundle as soon as he gets back, which will be about that time.

But Oh, the interesting side light your letter gives on The Weasel's collecting methods. The Taxi hums its merry tune of two (2) plunks an hour; we see it draw up before an Ioway home; Weasel sits in state, the motor running while he sends the shuffer [chauffer] to pound on the door and demand in a loud impatient voice that the inhabitants sel their heirlooms for a pittance. Poor and wretched - yea needy and desperate must the unfortunate Ioways have been

to have yielded the plunder. Weasel arrives at 10-30 A M and leaves at 2-30 PM for the Lee Huckins Hotel and its comforts in Oklahoma City are many miles from Iowayland and it takes the taxi several hours to make the daily run, etc, etc. DOOD!!! [?] No wonder the Otos, who were and are real Men, would not cough up. and I see Weasel was compelled to try a less luxurious plan among the "Thakiuk" [Sauk]....

[To William Orchard, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York]
September 19th, 1923

My Dear Friend Orchard:

You bet you can have a photograph of the Buffalo-tail amulet, from an Ioway Buffalo Doctor's bundle, (Not a warbundle), and I will put in a requisition for the photo this very morning. It may take several days before I can send it on to you, but I judge that it will not matter about that, from what you say.

The amulet is evidently intended to wear on the head, and the beads are sewed on with sinew. It is the only example of wampum bead embroidery that I know of that survives in America, you are doubtless better informed about this than I am, however....

The following letter to a fellow collector further illuminates Skinner's collecting greed and the avaricious mercantile instincts which he seemed to revel in. It is truly ironic that he wrote of "jeweling" someone down, since he expressed such anger at Springer's trickery. The moles in people's eyes are often blinding.

September twenty-sixth, 1923

Mr. Geo. H. Pepper, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Broadway at 155th St., New York City.

My dear George:

...You certainly are a good "go-getter" when it comes to buffalo hide shields. Without awaiting the authorization of Dr. Barrett or the Board of Trustees, I will give you \$9.75 for the shield and pay your car fare back and forth from the auction and give you a good cigar to boot. Well, I may never have gotten any cheap shields, but you want to kid Harrington about the price that he paid for his two Oto pipes, which is exactly what I paid for the whole eleven that I got from the Ioways, and my pipes are good ones too. By the way, rose water and boric acid are good for the eyes if you have strained them shedding any tears over this transaction. I don't know what to suggest for a strained conscience. I take off my hat to you, George, I have often looked into my own heart after deals of this sort, and have been filled with loathing, but I see that you must be pretty hard-boiled. It seems to me that the only way that you can atone for what you have done is to make this museum a gift of this shield. If you will do that I will guarantee that Dr. Barrett and myself will offer up a series of prayers for your salvation...

The following letters are included, due to their connection with Skinner's Ioway work. One sees that his Ethnology manuscript was finished in 1924. I still cannot understand how he mixed up the false and true Bear pipes, giving two different versions in his field correspondence and his Ethnology text. Whether he or someone else labelled his plates, there are so many errors that one cannot accept anything uncritically. One must also beware of the data based on his questionable relationship with Springer and the other Ioway, as well as the state of understanding of his informants, most of whom apparently were not adherents to the bundle system. Springer was a peyotist and a vocal opponent of the older system.

May 22nd, 1924

My Dear Mr Richman:

As to the Ioway manuscripts: That on Ioway Folklore and mythology has been completed and turned over to Director Barrett for transmission through Professor Keyes to Dr Shambaugh, and will be published by the State of Iowa, if found acceptable. This year, I hope.

The general Ioway ethnology paper is complete, and will be handed in here for publication this week, and will, I hope, go to press in a very short time. So if all goes well you should have both before the snow flies.

Characterization of the various tribes? I'll try, but I have never visited the Meskwaki or Foxes, so I suggest you go and see them yourself... As for the rest, here goes:

The Ioway. Physically those of Oklahoma are Herculean in size and build, really enormous fellows. The women are often handsome. They are rather dark Indians. Those of Nemaha are on the whole much smaller in [2] size, and not nearly so agreeable to strangers. The latter group is far more mixed with white blood, however.

The Ioways of both groups have very keen minds, retentive memories, and, were it not for the fact that they are very lazy, might be exceedingly useful citizens. Certainly they are able enough, and nearly all are well educated.

The Oklahoma group are excessively dirty in their personal habits, and their houses are often filthy beyond description, in sharp contrast with the Sauk and Kickapoo. This may be a habit among the whole earth-lodge dwelling (former times) group of Southern Siouans. The Omaha, whom I have never visited, however, have the reputation of filthiness among other Indians. The Nemaha Ioway are slightly better than the Oklahoma group, and have some honorable exceptions among them who maintain clean and cozy homes.

The Ioway are very much more easily approached than most of the Central Algonkians. They are pleasant and affable, and, on the other hand, not at all conservative. There is not a single Ioway "pagan" or even one individual who follows the old customs left....

Very cordially yours

Alanson Skinner, Curator of Anthropology

Skinner did not make extensive notes on Ioway bundles, other than the six clan pipe bundles. In a letter to Harrington dated July 20, 1922, he had explained:

...Knowing that you have very full and complete notes on the sacred bundles of the tribe I have purposely omitted any serious investigation along that line, and with the consent of Dr. Barrett I am writing to invite you to publish your material, illustrated by the specimens which you have collected that are in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye foundation, as a part of our Ioway volume over your own signature, providing, of course, that this is agreeable to Mr. Heye.

This is what happened, as Harrington's notes on the tattooing bundle and the Wanathunje story of the origin of the bundles were worked up and included in Skinner (1926). Harrington's notes will be considered in the following section.

Chapter 6 SACRED BUNDLES AT THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

M.R. Harrington and the Field Notes

M.R. Harrington (1882-1971): A brief biography

Mark Raymond Harrington was born in 1882 in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He attended the University of Michigan from 1903-1905, and then Columbia, where he received his B.S. in 1907 and his A.M. in 1908. He did his earliest work with the American Museum of Natural History, the Peabody Museum of Harvard, and the Museum of the American Indian. He was assistant curator of the American section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum (1911-1914), an archaeologist and ethnologist for the Museum of the American Indian (1915-1917, 1919-1928), and director of research and curator at the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles (1928-1964). He also was a research associate at the Carnegie Institution of Washington (1930-1971), a collaborator for the National Park Service (1943-1971), and research associate at UCLA (1949-1971). He worked on such topics as the Sac and Fox bundles, the Lenape, Pre-columbian Cuba, and the early missions of California. He also was the discoverer of the Ozark Bluff Dweller culture in Arkansas and Missouri, and worked on archaeological sites at Lovelock Cave and Gypsum Cave, both in Nevada. He wrote extensively, including articles and western fiction. He died in 1971.

The field notes

The Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) has a number of Ioway sacred bundles and medicine bags, 11 of which were collected by M. R. Harrington. Limitations of funds prevented a visit to check on the collection. The museum did supply photocopies of the Harrington catalog entries as well as some of his field notes. Some of the material in the field

notes were used by Skinner in his Ethnology, including the origins of the Wanathunje bundles and the tattooing bundle. Although this information was given earlier in the contextual section, they are given here as well because of the native voice so evident in them. The published, edited versions lack this immediacy.

The following catalog and notes pertain to specimens collected by Harrington during a trip to Oklahoma in June and July of 1910. Collections were made among the Kaw, Ioway, and Delaware, but only Ioway material is given here. The catalog is in box OC 116 and the notes in box OC 150 at the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York.

Ioway Sacred Bundles at the Museum of the American Indian

Arrangement of the data

Harrington's notes are given here, edited for readability, and arranged so that bundles compared in later sections are given in order for easier reference, designated by this writer arbitrarily as H1-H11, "H" standing for "Heye (Foundation)." Some bundles were not described well enough as to their contents to figure in those later comparisons. These bundles, like the witch bundle and the love bundle, are described following the designated bundle section, along with a part on Ioway peyote symbolism which might also pertain to the older bundle system. Ioway orthography has been standardized when possible, but many of Harrington's collected terms remain in their original forms.

Wanathunje's scalping bundle, or Big War Bundle [H1]

This war bundle, presently numbered 2/7814, was collected as a bundle complex originally numbered 1603A. It is shown in figure 5.11 (a). Information on this bundle comes from Harrington's notes in box OC 116 and box OC 150 (file 3). The notes on this bundle have been mistakenly labelled as pertaining to bundle 1732A, which is actually the Red Medicine bundle.

It was collected in Oklahoma in 1910 from Robert Small for \$30, and was called the Big Ioway War Bundle, Wanathunje's scalping bundle, or *Wanathúnje walúxawe* [wa ro xa we, also *wadru'hawe*]. The proper term for this class of bundle is *wach'e waluxawe*. Skinner used photographs of a few of its elements, all numbered 2/7814, in his *Ethnology* (1926: 296-297, pl. XXVII, fig. 1-4).

Harrington collected the origin of this bundle from David Tohee and Joseph Springer, who said that it was made by *Wanathúnje* [or *Wanathónje*], an ancestor of Robert Small:

Wanathunje made the bundle. He came from above; he traveled in the air and no one saw him but Wakanda. He went to different tribes, for instance the Winnebagoes, but they smelled too much like fish, so he did not stay. Then he came to the Ioways and thought they were a good clean people, because they were a good clean people, because they burned cedar in the fire, and their women went out to tepee out to one side when they menstruated. So he entered his lodge then (his mother's womb), first lifting the bear skin robe (the hair of her vulva).

Then he was born, and he could talk before he was a year old. As he grew older his (apparent) father used to paint his face with willow charcoal, and send him out fasting, when he was little just half a day. As he grew older, he stayed out longer. Finally, he could go four days without eating. About this time he found out where he came from. Then different animal persons came to him and told him how to get their power. And he told his father, and his father began to get together a bundle for him, according to his instructions.

Then he told his father not to get mad, he was not his son, he came from above. He had had two lives. He found out then that he understood the language of all animals and fowls.

He started out right young to go on the warpath, before he had any hair on his pubis, perhaps when he was only thirteen or fourteen years old.

He fasted eight days and the Air-God told him not to just talk to the tribe, but to show them what he could do. That's why he went on the war path with a party. He went out and killed a lot of enemies, and came back again with a lot of scalps. But he did not enter the camp; he stopped about 100 yards outside. The smell of the people, he said, would affect his power. He called the people out and gave them his scalps and they had a dance right then. Then he called to his women relations to make some more moccasins, and they started back on the war path without entering the camp. This he did four times.

One time he went out on the warpath with a big crowd. As he went, they passed by the Mississippi River. As they passed, a thing rose up out of the water which had all kinds of heads and horns on it (wakanda pishkuni). This 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."

They went on and took many scalps. As they turned back to go home he got sick, and he gave his scalps to his party to take back. He said, "I am not going to die. Go on back. I will come by and by." They went on, but he died on this earth, and two women with wings came and took him to the sky. They told him there that they had sent for him because the

horned being was hunting his spirit all over the world. When he came back, he said he saw a lot of fellows sitting with their eyes closed, and he thought in his mind, "Why doesn't Wakanda let these fellows open their eyes?" At once they opened their eyes and wonderful lightning flashed all over the place.

He thought in his mind, "I am hungry," and at once they brought in a man, cooked, on a big sheet of fresh bark. And they called him, "Come and eat with us," and he shut his eyes and reached, and got the heart and liver and [?], all connected, and ate them. He said afterwards, "I ate with the God-People and got the best they had." Then these women brought him back to the earth, and he came to.

When he came to, he was weak. As he was going home, as he understood the birds, he heard them calling his name, and saying, "He is back again." He was weak and went on, and the white wolf came to him and took him home. The wolf found him lying down, and said, "Rub up against me, be like me, and travel. I have come to help you." He went right home until he was within sight of home, when the wolf left him, and he fell, exhausted. Some people hunting horses saw him, that he was worn out and thin, and asked him, "Is that you, Wanathunje?" He answered "Yes," and they took him right home.

Then he gathered up everybody, to go on the war path, even though he was weak. He said all that were willing should go with him, and that their aunts and sisters should make him some moccasins.

Now as he was coming home he heard the birds and at the time of the gathering two crows came and told him they wanted to work for him and be his spies. [10]. . . He told the tribe that these proved his power. They slept just outside his door every night and at every camping place on a pole across two forked sticks.

Then the crows scouted and helped him to get horses and scalps.

About this time they killed the "hyena" that is in the bundle, and added it to the bundle. After they caught the hyena they had a big dance and put his hide in the bundle. Then they went on and killed a lot of people and got a lot of scalps. He came in three times this time with scalps. The fourth time he quit and got married and settled down a little while-- four or five years. Then he got started again and gave a feast and started on the war path. That was the time he was gone for a year.

On that trip he ran out of provisions; it seemed like all the buffalo and game had left him. He had lost three men in a fight, and one woman who had gone with them.

He got sick then, and said [to the rest of the war party], "If we don't look out we are going to die here. You had better go on and I will get back the best way I can. They all left him, and he wandered around and got awful weak and poor. Then he came to a hollow and saw a wolf killing a buffalo calf. He only had one arrow, so he waited until the calf was killed, and scared the wolf away. He had an old knife but he was so weak he could not cut the meat to dry it, only saw off chunks. He built a fire with flint and cooked it and lay around four or five days, eating with the wolf. During this time the buffalo calf appeared to him in his dreams and told him he had been sent to save his life. He said, "I will give you one young buffalo bull. Take its tail and make a medicine rattle for doctoring the wounded," and he told him how to do [it]. And the wolf said, "I will give you one white wolf. Take his skin and when you are tired put it on, and forget all about your human weakness, but go right ahead." This hide is now up in Kansas; it is all painted up. He got a tail too, and put [it] in the bundle for the same purpose.

As he grew up he had gathered all these animals and medicines all himself, and put them in his bundle. When he had been in many wars and was old, and had had four children, all he appointed to have, he told the people, "All the tribes have a grudge against me because

they can't beat me, and I am tired. I am going now, but not by being killed or by disease."
And he dressed himself in his best and lay down and died.

The ceremonies associated with this bundle were also described:

These were foot warriors with his bundle but they had other horse warriors.

They give a feast when they are about to start to war. The leader of the party opens the bundle, and calls it "Brother" and tells it what they are going to do, and that they are going to "dress it up," that is, get more scalps for it. They tie it up then, and that night they have a war dance. In the morning they go to war, and certain ones (not the owner) had the privilege of carrying it.

When they see the enemy, even in close quarters, they open the bundle again and take out the paint and gear, and fix themselves up, even if they have to lie down on a hillside to keep from being seen. They would not do anything until they were ready, even if the enemy were right upon them. They talked to the bundle while painting themselves, and asked it to help them. The whole party divides up the medicines and puts them on. The whistles were tooted while the painting was going on.

After the battle they packed up the medicines again, and when they got back they had a regular scalp dance.

There were a series of songs used in the bundle's ceremonies. One of them was sung at the feast when the bundle was opened. It referred to Wanathunje's journey to heaven, and was repeated four times:

Gontinye anye ke, Wakanda!
Ungila ye ke.

That's what they told me, God!
That's what he told me.

Other songs also went with the bundle but they were said to have been forgotten.

The bundle is made of a number of elements, tied up together. It was pictured, closed up, in Skinner (1926: 296-297, fig. 1). The bundle was enclosed in a hide, tied up with three native-woven straps. Three cane whistles and a large flat club were tied on the outside. The bundle was described as having an outer and an inner component.

The three whistles were called *mantonje*. During the time of the first thunder, about the last of February, the owner had a feast for the bundle. Sometimes they opened it then, but sometimes not. During the feast, the large whistle was used. The two smaller ones were

blown on the war path. The flat club was called *kíkleche* [*ki'kretce*]. It was said the "point of the club represents lightning which strikes and destroys everything." The bundle's components appear to have been wrapped up with a deer hide.

The outer bundle contained a number of elements. One of them was the hide of an unidentified dog-like animal described by the informants as looking like a "hyena." It was called *shunka wala wakiya* [*conka wara wa kya*], "carrying-off-dogs":

Every night some dogs were gone, and the people in the village and the young men got up a war party. They thought it was Enemy, and laid for it. They had the horses and so on, and when this thing came they fought it like a person and killed it. When it died it cried like a person. That is why they put it in the bundle, because it seemed to have a power. They shot at him a lot of times and never killed him, and followed him a day and a half. They painted the hide and used it in war to keep from being hit- worn across the shoulder.

A white wolf tail, *shunta xga* (white wolf) [*cuntanxká*], was "tied on behind, so as to never get tired." A buffalo tail, *che thinje* (buffalo tail) [*tce thinje*], worn behind gave the "buffalo's power." A snake skin with quill work, *wakan thewe* (black snake) [*wak!an'there*], was worn as a sash across the shoulder: "Got no legs but whenever he goes after anything he gets it. He charms him and makes him crazy and can't go. So the Indian who had this could charm his enemies." There was also another snake skin, not yet dressed. Down from a bird, possibly *gletaninye* (little hawk) [*gretain*], represented "the young of a powerful bird, which can get anything it wants."

Also in the outer bundle were three empty weasel hides and two stuffed ones, one little one with a string tied onto it. The weasel was called *indóntha*. "Some of these were tied on the person, the little one on the scalp lock. As the weasel is hard to hit, so is the person who wears them." Two flying squirrels, *thechin* [*the'tcin*], were tied on the scalplock: "The flying squirrel can get away easy." A hawk skin, *gletan* [*gretain*], was tied on the head: "Hawk is swift and can catch things." Two swallow skins, *manpa keyen*, were tied on the

head, their tails painted: The swallow is a dodger. They prayed to them before they put them on."

A number of bags filled with medicine were also in the outer bundle. There was a big paint bag filled with "mud paint", *manshuthake* [*mancu'thake*], and two little bags of paint. A long bag of tobacco was in the outer bundle: When they travel they put tobacco down and ask for the road and when new moon comes they put it down." There was a plant medicine, *wanutukeye*, in a cloth bag, supposed to be able to turn one's hair grey if misused:

Broken and stuck in cracks of teeth. Strong medicine to keep danger away. They wash their heads after they use it because it will turn hair gray if they don't do this, or hurts the body if it strikes it. They wrap it up in fibre when they put it between the teeth.

A little cloth bag contained *manake thewe yine*, small black medicine, which was chewed and rubbed on the body for protection. Another cloth bag contained human noses, lips, and so forth, taken as war trophies, the honor of this ranking next to taking the scalp. The last element in the outer bundle was a war medicine done up in a fawn skin, *do tun manka*, its exact use forgotten. The translation of *dotun manka* seems to mean "war leader's medicine."

There was an inner part to the bundle. It contained another snake hide sash, as well as an otter hide shoulder sash, *dostunye* (otter) [*to'stunne*]: "Scalps, weasel pieces, tied on the otter hide because otter helped him get those scalps. He was told to put an otter in because when an otter gets after a fish he always gets it." A piece of buffalo hide was an amulet used to impart the power of the buffalo to the wearer. A little hawk skin had scalps attached; it was tied on the head or forehead. The hawk had helped the wearer gain those scalps. There was the skin of a little bird, *iblinxdo* (*ibri'to*), which Harrington tentatively identified as a blackbird. This was the "familiar spirit of the owner of the bundle. He had two live black birds or crows going around with him all the time. When he camped he would put up two

forks and a cross pole for birds to sit on. They would go and locate enemies' camps and tell their master." The last elements in the inner bundle were three more little weasels, and a "buffalo hair rope" worn as a sash with a little wooden lightning club attached, which represented the bundle's big club. This "rope" is actually a prisoner tie.

Harrington also mentioned a miniature medicine bow and arrow associated with one man's vision during the Ghost Dance. Another miniature medicine bow and arrow, sometimes mistakenly called a "toy bow and arrow," was also seen in the Skinner collection at Milwaukee. This was actually a "miniature bow and arrow used as war medicine" (30613a-b).

War bundles (otter club bundle and otter skin bundle) [H2]

Another war bundle (or war bundles) was collected by Harrington, but it is unclear from his notes which catalog number goes with this war bundle. As it has a celtiform club and seems to be at least two bundles put together, it may be 2/6904 (old: 1590P): "2 war bundles and ancient club. Bundle= wadruhawē, \$10. The history of these bundles is unfortunately lost. No one knows it now." It also has otterskin medicine bags in a buckskin case, probably making one component a *ta waluxawe* of the Medicine Dance.

The most interesting element of this bundle is a celtiform otter club or axe (fig. 6.1). This hafted iron and wooden axe, now given the number 3/3877, needs to be discussed here. Harrington collected it as a "war axe with otter carved on [the] part where the long iron passes through (This I consider better than any [others] I saw)." M.R. Harrington wrote an article on this club he collected, entitled "An Archaic Iowa Tomahawk," reproduced below:

This remarkable old war-hatchet from the Iowa Indians of Oklahoma is not only unique in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, as there is nothing like it from any tribe, but it is also especially interesting because the primitive method by which its slender, iron, celt-like blade is attached to its handle takes us back to the days before the tomahawk, as we now know it, had ever been seen in America, and suggests a hitherto unsuspected method of hafting, for actual use, the long, slender, prehistoric copper celts often found in the Mississippi valley and the Gulf States-- celts usually called "ceremonial."

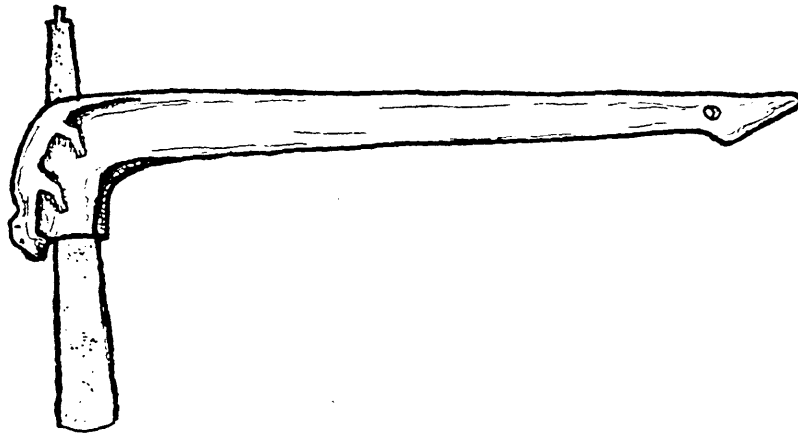


Figure 6.1: Otter celtiform warclub (2/3877)

The handle of this implement, which resembles closely that of many "ball-headed" war-clubs, is 19 1/2 inches long, made of some hard, fine-grained wood resembling maple, is rather flat, and tapers, gradually increasing in width from the proximal end (near which is a hole for a wrist thong), to the distal end, where it makes a sharp curve, but instead of expanding into a ball at this point like a war-club, it continues at a right angle for about 2 1/2 inches, only slightly broader and thicker, and is there cut squarely across. On the outside of this curved part is carved in the round the figure of an otter, its head projecting beyond the square-cut end, its eyes made of little hollow cylinders of copper driven into the wood, its four legs embracing the thickened portion and its tail extending back along the handle proper. The iron blade, 11 3/4 inches long, 2 1/2 inches wide at the bit and 5/8 inch at the poll, penetrates the thickened portion from end to end, entering just below the otter's chin and emerging from the base of its tail. It is embellished with hammered dents forming wide, shallow notches along both edges, and is provided with a notched projection at the tip of the poll and a perforation nearer the handle, both perhaps intended for the suspension of feathers or other ornaments or symbols. The whole weapon shows the wear and polish of long handling, and seems to have been painted with aboriginal pigments in two colors at different times, the first being a dark brown, almost black, showing only where the second, a dull red, is worn away. In places the pigment remaining has the caked appearance of dried blood.

The tomahawk was found tied to the outside of an old war-bundle, or waríxawe, containing various charms and medicines used in battle, when purchased from Frank Kent, an Iowa Indian. He said it had at one time been the property of his wife's father, chief Ben Holloway, from whose ancestors it had descended for a number of generations. Little detailed information concerning the bundle or the tomahawk was remembered, but it is probable that the otter was the "dream helper" of the original maker of the bundle-- the animal that had appeared to him when he fasted for power as a youth, and that he carved it in the handle of his war-hatchet to acquire for himself the otter's power of swift attack, as well as the benefit of its mystical connection with the "Medicine Dance." The otter was placed on the handle, the maker probably told his friends, in such a position that it could "see" the wound made in the enemy's skull, and could also drink his blood (Harrington 1920: 54-58).

This axe is also discussed by Harold Peterson, who refers to it as an axe. He recapitulates Harrington's article for the most part, but adds:

102. Early celtiform tomahawk from Oklahoma. The use of iron for the blade and the apparent use of steel tools in fabricating the haft indicate that it is a post-contact specimen, but the workmanship suggests that the entire axe, including the head is of Indian manufacture. The date is thus difficult to establish, but it would certainly seem to be in the early 18th century [1700s]. The blade passes through the haft and is secured by two transverse rivets.... (Peterson 1965: 101).

However, different measurements for this club were given here, with the height at 11 3/4", the width 1 1/2", and the length 22". This club is illustrated in Skinner (1926: 296, 297, pl. XXVII, fig. 2) as a "war club of unusual and antique

type." It is also treated by Feder (1971), although no catalog number is given: "#82. War club-- Iowa (Oklahoma). 21 3/4" long. From a buffalo war bundle. Collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York." It is not said as to how he identified the bundle as a "buffalo war bundle," as Harrington's notes state no such thing, although there are buffalo elements in the bundle. There is apparently a similar Ioway club with "otter" and celtiform metal blade at the Denver Art Museum (cat. no. Q1a-1).

The outer wrapping of the bundle was a skin supposed to have been buffalo, although it was falling apart even in Harrington's time. As usual, the bundle contains a number of elements, including a "buffalo pouch with cedar." The cedar was used as incense, "put on a fire to make smoke to smell good." There was a whistle "for charming deer or buffalo," as well as a polished whistle "with streaks of lightning (?) used when they make war." A woven mat bag was made of rush, "grown in water," probably bullrush (*Scirpus*); its contents, if any, were not described as such. A case, made of a buffalo's windpipe or intestine, contained "hair (light brown or reddish) fastened to a strip of hide supposed to be used on [the] head." This was probably a buffalo hair and hide amulet. Another case, empty, probably once contained the loose skins of "three small animals." Harrington thought they might be otters, but it is more likely they were weasels. A buckskin case contained a yard-long otter skin, the top of its head painted blue, the skin of its body divided lengthwise in half. It had an eagle feather attached to the tail end of the hide and was supposed to have been worn around the waist. A woven sash, edged with white beads, contained a "medicine bag" and another "ornament." A small braided rope was supposed to have been "used to catch wild horse on [the] prairie," but may actually have been a prisoner tie. The last elements were parts of birds with claws, identified by Harrington as possibly eagle.

Associated with this bundle, but perhaps originally a second bundle entirely, is an otter bundle. The bundle was supposed to have belonged to Ben Holloway's grandfather. Ben Holloway was reported to be a chief of the Ioway; he was supposed to have died in about 1908. Frank Kent, whose wife was Ben's daughter, sold the bundle. He said "the bundle belonged to grandfathers eight generations back." As the bundle was a buckskin case containing otter hides associated with the Medicine Dance, the bundle fits Hamilton's description of the *ta waluxawe* (ca. 1848). It should therefore probably be considered separately from the otter club bundle, but as the two were collected together they will be considered here together.

Two otter hides were in the buckskin case. The longer of the two, about 1 1/4 yard long, had its feet and under its tail covered with red flannel with light and dark porcupine quillwork worked in three parallel wavy lines, the middle line dark. Bells were attached to the legs and tail. The second otter was smaller (about 1/2 yard long), very dark brown, and was supposed to have been a young one. Its head was painted with "indigo." The two skins were used alternatively in the Medicine Dance by Ben Holloway. Each was held in the hands when dancing; when it was pointed and "shot" at another dancer, that dancer fell for five or ten minutes, then revived and continued dancing.

"Cow bundle" [H3]

This bundle, described as a "cow bundle," was collected from an Ioway called Little Jim. The bundle's cover was a "sack of buffalo hair" tied up with buckskin thongs. Attached to the middle thong were six scalps, six pieces of cane (whistle blanks?), and a gourd rattle. Inside the outer wrapping was a buckskin sack, which in turn contained a mat wrapper tied with "Indian hemp rope." The mat wrapper contained a number of elements. There was a buffalo bladder containing pine needles, three buffalo bladders containing plug tobacco, a

buffalo bladder containing something resembling bark, an empty buffalo bladder, an inlaid catlinite pipe, a buffalo bladder containing an eagle claw, with a portion of the skin attached, stuffed with down, a buckskin bag containing plug tobacco, and a fawnskin containing a buffalo bladder holding a painted birdskin with scalps attached as well as a carrying cord.

***Wathe* bundle [H4]**

This bundle was originally numbered 1730A, "Big War Bundle in panther (?) hide. It was called *wathe waluxawe* (*waruxawe*), translated as "scalping them," or the "white head medicine sacred bundle." This was one in a class of several such bundles.

The primary medicine in the bundle was a package with scalps and red quills, called *shahan nanthu*, "Sioux scalps." There was a medicine in the package which "ought not be opened" and which was "a war medicine, a charm medicine:

This is the main thing in the bundle. It remains in the bundle during a fight. The red feathers "manshan huje" [mansha shuje, "red feather"] represent the number of times the bundle has been on the war path. The scalps are for "dressing" the medicine-- making it an offering.

As usual, there were a number of amulets worn in battle also within the bundle. An otter hide head band (turban?) with an attached feather, *tostunka insahe wogrunhe*, was thus worn, as was a rattlesnake hide sash, *wakan tinje thake*, which "gives the power of charming the enemy to the wearer." A fossil which Harrington identified as a mastodon tooth, called by the Ioway *Wak'anda oye*, "god tooth spirit," was used: "They rub this on themselves to gain strength." This is a solid connection to Hamilton's statement (ca. 1848) that certain *waluxawe* had in them round stones which were rubbed on the warriors before battle to gain strength and invulnerability.

A sinew bowstring, *muntu ikanhi*, was put on a bow when dancing and twanged in accompaniment. Sweetgrass, *xanami*, was burned on coals at ceremonies. A package of

buffalo hair, *che hin*, was burned for medicinal purposes, thus reviving people who were fainting; it also contained medicine rubbed on the body on the warpath. In a fawn skin and squirrel skin package was red paint, *manshu thake*, used on the war path, in battle. Harrington recorded Tohee as venturing "this is why Indians are called 'red men'." Another squirrel skin, wrapped in red tape, contained "a medicine for women when they have painful menstruation."

Inside a hide and paper package was an herb called *wathe mankan watho gresuje*, which was reported as the namesake of the *wathe* type of bundle. It was a strong war medicine, and was rubbed on the body with care.

If it touches hair it makes it turn grey or fall out. It makes them so bullet won't strike them, or if it does won't hurt much. Rubbed on a bullet, it makes the wound produced, even if apparently slight, very dangerous.

A substance called *mannito* (compare Algonkian *manitou*, meaning "spirit" or "power") was wrapped in a paper package, tied with blue string. It was said to be used as paint, but was rather poisonous. A white cloth package contained fossil bones called *Wak'anda-wahu*, "spirit bone." They were "rubbed on the body to be strong like *Wakanda*." A flat paper package tied with "Indian cord" contained another medicine for women's menstruation, *wabaxuna mankan*. A hide package tied with red tape contained black war medicine paint, *wabage mankan*. A cloth bundle had in it dried lizards, a necklace used in war with a bird attached, and "decorative materials." Part of an old snake tie was loose in the bundle. There was a "black box containing medicines, unknown, perhaps poison," a little tin box containing a brass locket, its use unknown, and a little trunk containing various medicines, their use also unknown.

The largest yarn sack in this *wathe* bundle contained another otter hide head band or turban. There was also a sack with down and rattlesnake rattles, *manshutakoyu*, "kept for snake power, not worn," and another bundle of the blue war paint called *mannito*. The last

item in this sack was a bundle of what Harrington identified as "beaver castoreum," *rawe ununthe*, "perhaps used for trapping otter and beaver." Castor(eum) is "a bitter strong-smelling creamy orange-brown substance consisting of the dried perineal glands of the beaver and their secretion used especially by perfumers" (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary).

The next largest woven bag was green. It contained a gambling medicine, *wiki'in inmankan*, its use not known. In another sack was another gambling medicine; the herbs were chewed or pounded up with water and rubbed on the person. The smallest woven sack contained a war medicine, *awagera*, tied on the scalp. A sack, decorated with porcupine quillwork and with a dried lizard tied to it, contained a medicine, *manakxehane*, the use of which was unknown, but it was also chewed up and rubbed over the person.

A woven bag, the largest on the outside of the bundle, and designated "1733E," was a mixed medicine bundle containing a fox skin head band, *misteke yin*, and a war whistle which was hung around the neck. These were said to originally have come from a Red Medicine bundle. It also contained a reddish sack which held a gambling and friendship medicine, *hókanthu*, its use not detailed, and a rope which was "symbolic of the horses they expected to get as gifts."

The next largest sack attached to the outside of the wathe bundle was designated "1730B." It had a cloth on the outside which tied up some roots, *wannantu keye*, which was chewed up and spit into the wound to cure it. Other herbs were also in the bundle, their use not known. In the sack was what Harrington identified as a mastodon bone, called by the Ioway *wakanda wahu* (god bone). There was also a little wooden medicine bowl, *nawakéyen*. The bone and the bowl were used together.

This is scraped into little medicine bowl full of water. If it sinks, patient will die; if it floats, he will recover. The stuff is then rubbed on patient's body. For either wounded or sick.

The last element of this *wathe* bundle was designated "1733F." It was a little trunk, containing medicine. There was a little weasel, *intotha*, and little feathers, *échinye*, both to tie on the scalplock as war medicines. There was also a little sack of medicines (1730B), the use of which was unknown.

Harrington collected the following account of the *wathe waluxawe*.

Wanathunje the prophet told the people to make this kind, as well as his own kind. After he had made his bundle, a chief asked him for a bundle too. He said "I knew there were to be other bundles, but I said nothing until you asked." So he showed him how to make the panther cover bundle and said there can be seven of these, and seven of my kind besides my own, making fifteen war bundles of all. The panther hide cover was put on because the panther gets what he wants and could give his power.

The bundle holders and some others form a lodge "wokigo" about same ceremony as war club bundle when the gods thunder in the spring about February; and the animals of the bundle wake up. Not much dancing is done, but sing and use gourd rattles. They have a waiter gather the people for a one night gathering, and open the bundle and talk to it, calling it "Brother", and sprinkle tobacco on it, and burn cedar on coals in a flat stick about the bundle, and say to it, Brother we are giving tobacco. We want the grandfather Wakanda to give us strength, and health and drive away disease, and lengthen our days four years at least." Some bands ask for good crops also. "then they sing a while, then stop and talk awhile, and morning they eat and break up. Kept on pole same as other bundles east of lodge. It too can't touch the ground. No other regulations.

Buffalo Doctor bundle [H5]

Harrington collected five buffalo doctor bundles. The first one was designated "1733B," and had a blanket as its outer wrapper. Like other buffalo bundles it had a rattle, whistles, and a tail belt "to tie on behind." It also had a few unperforated canes "used as sitting down canes, in left hand while singing and doctoring, or as a 'front leg' in dance when they act like buffalos." The leaders could shake the rattle, *chexoyo'yuje*, (this gloss may be an error, as the meaning seems instead to be "buffalo power whistle") with the hoofs held above the hand, the others could only hold it upside down, with the hoofs below. There was a buffalo tail with quillwork, *che wato wagre*, as well as a buffalo calf tail with bell attached, put on the

scalplock in the buffalo dance. This may be the buffalo tail referred to by Skinner in speaking of the buffalo tail dance.

Also in the bundle was a bottle of medicine, *manka*, used by the buffalo doctors. It may have been poison, but in any case its use was secret. There was a large bundle of herbs, *uweraiyu thatachin*, which were boiled and rubbed on, and drunk "for inside swelling." A medicine was attached to a rope necklace, *wanumpin*, probably made of braided sweetgrass, which was worn in the buffalo dance and on the warpath. A buffalo hide sack of medicine roots and herbs used by buffalo doctors was in the bundle, the exact explanation of the use of the herbs secret. The last article in the bundle was a small cloth bundle of Indian tobacco, *naniyukuni*. It was said you "sprinkle it on the person who is hurt."

Buffalo doctor bundle [H6]

Harrington said this was a little cloth bundle used by the leader. It was "just a doctor bundle, not a war bundle." This implies that there was a distinction made between buffalo doctor bundles used only for healing and buffalo bundles used for war and for healing. The rattle in this bundle had the hoofs of a big bull buffalo, and was used in the buffalo ceremony. A medicine or amulet of buffalo hair, *ciwantan*, was worn by the buffalo society. There was another scalplock ornament of buffalo hair, *tciwaton wagre*. A headband of buffalo hide with the horns attached, *chepa wogluhe (tcepha wogruhe)* "buffalo head headress," was worn by the leader. The leader also carried the cane with hoofs in his hand.

Buffalo doctor bundle [H7]

The mat cover of this bundle was "made out of reeds," and was called *thaka oyu*. It was tied up with two snakeskin cords, and was designated "1733C." The elements in this bundle were, for the most part, typical of buffalo doctor bundles, with a buffalo hair "necklace" (probably a cape), a buffalo hair amulet for the head, a (sweetgrass) rope necklace,

a little whistle, and a leader's "buffalo cap." The rattle was noted to be missing. There was also medicines for curing, including a cloth bundle of roots and herbs. A skin package contained seeds called *iracoki brake hunye*. "These are burned on the coals to make a good smell when they doctor." The most peculiar thing in the bundle was a toy snake, *wakan*, which Harrington called a "Japanese toy."

Buffalo doctor bundle [H8]

The bundle, "1733A," was a typical buffalo doctor bundle, with its hoof rattle, cane whistles, three buffalo tail belts (one with a bird on it), buffalo hide headband, called here, *cheyi wogrunhe*, and shed buffalo hair scalplock ornament. A spare bird quill, *manshu hudje*, was used to mend the whistles. A paint (or rock), *mansu thake*, was "used by doctors in the buffalo dance." There was also an undescribed snake skin or snake bundle.

Buffalo doctor bundles (2) [H9]

These two bundles, "1605" and "1726," were not separated in his notes as to their individual contents, and so must be considered undivided here. The name of these bundles was given as *tashage oyu*, or deerhoof bundles. The covers were supposed to have been fawnskin, with the hair removed. The buffalo tail rattles, *tasage*, were "shaken in time to singing." The whistle, *manthunje iyoje*, was blown while dancing at the buffalo ceremonies. He reported that Tohee thought the wavy lines on the side represented lightning. There were bunches of sweetgrass, *xanami*. Some of it was burned for the sweet smell for the sick; the bunches were also used as fans in doctoring. A hawk wing, *wayinye iwi*, was used "to sprinkle medicine water on the sick person." Shed buffalo hair, *che watan*, was hung on the necks of the doctors of the buffalo lodge. There were bundles of medicines used for wounds like gunshots or cuts, or when bones were broken. "They shake the rattles and sing when they apply the root medicine." Harrington collected the following account.

The buffalo doctor lodge when it is called out to doctor a sick man dance in a circle rattling and some whistling. They have the roots chewed up with water in their mouths and squirt it on the injured man in imitation of a shower of rain.

Tce xowe [w]aswehi is the name of the Buffalo doctor's lodge.

If a man wants to join the buffalo doctors lodge he calls a feast of the doctors, and gives them horses, blankets and all that. Then they give him a rattle, but he is only partly joined until he has given four feasts. At these feasts they dance to the sound of the rattles and drum beaten by the head man. rattles are held this way [sketch by Harrington here]. In the doctor dance they dance straight up and down. If anybody is wounded it is easy to join, for all a man has to do is to give a lot of stuff to be divided among the doctors as they are doctoring and he can join right in and practice then as a full member.

There are no certain meetings of the lodge, only when they are called.

They would carry the bundle on the war path and if anyone is injured they doctor him at once. They put medicines on the wound and dance around and blow medicine and water on the patient, and sprinkle him with the wing and bushes and tails dipped in a decoction of roots and water.

Not like the white doctors they stayed right by a patient and talk to him every little while until he is cured. They tell him not to use salt or certain other things that their medicine is against. They set an even number of days to doctor him, four or six or eight. Then if he is not up they set another date. One of the buffalo songs, sung while doctoring:

Wansika, anaiinto, andare

Wansika, anaiinto, andare

As he i nao, andare

As he i nao, andare

Man, you shot me, you see me.

Man, you shot me, you see me.

I get up, you see me.

I get up, you see me.

Another item used by the buffalo doctors was the medicine cane, *inthágere*. It was used with the buffalo bundle. "The sick man uses this to get up with and walk, and gets his strength from the buffalo." The cover of such a medicine staff was collected from Robert Roubidoux, designated as "1607D," and now cataloged as 2/6890. The cover was sewn with deer hoofs, as kind of a giant rattle. "Any common stick was put in this, which was given to a wounded or sick man to use as a cane."

Tattooing bundle [H10]

Harrington collected a tattooing bundle from Mrs. Robert Roubidoux. It was designated as "1712," and is now cataloged as 2/7804. He said, "This is a good outfit the Indians say, and is complete. I got a full account."

As stated earlier in this paper, Harrington collected some data that he gave his friend Skinner permission to publish in his Ethnology (1926: 265-271). Skinner's section on tattooing was derived from Harrington's notes. While that edited version has been given in full, earlier in this paper, there are, of course, slight variations in that version and the version in Harrington's notes. Harrington's unedited version is more true to the Ioway native voice and so the version found in his field notes are given here as well, for comparison.

Tattooing Bundle

Person above, Air Spirit= mungri wancike

This is a thing that chiefs only can handle. Ta'ain was the man who began this bundle. His name means "Deer Muscle." Ta'ain dreamed about this. He never let out his dream to anybody. In his dream he was told, by a person that he looked up and saw, to call together all the chiefs at that time living. So he went and called all the chiefs together and made a big feast, and he gathered the chiefs and told his dream and feasted them, and asked that now the dream would take effect. That is, he told the chiefs what he had dreamed what the man above had told him, and asked them for permission to go ahead according to the instructions he had received. This person had told him just how to make the bundle. Then his work was to get together these fowls. Then he got the people together and feasted and "made war" on the cranes and killed some. And they killed some little spotted fawns and brought them to him. The hunters made up a little lodge or society, because the thing that was undertaken was very important. Only chiefs and members of this lodge could look at the things they got together. They talked to these things and to Wakanda, and put tobacco on them and fixed them as the dream had instructed and that has been handed down to this day. The cane they got for a marker for making a blue circle in the center of the forehead. They try four times to plant this circle in the center, and if they don't get it right then to please the judge they give it up.

The tattooing has to be done on girls before they menstruate. Otherwise the wound in the forehead will bleed and be spoiled. Men and boys can be tattooed any time.

The round mark is put on a girl if she has weak eyes or otherwise she can enter this lodge and have a round spot out on her forehead which benefits her. Her father has to pay for the doings that take place at this time. Women can have the round spot on the forehead, and them only. Men can have a stripe on the forehead, or a star or a cross, or a spot, a cross, or a star on the cheek.

In early days marks depended on war; now people who give away lots of stock, etc., can have honorable marks, all tattoo marks. A boy with no hair on his pubes who took a scalp

was considered honorable . A father who thought a lot of his girl could have her tattooed, and thereafter she was considered honorable, and no one could call her names, or no common man could bother her. She was considered noble-- like a queen.

Braves marks. Spots are scalps taken on braves arms, so are stripes in different directions. They used to put his tattoo marks on a dead warrior's grave post. A heart tattoo means a good person, good-hearted and good otherwise. The diamond mark means "I am here," as if the mark were speaking to the fellow lodge member. The star is the morning star. The woman who has a child tattooed can have her pick of the star, cross, or diamond. They think the star will help them. The cross just means good, like the heart.

Tattoo marks are for the health, for sore eyes, and for marks of honors gained in war, and above all are the marks of honorable and respected people, "just like white people wear diamonds." If two little girls fight, and one has a tattoo mark, the other one is given a fearful scolding for doing this.

Suppose a girl is to be tattooed. The father sends a waiter around and gathers up the people of the different clans to come to a feast that night. When they get there, there are ten horses tied, and perhaps ten blankets, and five dollars on each blanket, or maybe more or less.

Then a group of the relatives of the girl select during an all night consultation, ten poor people belonging to different clans if possible, but maybe two or three in a band. They might be poor old women, or young boys, orphans, or any poor people who are needy.

There is also the chief, and the owner of the two calumets there. The man whose girl is to be tattooed does not say a word but sits silent. Just at beginning dawn they send the sticks around to the people selected and they sit in a row. The pipes lie with the bundle that is open all night. When all are gathered there, the chief tattoos the girl. After this the ten people who have been given sticks get their horses and other presents. The tattooing must be done just before sunrise. Then they pass the pipes around and everybody smokes, even little children. This is good health for the girl who is to be tattooed. The hole through the pipe represents the straight path of the sun. The two fellows who carry the pipes must be blameless people who have never killed or hurt anyone.

When the chief speaks, he tells Wakanda that they are burning tobacco and are marking a girl. And they ask him to drive away all sickness and disease. Then they call all to eat. The pipes must be lighted with a coal. The gifts are hung on a rope where all can see and the horses tied all around. After the tattooing, the waiter, who is boss, takes down and gives each stick holder his presents. Then they smoke and then they eat. The chief gets the best horse and most money and the waiter gets maybe a horse, and the pipe-owner is paid also.

If a boy is to be tattooed, he can come in "behind the girl" and be tattooed with her, and can get in cheaper that way because his people don't have to give so many gifts.

A warrior pays part, and his mother and relatives put in part. Relatives often help in any case.

When they begin to tattoo they sing, the chief singing. He sings and asks Wakanda for the girl to be good, and have good health, and get a good man, and have good children, and live to be old.

Tattooing bundled tools (2 sets complete, 1 minus needles)

needles = manthikun

laying out sticks = wikunte

small cane marker = mantonje

hollow cane guides = ikunt'e

rubbing stick = iwak'o

buffalo wool rubber = iwak'o

hide rubbing stick foundation (buffalo hide) = waxruste

feathers for rubbing = manca iwak'o

blue stuff for color = máhato (Bought at store. They used willow charcoal long ago. Some in paper).

covers = tainegreska (spotted fawn skins)

fine roots = manka (They chew these up and rub on the spot to kill the pain so child won't cry.)

Duck skin seems to be accident (Tohee) or was put in on account of someone's dream. = minxe

There should be 2 in each tribe. [If, by "tribe," the Ioway tribe is meant, this points to a complementary moiety arrangement for tattooing ceremonies.] They used to have a fawn skin cover on the whole thing. They keep it put away until wanted. No feasts or meetings. The shirt shows it is for children. They had bone needles long ago. Tohee has them yet. It's a good bundle- Tohee.

Method of Tattooing

Root chewed up and rubbed on to kill the pain. Then they take the little cane and mark four times as told before, or take the laying out tools and mark out the pattern. Then they put on the color with the round sticks (in case of dot) and put the hollow guides over, and prick around inside it with the needles. They rub it off every now and then with the wool to see how it is.

For other patterns the color is laid on with the laying out sticks. They don't doctor them after all is done, just the first medicine.

Indian name of tattoo bundle = wigrexe

spot in forehead = poketache (Called a girl who has this).

star = pikaxa

cross = arameha

heart = nache

diamond = throche

stripes = agrache grexe

Harrington also sketched some of these designs in his field notes. These have been redrawn and given here as figure 4.10.

Red Medicine bundle [H11]

Harrington collected a "Red Bean" war bundle from Frank Kent. It was originally designated "1732A," but is now cataloged as "2/8733." The bundle's name *manka shuje oyu* [*mankan cudje oyu*] means literally: "medicine + red + something into which you put something (container ~ bundle)." Thus the proper name would be "Red Medicine bundle."

This "Red Bean medicine war bundle" had a Pawnee origin, and was not connected to any of the other Ioway bundle types. However, like other bundles, it had a number of elements, the symbolism of which was like that of the rest of the Ioway bundles.

The three whistles were blown on going into battle, then left to hang on the neck. The lightning lines on them meant deadly power. Two bunches of owl feathers, one with a red bean attached, were called *waruxi wagre*. "Owl feathers make the wearer see good, beans keep him from being shot." One bunch of shed buffalo hair, with red beans showing in their pod, was attached to the scalplock. Called *cinwato wagre*, it "gives the strength of the buffalo to the wearer." A snake hide, *wakanokenye*, was another amulet: "Snake can go anywhere, and gives this power to the user." A mole skin, *manínye*, "gives his power of searching underground to the owner of the bundle for locating concealed enemies." Two bundles of long roots called *mankan thewiye* were to be "chewed or ground up and rubbed on the body to avoid wounds." A bundle of berry medicine, *mankan thewiye stanste*, was not described as to its use, but it was probably also a protectant. A bundle of "Indian turnip," *to kwa hi* (also given in some sources as *dogwehi*), was eaten to protect themselves. "A similar root is used as food. A protector against thirst on long marches." A package contained two crystals, "said to be a sort of rock salt." The name given was *mankan cobrin*. This is probably *manka xoblin*, meaning "sacred medicine." It was said, "A little was pounded up and mixed with medicine to make the patient drink. Also for buffalo power, the buffalo like it." As mentioned earlier, thirst on long marches was a concern, and salt is universally recognized as effective in dehydration, especially if it were mixed with other herbal medicines effective in restoring electrolytes, like an Indian "Gatorade."

Harrington collected the origin of the bundle:

The Red Bean or mescal bundle had its origin in the Pawnees. The Ioways gave them presents and the Pawnees gave them authority to make it, and taught them how.

The members of this society danced once every year about the time corn is ripe. They dance in a jumping way to the sound of drumming on a bow string, and use small gourd rattles [Is this the origin of the use of small gourd rattles for a later psychotropic substance, peyote?]. They send a waiter around to those who belong to the society [who] calls them to come at a certain night. There is only one bundle, and each member has a flute and a smaller medicine. The dance is held in the tipi or bark house of the giver of the feast. They paint up, and get ready, and have a lot of singers, who sing in four places, one, then another [in turn], around the lodge, E.S.W.N. In [the] morning they "kill" a lot of the red mescal beans which are regarded as alive. That is, [they] break them up, lots of them, and stir them up in [a] big kettle, with some herbs to kill the strength. Then everyone drinks a cup full or two of the medicine and everything looks red to them for a while, but they soon throw up and move the bowels and get their systems all cleared out. Even children drink it and it benefits their health.

Name of lodge is mankan cudje waruxhawe.

The bundle was handed from generation to generation down in the owner's own blood [line].

They had to give lots of presents to join this society.

Kept tied on a pole just in front of the lodge (east) and covered with hides and canvas. Must not touch ground.

Put tobacco on ground as offering to bundle and call it grandfather when they talk to it. They smoked [it] with cedar when they had dance.

The people who own that bundle can break no bones of any animal.

They had a man to carry it to war.

When the enemy came in right [away] they opened it and put on the gear, and tooted their whistles going into battle.

Skinner also described this Red Bean War Bundle (as MAI 2/8733) collected by M.R. Harrington in Oklahoma. Skinner noted the bundle was used for war, horse stealing, hunting, and horseracing (1926: 245). Skinner pictured some of the components (all numbered 2/8733) from this bundle: "plume with 'mescal' bean attached" (fig. 5), "buffalo wool, with 'mescal bean' attached" (fig. 6), and "whistle of cane, smeared with white paint" (fig. 7) (Skinner 1926: 322-323, pl. XL.)]

Merrill wrote about the Kent bundle in his mescal bean study:

Specimen 41: Red Bean War Bundle. A woven rush bag serves as the container of this bundle, which includes the following items: (1) two calico wrappers containing four medicine packages; (2) a woven bag containing a cloth pouch, inside of which is a package containing a moleskin and a snake fang wrapped in paper; (3) a calico wrapper containing a snake skin; (4) a leather bag containing a pouch in which are a stone and three medicine packages; (5) a cloth bag containing a package that holds two bullets and several roots; (6) three cane whistles; and (7) a calico wrapper containing two pieces of animal skin in which are a medicine package and

two bunches of feathers, to one of which a buckskin bag containing a mescalbean pod is attached. Skinner (1926: Plate XL, Figures 5, 6, and 7; cf. pp. 245-47) pictures three components of this bundle: a bunch of feathers to the base of which is attached a perforated rawhide packet tightly enclosing what appear to be two mescalbeans, and a cane whistle, smeared with white paint. I did not personally examine this specimen. ...Collected by M.R. Harrington in Oklahoma probably in 1910. Accession date: between 1910 and 1913 (Merrill 1977: 102, 104).

Collected separately (and not counted here as part of bundle H11), was a "string of mescal beans," designated "1595B," and cataloged "2/6833." Merrill described this necklace:

Specimen 39: Mescalbean necklace or bandoleer, 72 cm long (doubled), approximately 150 cm long (stretched out as a single strand). This specimen consists of one hundred and seventeen mescalbeans strung on a single strand of commercial cotton cord. A strip of unidentified fur is wrapped around the necklace and two metal rings are strung on it. The mescalbeans are uniformly deep maroon with only the slightest variation from seed to seed. They apparently have been perforated with a hot drill but there is little evidence of heat discoloration. They vary somewhat in size, ranging from 0.9 to 1.4 cm long and 0.8 to 1.4 cm wide.

At the same time, Merrill wrote about a Red Medicine Bundle also numbered 2/6833, an error according to the Harrington catalog, which gives that number only to a "string of mescal beans." Without personally examining the bundle, I cannot resolve whether the object is a sole string of beans, or part of bundle H11, out of context, and why the difference exists, although as with Skinner's material, I suspect the problem is separation of components from their proper context. Merrill's description is quoted here:

Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), catalogue number 2/6833. Collected by M.R. Harrington in Oklahoma; no collection date given. Accession date: between 1910 and 1913.

Specimen 40: Red Bean Medicine Bundle, referred to in the accompanying catalogue information as mankanteutzi [sic: mankantcutzi], 'red bean medicine' [mankan shuje: red medicine] (Fig. 13). This bundle consists of three major components, which will be described below. These components, which will be described below. These components were not contained within a single bundle wrapper but were stored together in a cardboard box and associated in the accompanying catalogue information. The three major components are: (1) a rawhide wrapper containing: One three-seeded Sophora secundiflora pod with a red cord wrapped around one of the depressions between the seeds. Two perforations are made on either side of one end of the pod. A perforated rawhide packet wrapped tightly around what appears to be mescalbeans (the seed scars are not visible). A rawhide thong is knotted in the middle around the end of this packet with its two ends hanging loose. Another perforated

rawhide packet containing again what seem to be two mescalbeans (hilum not visible). A red ribbon is tied to this packet. Several twists of an unidentified plant material [sweetgrass?]. Two loose mescalbeans, one a dull medium red color, the other a shiny deep maroon color. Four small seeds, apparently *Abrus precatorius* L. (also a member of the Leguminosae). These seeds are maroon with a black spot around their seed scars. One of these seeds is almost black, apparently the result of special treatment. (2) A small rawhide bag (12 cm by 4 cm) containing sixteen mescalbeans, none of which have been perforated. These mescalbeans vary considerably in color, ranging from black through deep maroon to medium red. They range in size from 1.1 cm to 1.6 cm in length and from 1.0 to 1.2 cm in width, and vary in shape from bean-shaped to almost square. (3) A striped trade cloth wrapper with floral designs containing: A bunch of buffalo wool. One three-seeded *Sophora secundiflora* pod with two holes punched in one end of the pod, one on either side. A rawhide string is wrapped around one of the depressions between the seeds and serves to attach the pod to the middle of a group of three ribbons (one light purple, one red, and one blue). A strip of cloth with leaf designs in brown, white, and green is wrapped up in these ribbons (Merrill 1977: 102-103, fig. 13).

The following bundles are not part of the H-designate system used here, as they are too insufficiently described to be useful in componential analysis. However, their descriptions, meager as they are, do round out one's perception of the Ioway bundle system, and thus they are described here.

Love medicine bundle

Harrington collected what was described as a love medicine bundle, designated 1603FF". The native name was recorded as *inake manka*. It is likely *hinage manka* was meant, as this means "woman medicine." The love medicine was a bundle containing a cloth and paper package filled with powder, a buckskin package (undescribed), and a cloth bundle of roots. "They use powder, mixed with mud from a gopher hole, painted on the face or on the hands. You catch the girl by the hand painted with the stuff. Or get her hair, one hair pulled by the roots, and tie it up with the roots in the bundle. This will give you control over her." It was said there were several kinds of love medicine, and "hair turn grey" medicine. The exact information had been lost.

Witch bundle

Harrington collected an article he referred to as a "witch bundle," designated "1712E," and presently cataloged as 2/8535. It was called *naxowe waruxawe*, which seems to mean "wood (dweller) power bundle." He said, "Dave Tohee does not belong to this, but he says it is a bad bundle by which people can change themselves into dogs or turkeys or any kind of animal, and poison people and kill them travelling that way." He reminded himself, "See Frank Kent, Ioway. He knows this." One might compare the Winnebago witch bandolier collected by Skinner and described by him (1923: 108-109).

Symbolism and the Peyote Road

Harrington also discusses the "Ioway Peyote Rite" at this point in his field notes. Although the peyote ceremony is not the concern of this paper, certain matters of symbolism used in the rite may help explain symbolism used in the older bundle system. The symbolism was rich and complex, yet comprehensible. For example:

...Eagle feathers: xra húnwa gihe: chief feathers, for the eagle is regarded as the chief of the birds. ...Red hair at top represents god's blood. Feathers point to it "like they are worshipping it". ...Green represents the earth in the spring, the good day, with the blue clouds and lightnings in the sky. The tassels represent the flowers growing on the earth, while the strings of beads represent the flag of the country where the Indians live today. Staff represents cane used by Christ [referring to the shepherd's staff seen in Christian paintings of Jesus Christ]. ...Rattle stripes represent the four winds, and the teachings run from cold to hot. One stripe has a sun on... [Stripes up and down appear to mean messengers between heaven and earth]...The whole gourd represents the heart, strings represent tongues, silver pieces are words. White represents the north, the color of snow. Round place represents the sun....

As shown in Chapter 4, the peyote road replaced the earlier bundle system. It was not syncretic, it was even hostile.

They travel in their mind and talk to God, to Jesus. The Ioways don't pay any attention to the buffalos, panther, etc., they see on their mental trips, only to Jesus. The Ioways got the Peyote rite from the Tonkaways [Tonkawas], but these used it the wrong way. They worshipped animals and snakes, etc. The Ioways put it into religion [Christianity] and used it for worshipping Jesus.

CHAPTER 7 ELEMENTS AND SYMBOLISM IN IOWAY SACRED BUNDLES

Elements in Ioway Bundles

Occurrence of elements in Ioway bundles

One can see that certain elements occur with greater or lesser frequency in Ioway bundles. Although one must allow for transformational processes influencing these frequencies, it must still be granted that differences in element frequencies may reflect intentional differences in the importance of those elements in the Ioway belief system. The following discussion relates the frequencies of these elements by element category. The elements may be the actual skins, feathers, hide, etc., of the element, or it may be a ideographic presentation, as the representation of an underwater panther on a woven bag. It is suggested that the occurrence and frequencies of these elements in the bundle system represent to some extent the importance of the represented forms in Ioway ideology.

The data is presented in Table 7.1: "Occurrence of elements in Ioway bundles," found below. The first column pertains to bundles examined at the Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM), bundles M1-M23, as well as the unnumbered material likely to have once been associated with bundles, like the Medicine Dance otter skin bags. The second column was constructed based on the limited descriptions found in Harrington's notes on the bundles he collected for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (MAI), bundles H1-H11.

Table 7.1: Occurrence of elements in Ioway bundles

	<u>MPM</u>	<u>MAI</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pipestems	11	1(?)	12
Pipebowls	7	1	8
Clubs		3	3
Bowl, medicine		1	1

Table 7.1: (continued)

	<u>MPM</u>	<u>MAI</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mammals:			
Human	10	11	22
Grizzly bear	4		4
Buffalo	59	44	103
Deer	24	7	31
Weasel	12	16	28
Otter	8	7	15
Wolf		1	1
Coyote	2	1	3
Fox		1	1
Cougar (panther)		1	1
Horse (hair)	8		8
Raccoon	2		2
Beaver	1	1	2
Squirrel	6	2	8
Flying squirrel		2	2
Rabbit / hare	1		1
Mole	2		2
Unidentified (rodent?)	4	1	6
Unidentified (dog? "hyena?")	1	1	2
Birds:			
Golden eagle	16	3	19
Hawk	3	3	6
Horned owl	6	1	7
Woodpecker	20		20
Carolina parakeet	3		3
Heron	1		1
Mallard duck	1	1	2
Swallow		2	2
"Blackbird"		1	1
Unidentified (plumes,down)	9	7	16
Reptile:			
Rattlesnake	1	2	3
Blacksnake	1		1
Snake, unidentified	2	10	12
Lizard, unidentified		3	3
Mythological:			
Underwater panther	3		3
Ixtopahi (Janus-face)	1		1
"God" (fossils)		3	3

Table 7.1: (continued)

	<u>MPM</u>	<u>MAI</u>	<u>Total</u>
Plants:			
Sweetgrass	33	5	38
Sage(brush)	1		1
Cedar	1	1	2
Pine		1	1
Reed/rush (matting)	5	4	9
Willow	15	3	18
Calamus (sweet flag)	1		1
Cane	20	24	44
Red medicine (mescal bean)	2	5	7
Gourd	2	1	3
Tobacco	5	4	9
"Grey-hair medicine"		2	2
Unidentified (roots, stems, etc.)	28	25	53
Paint (packets, unused; clay):			
red	10	1	11
blue	3	3	6
green	3		3
white	1		1
brown	1		1
black		1	1
unidentified		4	4
Stones, crystals	1	2	3

Interpretation of results

Certain elements do seem to occur with frequency in Ioway bundles. The above data must be viewed as suggestive rather than definitive, because of problems in sampling, transformation processes, description variability, and how to define an element (Should each feather count separately? How about deerhoofs and their relationship to buffalo tails? etc.). Plants especially were used and replaced frequently. In any case, the presence or absence of elements was established, and the frequencies noted. Even with these problems, the results can give an intimation as to which elements were more frequently used and thus may have been considered more important in Ioway ideology.

Buffalo materials were the most frequently found element in Ioway bundles (103 occurrences). Miscellaneous plant medicines came in next (about 53 occurrences). The next

most common element was cane (44 occurrences), usually made into whistles. Sweetgrass was next (38), then deer (31), and then weasels (28). Human elements came next (22), then woodpecker (20), golden eagle (19), willow (18), snakes (17), various plumes (16, mostly from raptors), otter (15), and pipestems (12).

Taken by category, the following elements appear to have particular significance in Ioway ideology. Buffalo, deer, weasel, human (usually scalps), and otter seem to have been particularly important. The most important birds appeared to be the woodpecker, the golden eagle, various hawks, the horned owl, and the Carolina parakeet. Snakes were important, as were fossils. Cane, sweetgrass, and willow were conspicuous; the large number of unidentified plant medicines indicate the significance of herbalism. Pipes were important. The most frequently used paint was red, followed by blue.

Thoughts on Symbolism

Power and metaphor

Both the work of Skinner, and especially that of Harrington, have related most of the symbolism and power associated with particular bundle elements given by informants. Metaphor linked to the acquisition and maintenance of power is at the heart of the native system. A few examples are discussed here, but a discussion on symbolism is by no means fully explored here. These examples are simply offered as a brief sample of the potential such studies might hold.

Animals, plants, and power

Certain animals and birds were thought to have abilities which could be spiritually imparted to the wearer of their skins or feathers. These animals and birds had natural traits which suggested their usefulness in war, having qualities of speed, ferocity, evasiveness, agility, strength, or sensory acuity. In addition, the buffalo and the bear also had natural

behaviors, such as digging up roots, which marked them as healers. The buffalo also was a natural larder, and the wearing of his shed hair indicated the blessings of having sufficient food, shelter, and health.

The importance of certain plants as spiritual and physical protectants, as well as others having healing properties is also well-known. White sage, fragrant and used in the sweat, represented old age; its power of purity drove away evil. Willow was also representative of youth and spirituality, and used in tattooing and fasting. Cedar, friend of the Thunder and green in the darkest winter, was both attractive to good powers, as well as capable of purification. Sweetgrass is the most frequent plant element found in the bundles.

Sweetgrass and spirits

Sweetgrass is known to be pleasing to all spirits, good or otherwise. One interesting feature of the sweetgrass in the bundles is that it was often arranged not only in braids, the form it is usually found in today, but also in plaits, ropes, and twists. Frequently, the same bundle of sweetgrass was divided in an even number of twists and braids. Such differences in design treatment undoubtedly reflected differences in what the sweetgrass symbolized.

Sweetgrass was also not always used as incense but also as an offering of itself.

Unfortunately, the explanation has apparently been lost. It is ventured here that, as sweetgrass was pleasing to all powers, that the different treatments symbolized the different sides of power, good and evil. As sweetgrass is presently considered good among native peoples, and is braided, it may be that braided sweetgrass was an offering to the powers of good, while twists represented the other side, the bad or destructive side. A split of a common plait into the two types represent totality, the power of both, similar to the Taoist concept of Yin and Yang.

Clubs, thunder, and authority

Many other bundle elements could also be explored as to their symbolism. Clubs had importance ideologically as well as defensively. Hall has attempted to explore club symbolism. Radin, in his work on the Winnebago, notes an association between the ball-headed club and the Upper (or Sky) moiety and between the flat club and the Lower (or Earth) moiety (1970: 154-155, 162). Frances Densmore noted the Lakota associated the Thunder with certain spherical stones called *tunkan*, believed to be expended thunderbolts (Densmore 1918: 208; also Hall). Following Radin, Hall suggested that round-headed clubs represent the Sky moiety while flat clubs come from the Earth moiety. Ioway data, however, is quite specific in associating war clubs with the Thunder.

Ioway clubs were found in at least four forms, a gunstock form set with a spearhead, a flat dog-leg (or gunstock), a celt-set club, and a ball-headed club, the last two with an otter or weasel set on the handle. The celt-club, or tomahawk club, was called *ino inthwe*, "stone axe", "which is described as a celt-- a wedgelike blade of stone-- set in a club-like handle of hard wood" (Skinner 1926: 279). Ewers described the ball-headed club:

Another type of ball-headed wooden effigy club was found among the Oto and Missouri, Omaha, and Iowa, small Siouan-speaking tribes who were enemies of the Sioux and lived south of them in the Missouri Valley. Carved at the top of the club was an animal that has been termed a weasel by some writers, and an otter by others. I am inclined to favor the weasel identification because, even though weasel and otter are closely related animals biologically, and both are very tenacious ones, the Plains Indian looked upon the weasel with particular awe as the most aggressive animal for its size and they admired it for its courage in attacking much larger animals (Ewers 1986: 136).

Ewers notes that all the known examples of weasel effigy clubs with tribal attribution are from the Ioway, Oto, and Omaha, and suggests that other such clubs, unattributed, may also have come from these tribes (Ewers 1986: 138).

The significance of war clubs among the Ioway seems to be associated with the idea of war authority, as they were attached to the clan war bundles. Indeed, the club itself was full of supernatural power and was regarded as sacred. One old man, Ioway Coonskin, sold a club, saying, "That club is my war-bundle. ... There is nothing more in it-- just the club. It is just as powerful as a war-bundle full of medicines."

The war club was a symbol of authority in the maintenance of Ioway tribal status quo. Skinner reported that the leader of the "young chiefs" held a club as a mark of his office (1915: 722). One can find a similar case among the Pawnee "braves" (soldiers or police):

Other men, usually four in number, who were braves, served the hereditary chief. They aided the chief by helping him preserve civil order and prepare for religious ceremonies. These braves carried war clubs or tomahawks as symbols of their offices which they held for life and had acquired through an affinity with the Morning Star (Oswalt 1966: 259).

Carolina paroquet

Another unexplored issue of symbolism is the unexplicated meaning of the Carolina paroquet in Ioway ideology. Remains of Carolina paroquets have been found in association with Iroquoian pipes. Undoubtedly, the brilliant green of the Paroquet had some symbolic importance, perhaps associating it with Fire and the Sun. A passage in an Oto story describes "the Spirit Bird," with "his train of yellow, green, and scarlet" (Jones 1830: 151). Undoubtedly, the brilliant colors of the Paroquet associated it with the brilliance of the Sun, said to have been one of the seven major *Wakandas*. It has also been said by some tribes like the Pawnee that the pipe, or calumet, originally came from the Sun (Kellogg 1923 (I): 304-305). Paroquets (also called parakeets or parrots) were indigenous to Iowa through at least the 1830s, when Maximilian passed near Waconda Creek in present-day Carroll County and shot "parrots" (Nasatir 1952: 245).

Woodpeckers and war

Finally, the woodpecker was associated with war and peace, as could be seen with its placement on the pipe stem. Its raised crest symbolized anger; the crest fastened downward represented peace; red was noted as the color of war. This arrangement suggests an extension of the metaphor, regarding the ubiquitous red-dyed crest, or deertail roach (turkey beard or porcupine hair was also used) worn as a mark of the accomplished warrior. In essence, the red roach symbolized the warrior's martial spirit.

Non-native items in bundles, time frames, and final comments

As can be seen in these several examples, such symbolism and metaphor was a structural force in the native system. Any examination of Ioway material culture must take into account the idea of profound, culturally-embedded metaphor. Such metaphors may be appropriately explored through comparison with cognate cultures such as the closely related Omaha and Winnebago, as well as other tribes of the nearby "Prairie-Plains-Woodlands, or Prairie Peninsula, Interaction Sphere."

There were a large number of items of nonnative manufacture in the bundles. One might think that, as material representations of traditional thought and religion, the bundles should therefore be extremely conservative in their composition.

Items of nonnative manufacture represented simple technological substitution of materials, such as steel needles for bone needles in tattooing bundles (which may represent recognition of functional improvement), or cloth wrappings for skin wrappings in many bundles, especially doctoring bundles (which may represent the decreasing availability of skins and the concomitant increase in cloth use). In the case of the doctoring bundles, the fact that cloth wrappings were more common than skin or matting, whereas the reverse was true for

pipe, tattooing, and war bundles, may indicate more recent use of the doctoring bundles and the earlier abandonment of the other bundle types.

Similarly, the disappearance of animals important in Ioway belief after the Euroamerican invasion required their symbolic substitution with similar species; thus the pileated woodpecker substituted for the ivory-billed woodpecker, black bear claws for grizzly claws, and cow horns for buffalo horns.

At the same time, there were also items having ideological significance, representing the process of addition to the native system. For example, the paper labels representing European and American medicines and the locket and tin box in the war bundle at the Heye Foundation represent ideological acceptance of alien ideologies into the supposedly conservative bundle system.

It is significant that, when in Europe in 1844-1845, the Ioway medicine man Blistered Feet was extremely interested in the addition of European treatments to his native healing system. He was greatly interested in mesmerism until he recognized it as an inferior type of hypnotism already used in the native system. He examined the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris for herbal remedies, and recognized the possible advantages of the European steam room for treatments associated with the sweat bath (Donaldson 1886).

Dating items within the various bundles requires technological methods outside the scope of this first venture into understanding the bundles. However, printed labels and pages found in the bundles did provide some dates for active use of the bundles, ranging from 1754 to 1901.

CHAPTER 8 TOWARD A TAXONOMY OF IOWAY SACRED BUNDLES

Taxonomies and Typologies: The Historical Data

Taxonomy or typology

The question of whether to call the following classificatory schemes "taxonomies" or "typologies" is a problem of appropriate nomenclature. Both terms are used in archaeological and other scientific literature to describe classificatory arrangements to explain scientific phenomena. "Taxonomy" has a broad application, including that used in the Linnean system for classifying living things. "Typology" is more strictly a usage of archaeology and art. There is no agreed-upon distinction for the use of these terms. However, the field of linguistics, especially the pursuit of ethnoscience and native classificatory linguistic schemes, tends to reserve the use of "taxonomy" for native classificatory hierarchical models based on linguistic and cognitive evidence. The usage or convention followed in this discussion will split the difference, using "typology" to describe etically recognizable material differences, based on physical data, and "taxonomy" to describe categorization based on native terminology. An attempt to construct a hierarchical schema, a "true" taxonomy according to the usage of ethnoscience, can no longer be developed. There are no living native speakers of Ioway with the required range of knowledge about the bundle system. However, an attempt to reconstruct this type of hierarchical linguistic taxonomy will be made near the end of this chapter. The data often shades from an idea of a "taxonomy" (Hamilton comes close) to that of a constructed typology (as in Skinner's 1926 scheme). When applicable, the following discussion will make necessary distinctions, yet this is often a judgemental task. Because of the historical nature of the linguistic data, "taxonomy" is also used here as an umbrella term.

A comparison of historical taxonomies

The various historical accounts suggest that the presence of certain items are the key to identifying the various types of bundles in the native classificatory system. For example, they all agree that dewclaw rattles belong to the Buffalo Doctor bundles. There are some problems, however. Sources are unclear as to whether the buffalo bundles are a larger taxonomic group divided into distinct healing bundles, war bundles, dual purpose bundles, and buffalo calling bundles (with different material components), or whether the categories are functional more than material.

The division between the *wathe* and *wach'e* (or scalping) bundles is also an unclear one. Some sources insist that the identifying characteristic of the *wathe* bundle is the presence of the medicine that can turn the hair grey (or white). However, Harrington's notes show that such grey-hair medicine was found within both the *wathe* and the Wanathunje scalping bundle (*wach'e*) types he collected. It may be noted that the medicine may have originated with the *wathe* type, and later transferred to the *wach'e* type. However, this is not necessarily so, as he also collected two quite different names for the two grey hair medicines. This may indicate two different plants or two different names for the same plant. Without analysis, one cannot be certain. In any case, a cognitive difference is implied.

The following figures indicate bundle typologies / taxonomies given by Hamilton (ca. 1848), Dorsey (1894), Skinner (1915, 1925, 1926), and Harrington (n.d.). By placing the taxonomies in this context, a comparison may be more easily made. The taxonomies indicate the bundle divisions with their native names, as well as identifying elements defining the bundle types.

Hamilton's taxonomy (ca. 1848)

Missionary William Hamilton gave the earliest taxonomy reported by the Ioway in about 1848:

I. pipe bundle

II. waruhowa (war; medicine bag named for skins of birds and animals it contains. Cover of deerskin, contains sacks made of animal skins, sacred birds, whistle, with gourd rattle outside)

A. Oldest type (7) (animals, bird, medicine, tobacco, warclub, whistle)

B. wathu waruhawe (bad medicine, whistles)

C. cha waruhawe (medicine, deerhoof and stick rattles, buffalo tail, elk throat-skin)

D. ta waruhawe (otter dance skins)

E. others not described; unspecified waruhawe have round medicine stones

III. oath bundle (sacred stone or iron); associated with pipe bundle

Dorsey's taxonomy (1894)

Dorsey's taxonomy was based on data supplied by Hamilton, to which it corresponds. The classification of the "bad medicine bags" as "waci waruxawe" appears to have been an error of Dorsey's:

I. sacred pipes

II. waruxawe (sacred bags) (in some are round stones)

A. unnamed waruxawe (used to be seven, each with war club, but war club and whistles lost from principal bag)

- B. waci waruxawe (seven: bad medicine bags, whistles)
- C. tce waruxawe (buffalo medicine bags, etc.)
- D. ta waruxawe (deer medicine bags, contain otter skins used in
Otter Dance)

III. sacred stone or iron (wrapped in seven skins)

Skinner's first taxonomy (1915)

Skinner's first classification was based upon his first fieldwork among the Ioway in 1914. It was not uniformly explicated as such, as the buffalo tail and kite bundles were not placed within the scheme. The following analysis was drawn by this writer from that data:

I. sacred pipe

II. waruhawe (gens war bundle, with gourd rattle)

III. tce waruhawe (sacred buffalo bundle: buffalo doctor healing bundle, with buffalo horn bonnet or strip of head hide with horns down backbone to tail, buffalo dewclaw rattles, manure, earth paint, dried buffalo meat or fat. Six or seven sacred buffalo bundles in all.)

IV. tcethinjiwag're [waruhawe] (buffalo tail dance bundle: buffalo tail medicine, bunch of feathers, two little basswood dolls)

V. iunke waruhawe (forked-tailed kite bundle: forked-tail kite hawkskin, whistle)

VI. mankacutzi waruhawe (red bean war bundle: used for war, hunting, horse racing. Contained red beans, cedar berries, sagebrush)

VII. tattooing bundle

VIII. ghost bundle (oath bundle of the Thunder gens, contains spirit rock or iron (called mandewatsansa) wrapped in seven buffalo bladder envelopes, with several slender sticks, two feet long)

Skinner's second taxonomy (1925)

This taxonomy, collected from informant Robert Small during Skinner's second Ioway fieldwork experience, at first glance would be a native taxonomy. And so it is; but it must be examined critically, for it, as has been shown, appears to have been an idiosyncratic effort by Small to put some sense and uniformity into the bundle system. Some parts seem internally consistent, such as a division between the *wathe* and *wach'e* bundle types. Other parts are not only unclear, they are also inconsistent, such as the division between the two buffalo doctor bundles, and the second, differing taxonomy he presents later in the same story of the Twins. The taxonomy Skinner wrote based on Small's data has limited usefulness. The first classification was arranged as follows:

I. waruhawe

- A. *wathe waruhawe*, *wathe manka* (holy sacred bundle with hair medicine)
- B. *wanikihi waruhawa* (chief's sacred bundle, a peace bundle)
- C. *wakwa shoshe* (brave bundle)
- D. *tcehowe waruhawe* (buffalo doctor sacred bundle)
- E. *ta sagre waruhawe* (deer dewclaw bundle of the buffalo doctors)
- F. *manto waruhawe* (grizzly doctor bundle)
- G. *maka sudje waruhawe* (red bean bundle)
- H. *watce waruhawe* (scalping war bundle)

The second taxonomic system given by Small in the same story may be arranged thus:

- A. *wathe waruhawe* (sacred bundle)
- B. *watce waruhawe* (scalping bundle)
- C. *maka sudje* (red medicine bundle)

All the others are only branches of the three, including the:

- a. lutce waruhawe (pigeon warbundle)
- b. mejiradji waruhawa [sic] and manikathi waruhawe
(wolf and coyote warbundles)
- c. sacred bear bundles, including the grizzly bear
doctors, used in curing and war: wankwa
tcutze (4 whistles in each)

Skinner's bundle typology (1926)

Skinner's final classificatory arrangement, based on not only his own previous work, but also that of his friend Harrington, was an attempt to make sense of the data. As such, it was not really a native taxonomy, it was, rather, a constructed typology. He also mentioned Dorsey's work. Skinner did emphasize that each clan (gens) had a sacred pipe, a war bundle, and a tattooing bundle. The following classification was drawn from his Ethnology:

I. danuwe waxhonita ("holy pipe": seven gens pipes)

(compare wanegixhi ranowe: "chief's personal pipe")

II. warbundles (proper):

A. war club tied to outside

B. panther-skin cover

III. techowe waruhawe (buffalo sacred bundle) / tasagre waruhawe

(deerhoof sacred bundle) / tashagreoyu (deer claw rattle bundle),

taken from Harrington, which contained the headband of buffalo skin with horns, staff with buckskin cover with deer hoof sheaths, buffalo tail and hoof rattles, buffalo hair, buffalo tail, medicines, buffalo calf tail head ornament, and bull buffalo tail belt

IV. buffalo tail society (buffalo wool capes, buffalo robes, buffalo tail belts, leader had upright tail in head band, dried buffalo tail deer hoof rattle)

V. mankanshudge oyu (red bean war bundle: one bundle: red beans and amulets; but each member also had a whistle and a small package of red bean medicine)

VI. wigrexe (tattooing bundle: contains tattooing needles, medicine, fawnskin, pigments, swabs, cane and stamps)

VII. witch bundle

Harrington's typology (1910)

Harrington did not really arrange a native taxonomy as much as he collected native names for the items he collected. A typology was derived from these native categories:

I. waroxawe (15 in the tribe)

A. waroxawe (Big Ioway warbundle) / wanathonje waroxawe

(wanathonje's scalping bundle: amulets, paint, grey hair medicine, medicine, whistles, club, buffalo tail rattle) (8 in the tribe)

B. wathe waroxawe (Big war bundle in panther hide, known as

"white head", or "scalping them": principal medicine with scalps, white or grey head medicine, amulet, paint, medicines for war, gambling, friendship, horses, doctoring, and women's menses) (7 in the tribe)

II. tacage oyu (sacred buffalo bundle: whistles, horn headdress, buffalo hoof rattles, buffalo tails, medicines, amulets)

A. one for war and doctoring

B. small one for doctoring only

III. tattooing bundle

IV. inake mankan (love medicine bundle)

V. mankan cudje oyu (red medicine bundle: whistles, owl feathers,
amulets, medicine)

VI. unnamed general medicine bundle (war, gambling, courting)

VII. naxowe waruxawe (witch bundle)

Comparison results

As stated before, the various sources seem to agree in the general bundle categories, although there are differences in the specifics. For example, sometimes the Buffalo Bundles are sometimes included as war bundles, or *waruxawe* (Hamilton 1848, Skinner 1925, 1926), and other times only as a bundle, or *oyu* (Harrington MS.). The difference between the two types of war bundles *sensu stricto* is rather blurred. Some sources indicate the difference is that one contains the "grey-hair" medicine and the other does not (Skinner 1925); others include a grey hair medicine in each (Harrington MS.). Another possible difference is that one has a club attached, while the other is in a panther skin cover (Harrington MS.). These differences may never be resolved.

In examining the collected bundles or their descriptions, it was noted that some of the bundle types are apparently not found in the museum collections. These include the ghost bundle (oath bundle), the fork-tailed kite bundle, or the buffalo tail dance bundle. The inclusive bundle (*ta waluxawe*) containing the otterskins was also not seen, although several individual otterskins were noted and described.

Constructing a Taxonomy

Method of construction

The historical data, although agreeing upon many points of classification, also have their differences. This section will focus on an attempt to examine the reality of the historical data by constructing comparisons based on linguistic and material data gained from the collected bundles. First, an attempt will be made to examine whether the material data, specifically those items mentioned in the historical accounts as being diagnostic of a particular type of bundle, do support the historical taxonomies. Second, the linguistic evidence will be used to construct the categories according to the native linguistic model. Third, this model of categorization will be used to develop a reconstructed "taxonomy" in the ethnoscientific sense, with the traditional "decision tree" type of diagram. Finally, the perceived success of this approach will be discussed.

The etic view: Bundle content assemblages

One etic method of checking these taxonomic divisions is seeing whether these divisions are reflected in the material assemblage found within the bundles collected by Skinner and Harrington, specifically those key items mentioned in the historical taxonomies mentioned above. This can be done through the traditional method of constructing a typology indicating the presence or absence of a key item (or trait) in the content assemblage. The key item list, seen in Table 8.1, "Diagnostic trait comparisons in bundles," was compiled from the various sources. The bundle types not seen in the museum collections (oath bundle, kite bundle, "buffalo tail" bundle) are not considered here.

Results of assemblage examination

The results of this examination indicate a few things. Certain traits do appear to cluster, and a check against the term given the individual bundles seem to support certain items as diagnostic traits of certain bundle types. Buffalo tail belts are found only in Buffalo Doctor bundles, while tattooing needles are found only in tattooing bundles. There are instances where the boundaries are not always so clear. Shed buffalo hair amulets were found in all the different kinds of bundles. Hoof rattles were described over and over in the historical data as belonging and indeed defining a bundle as that of a Buffalo Doctor. However, at least one "war bundle" [M17] contained a hoof rattle but nothing else to suggest it to be a Buffalo Doctor's bundle, such as the ubiquitous tail belt. Some of the "Buffalo Doctor's bundles" contained war amulets [M19]. Some material assemblages, as well as Harrington's notes suggest that Buffalo Doctor bundles were primarily doctoring bundles but some were also secondarily functioning as war bundles.

Bundle types and their attributes

Despite the differences, incompleteness, and obscurity of some data, certain attributes seem to have been required as a minimal definition of a bundle type. Required traits, or attributes, for the distinction of various bundle types is suggested below.

Pipe bundles: Pipe stem in buffalo hide case.

War bundles: Wrapping containing animal skins, feathers, amulets, various plant medicines, and usually cane whistles. The distinguishing trait of the *wach'e* type is the presence of a wooden war club of different types. The *wathe* type is difficult to distinguish, except that the one collected had a panther skin covering. The distinguishing trait of the Red Medicine war bundle is the presence of perforated packets of mescal beans.

Table 8.1: Diagnostic trait comparisons in bundles

	M1	M2	M3	M4
pipes	x	x	x	x
deerskin cover				
animal skin				
bird skin	x	x	x	x
scalp/scalplock				
gourd rattle				
war club				
tobacco				
round stone				
medicine (plant)				
whistle				
hoof rattle				
buffalo tail belt				
buffalo tail (other)				
buffalo horn bonnet				
buffalo manure				
buffalo hair				
dried buffalo meat or fat				
paint				
"grey-head medicine"				
red medicine (mescal beans)				
tattooing implements (needles)				

Table 8.1: (continued)

	M5	M6	M7	M8
pipes	x	x		
deerskin cover				
animal skin				
bird skin				
scalp/scalplock				
gourd rattle				
war club				
tobacco				
round stone				
medicine (plant)				
whistle				
hoof rattle				x
buffalo tail belt				x
buffalo tail (other)				
buffalo horn bonnet				
buffalo manure				
buffalo hair				
dried buffalo meat or fat			x	
paint			x	
"grey-head medicine"				
red medicine (mescal beans)				
tattooing implements (needles)			x	

Table 8.1: (continued)

	M9	M10	M11	M12
pipes				x
deerskin cover				
animal skin				
bird skin				x
scalp/scalplock				
gourd rattle				
war club				
tobacco				
round stone				
medicine (plant)	x			
whistle	x	x	x	
hoof rattle	x	x	x	
buffalo tail belt	x	x	x	
buffalo tail (other)			x	
buffalo horn bonnet			calf horn/hide	
buffalo manure				
buffalo hair	x	x	x	
dried buffalo meat or fat				
paint			x	
red medicine (mescal beans)				
"grey-head medicine"				
tattooing implements (needles)				

Table 8.1: (continued)

	M13	M14	M15	M16
pipes	x			
deerskin cover		x	x	
animal skin		x	x	x
bird skin		x		
scalp/scalplock		x	x	x
gourd rattle		x		
war club				
tobacco		x	x	
round stone				
medicine (plant)		x	x	x
whistle			x	x
hoof rattle				
buffalo tail belt				
buffalo tail (other)				
buffalo horn bonnet				
buffalo manure				
buffalo hair				x
dried buffalo meat or fat				
paint		x	x	
"grey-head medicine"				
red medicine (mescal beans)			x	x
tattooing implements (needles)				

Table 8.1: (continued)

	M17	M18	M19	M20
pipes				
deerskin cover	x			
animal skin	x	x	x	
bird skin	x		x	
scalp/scalplock				x
gourd rattle				
war club				
tobacco		x		
round stone				
medicine (plant)	x	x		
whistle	x			x
hoof rattle	x		x	x
buffalo tail belt			x	
buffalo tail (other)			x	
buffalo horn bonnet				
buffalo manure				
buffalo hair	x		x	
dried buffalo meat or fat				
paint		x	x	
"grey-head medicine"				
red medicine (mescal beans)				
tattooing implements (needles)		x		

Table 8.1: (continued)

	M21	M22	M23
pipes			
deerskin cover			
animal skin	x		x
bird skin			x
scalp/scalplock			x
gourd rattle			
war club			
tobacco	x		
round stone			
medicine (plant)	x		
whistle	x	x	x
hoof rattle	x	x	
buffalo tail belt	x		x
buffalo tail (other)			
buffalo horn bonnet			
buffalo manure			
buffalo hair	x	x	x
dried buffalo meat or fat			
paint	x		
"grey-head medicine"			
red medicine (mescal beans)			
tattooing implements (needles)			

Table 8.1: (continued)

	H1	H2	H3	H4
pipes			x	
deerskin cover	x		x	
animal skin	x	x	x	x
bird skin	x	x	x	x
scalp/scalplock	x		x	x
gourd rattle			x	
war club	x	x		
tobacco	x		x	
stone				fossil
medicine (plant)	x		x	x
whistle	x	x	x	x
hoof rattle				
buffalo tail belt				
buffalo tail (other)				
buffalo horn bonnet				
buffalo manure				
buffalo hair				x
dried buffalo meat or fat				
paint	x			x
"grey-head medicine"	x			x
red medicine (mescal beans)				
tattooing implements (needles)				

Table 8.1: (continued)

	H5	H6	H7	H8
pipes				
deerskin cover				
animal skin				
bird skin				x
scalp/scalplock				
gourd rattle				
war club				
tobacco	x			
stone				
medicine (plant)	x		x	
whistle	x		x	x
hoof rattle	x	x	missing	x
buffalo tail belt	x			x
buffalo tail (other)	x			
buffalo horn bonnet		x	x	
buffalo manure				
buffalo hair		x	x	x
dried buffalo meat or fat				
paint				x
"grey-head medicine"				
red medicine (mescal beans)				
tattooing implements (needles)				

Table 8.1: (continued)

	H9(2)	H10(2)	H11	H12
pipes				
deerskin cover				
animal skin			x	
bird skin	x	x		
scalp/scalplock				
gourd rattle				
war club				
tobacco				
stone				
medicine (plant)	x	x	x	
whistle	x		x	
hoof rattle	x			
buffalo tail belt				
buffalo tail (other)				
buffalo horn bonnet				
buffalo manure				
buffalo hair	x	x	x	
dried buffalo meat or fat				
paint		x		
"grey-head medicine"				
red medicine (mescal beans)			x	
tattooing implements (needles)		x		

Buffalo Doctor bundle: Wrapping containing buffalo tail belt, hoof rattle, and cane whistle. Shed buffalo hair, especially in a cape form, as well as medicines may also be present.

Tattooing bundle: Wrapping containing tattooing needles, marking canes, and pigments.

Such categorizations should be tested when more Ioway bundles have been examined (the Museum of the American Indian and the St. Joseph have unexamined Ioway bundles); further testing could also be made against Oto examples. Such categorizations of bundle attributes suggested here fall under the rubric of "convenience typing," using instinct and experience along with arbitrary judgement in defining attribute categories. Future testing should be done statistically to define attribute clusters and check them against the patterns suggested here.

Emic testing: Linguistic evidence

An avenue toward devising an emic taxonomy of bundles is through linguistic reconstruction and analysis. Following is a discussion of the linguistic data. The primary sources for the consideration of bundle taxonomy are Dorsey (1894), Skinner (1915, 1925, 1926), Whitman (1947), and Good Tracks (1992). The methodology included cross-checking and construction, linguistic grouping, and comparison with Omaha data (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972). For continuity, the orthography has been standardized, following Whitman (1947). Skinner and Dorsey were inconsistent in their spellings. The following morphemic analyses of bundle types is based on various sources, including those already mentioned as well as Whitman (1947) and Good Tracks (1992).

lahnuwe waxonyitan

The sacred clan (gens) pipes are mentioned in all the accounts, but only Skinner gives the name *danuwe waxhonita*, "Pipe, Holy." Nowhere are the pipes linked with *waruxawe*. In Hamilton's account, the sacred pipe is kept wrapped with the oath bundle, also cognitively separated from the *waruxawe*. Whitman gives the name *lahnuwe* as the proper transcription for calumet (the pipe, not the wands).

Analysis of the name presents one with some options. The Ioway word *lahnuwe*, seems to be made of *la-* (by means of the mouth) and *-nuwe* (two). This may connote the dualism of the pipe and bowl.

The word *waxonyitan* means "holy" or "sacred," but another word, *xoblin* or *waxobrin*, means "sacred" as well. Although Good Tracks notes the two words, he does not attempt to relate their proper usages. The clue may be found in Dorsey, who relates "Wa-hu-prin, mysterious, as a person or animal; but wa-qo-nyi-tan, mysterious, as an inanimate object" (1894: 367). *Waxonyitan* thus indicates a notion of inanimate sacredness. The Ioway thus did not consider the pipe to be alive *in the same sense* that an animal or person was.

oyu

The word *oyu*, used in connection with the Buffalo Doctor bundles (*tacage oyu*) and Red Medicine bundle (*mankan cudje oyu*) in Harrington's work seems to be a very inclusive term. *Oyu* is not given by Good Tracks ("o" and "u" have historically been phonemically interchangeable), but he does give *úyu* (full; fill up) and *uyú* (put into), expressing a sense of enclosure, as in a bundle with wrappings. Unfortunately only Harrington seems to have used *oyu* as an alternate term for bundles (usually a form of *waluxawe*), so it may be an idiosyncratic use.

waluxawe

There are many variant spellings for the term *waluxawe*, including: *waruhowa*, *waruxawe*, *waruhawe*, *waruhawa*, and *waroxawe*. Hamilton said that the name for these bundles, *waruhawa*, came from the enclosed skins of birds and animals (1848). Skinner said that *waruxawe*, or *Waro Xawe*, "is said by some of the Indians to refer in some way to scalping, but by others to have reference to bravery" (1926: 208). Good Tracks glossed it as "sacred bundle" (1992: 85).

William Whitman's linguistic work chose the phonemic transcription *waluxawe*, based on his phonemic and phonetic analyses. He analyzed the morphemes making up this term as: *wa-* (something) + *luxáwe* (to peel, skin) = *walúxawe* ((sacred) bundle) (1947: 244).

This analysis shows that Hamilton's meaning for the term *waluxawe* was correct.

Further support is found in comparing it with the Omaha term:

Aggressive [as opposed to defensive] warfare was under the control of rites which were connected with the wain' waxube, or Sacred Packs of War. ...There was another name applied to these packs: wathi' xabe, "things flayed," referring to the contents of the packs, which were the skins of certain birds. It was the presence of these bird skins, which represented the species and the life embodied in the species, that made the wain', or pack, waxu'be, or sacred (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911: 404).

Hamilton and Irvin's descriptions of the *waluxawe* show the great diversity of things inside them. This diversity of objects imply that *waluxawe* can be considered an inclusive term, excepting the clan pipe bundles, the tattooing bundles, and the Thunder clan's oath bundle.

wach'e and wathe (wathu) waluxawe

By being considered both *waluxawe*, or "war bundles proper," we see why *waluxawe* has often been glossed as "war bundle." Both types do have the skins of animals and birds in them, but so do other types like the Buffalo Doctor bundles (sometimes also called *waluxawe*).

Without limiting the use of the term *waluxawe* to war bundle types (or bundles concerned mainly with war) there seems to be no exclusive named taxonomic class (or node) for these two kinds of *waluxawe*.

Skinner says that *wathe waluxawe* (*Wa'the Waro Xawe*) is interpreted as "white head" *waluxawe* "because it contains a powerful medicine said to turn the hair gray if it touches it" and equates it with Dorsey's *waci waruxawe* (Skinner 1926: 213, Dorsey 1915: 426). I do not understand how Dorsey transformed Hamilton's bad medicine bags, transcribed *wathu waruxawe* into the bad medicine bags *waci waruxawe*, unless it was through simple error. Perhaps he was confusing it with the *wach'e waluxawe*. Nowhere does Hamilton give any *waluxawe* as a *waci waruxawe*.

The "white/grey hair medicine" may or may not be a good distinguishing trait, for while Skinner (1925) says it is the *wathe* type only with the hair medicine, Harrington's notes on the bundles he collected state that this hair-affecting medicine was found in both types of bundles.

The categories are summarized in the following table:

Table 8.2: Warbundle comparison

<u>Hamilton (1848)</u>	<u>Dorsey (1894)</u>	<u>Skinner 1925</u>	<u>Harrington MS.</u>
no name (oldest type)	no name	<i>watce</i> (scalping)	<i>wanathonje</i> 's scalping (with warclub, hair med.)
<i>wathe</i> (bad medicine)	<i>waci</i> (bad medicine)	<i>wathe</i> (hair med.)	<i>wathe</i> (panther cover, hair med.)

Good Tracks gives *wach'éhi* as "murderer, or killer" and *wach'éhige* as "hunter / killer: good hunter who is always successful" (1992: 81). Skinner lists as the highest war title *Wach'e* (Wac!e), or "successful partisan," a bundle owner who had conducted victorious war parties (1926: 205). *Wach'e* may be analyzed as *wa-* (something) + *ch'e* (dead); *ch'ehi* = "kill" from *ch'e* (dead) + *-hi* (causal suffix)). Therefore *wach'e* seems more literally to mean "something dead," connoting the abilities of the title holder (bundle owner) to kill one's enemies, rather than actually meaning "scalping" ("to scalp" is actually *áxo* (scalplock) + *luthé* (grasp, take, seize) (Skinner: *Axodulte*)) or "successful partisan."

Wach'emanyi (Wachemonne) was called "the Orator" in McKenney and Hall, but his name means *wach'e* + *manyi* "walking, or moving along continuously and acting in that manner," connoting actively acting the part of the *wach'e* , or "successful war leader and bundle owner."

The "scalping bundle" of *Wanathunje* (also called the *Wanathonje*, or *Wanathunje* type of bundle, as he was supposed to have originated that type; some sources attribute the origin of the two kinds of warbundles proper to him; others to the Twins. Unfortunately the source for both versions appears to have been Robert Small (Skinner 1925, 1926). The "scalping bundle" of *Wanathunje* appears to have been of the *wach'e* class. This class was the type associated with the warclub. The "scalping bundle" of *Wanathunje* is likely just that, a *wach'e* bundle kept by *Wanathunje*. Origins aside (for the contradictions may never be resolved), it appears that the *wach'e* class was the oldest type of true gens (or clan) war bundle.

Translating *wathu* or *wathe* is even more problematic. Good Tracks gives nothing for *wathe*. He gives *wathú* as meaning "clean out; brush clean" (1992: 86). *Wathún* he says means "nudge something" (1992: 86) or "to attract the attention of something" (1992: 87). There is no meaning given for *the*, but *thu* may be translated as either seed or stick (or ball

stick) (1992: 71). None of this seems to help translate *wathu* or *wathe* into something recognizably connected to or distinguishing the *wathe* / *wathu* bundle type, or even helping us decide whether *wathe* or *wathu* is the proper term. Because the most current usage was apparently *wathe*, it will be used here, with the note that *wathu* may also have once been the proper term, as Hamilton's transcriptions of the language usually hold up under scrutiny, at least better than Skinner's.

The contradictions in whether the "grey hair" medicine is the distinguishing trait of the *wathe* bundle (only Skinner (1925, 1926) notes it so) must remove the presence or absence of this trait as a distinguishing trait of the *wathe* bundle.

The difference between the older *wach'e* class, with its warclub (a symbol of power and office) and amulets, its focus on war, and the *wathe* (*wathu*) class, with its panther cover, war medicine, and eclectic variety of medicines dealing with anything from paralyzation of enemies, war, poisons, horses, friendship, gambling, doctoring, and women's menstruation, seems to point to the latter as a general bundle type.

The older *wach'e* bundle seems directly tied to the gentile organization, and similar to the Winnebago gens war bundles with their clubs. The general function (but primarily war) *wathe* type, said to be more recent, may have begun as the vision of an individual, who constructed other bundles of this type and transferred them among the seven gens. As this type was less connected to the strict gentile war functions, it became a cumulative warbundle type, allowing for additions seen in individual visions in a more relaxed way.

Thus the two types of bundles served different social functions, the *wach'e waluxawe* expressing the power of controlled (good) gens war tradition and the *wathe waluxawe* expressing the innovative (dangerous or "bad") power of individual vision. The idea of "bad"

was definitely not attached to any idea of the use of (magic) power; both types used it (even though the *wathe* apparently had the "bad" power of paralyzing the enemy). Nor was "bad" associated with the taking of human life in war, for this was the purpose of the protective and aggressive power of the war bundle. Expressed to be bad (and the other, by intimation, good) these two bundle types were socially complementary and allowed for both security and change.

che waluxawe

The Buffalo Doctor's bundles have a number of names. Hamilton called them *cha waruhawe*. Dorsey followed his lead with *tce waruxawe*, as did Skinner in 1915, with *tce waruhawe*. Skinner also talked about a strange bundle, *tcethinji wag're*, whose relationship to the Buffalo Doctors was unclear although it seemed to be a singular bundle connected to one owner. In 1925, Skinner gave *tcehowe waruhawe* as the buffalo doctor sacred bundle, listing it separately from the *tasagre waruhawe*, the deer dewclaw bundle of the buffalo doctors. Then in 1926, he instead grouped them together, as alternate names for the buffalo doctor bundles, *techowe waruhawe*, *tasagre waruhawe*, and *tasagreoyu* (after Harrington), as well as still putting the buffalo tail bundle in a different category. Harrington called them simply *tashagreoyu*.

There is good reason to classify all these bundles as *che waluxawe* (buffalo sacred bundles), as they all are connected to the buffalo as well as most having animal and bird skins inside. The names *tcehowe* and *techowe*, both from Skinner, are bad transcriptions of what should be *che xowe*, from *che* (buffalo) and *xowe* (supernatural guardianship or patronage). Again, this name appears applicable to all these bundles. Varying transcriptions of *ta shage waluxawe* (or *oyu*) (deer + nail (hoof) + bundle) seem to pertain to those buffalo doctor bundles specifically containing deer hoof rattles, although some sources have indicated

buffalo dewclaw rattles were also used; at least one rattle seen at Milwaukee appears to have some buffalo dewclaws attached. In other words, the evidence shows that all these names are interchangeable and inclusive for buffalo bundles, except for the last.

There are some irregularities that should be examined. The division between the buffalo sacred bundle and the rattle bundles seen in Skinner in 1925 is done away with in 1926. Evidence points to the first division being artificial. Hamilton made no such division, and Skinner did so only in the 1925 Twins story, which we have seen was a syncretic myth in the transition of reinterpretation by Small. It was also noted that, according to Harrington, some buffalo doctor bundles were for war and healing, while others were for healing only. No name difference was noted however. This difference may explain why some bundles contained non-buffalo amulets and others did not.

The buffalo tail bundle, *che thinje wagle* (*che* (buffalo) + *thinje* (tail) + *wagle* (usually glossed as "bug," it literally means "something that crawls")) is an odd bundle, with little carved wooden dolls in Skinner (1915) and supposedly connected to the herd's reproduction (1926). The idiosyncratic nature of this bundle, its apparently uniqueness in its category and its attachment to a single owner, indicates it was a product of an individual's vision, rather than a gentile (clan) or society bundle. It seems to be able to be grouped as a buffalo bundle (*che waruxawe*) but inclusion beyond that (even as to *che xowe*) seems unsupported.

By the time Skinner did his work, he noted the presence of the Grizzly Bear Doctors and associated them by function as a subset of the Buffalo Doctors. This seems to be a later development as the comparable Bear Doctors of other tribes like the Omaha and Pawnee are distinct groups, although associated. The word for the bear bundle (which there is only mention of in Skinner in 1925) does not survive. It might be reconstructed as *manto*

waluxawe, because these bundles were also supposed to have been used for war also. here is no surviving bear bundle, only a few discreet items like a rattle, an armband and a hat. There is no linguistic cause to group this assemblage with buffalo bundles. Skinner says that the brave bundles were a subset of the bear bundles, but this is in the confused Twins account.

The so-called brave bundle(s) is mentioned only in Skinner (1925), who on one page transcribes it as Wakwa Shoshe (p. 436), and on another, in the same story, as Wankwa Tcutze (p. 438). These are attempts to transcribe a term which was also recorded by Whitman, after Hamilton: *wan'wasose* (a brave) = *wange* (man) + *wasose* (brave) (Whitman 1947: 236). This is the only place this bundle is mentioned, and so unfortunately, since the source is so confused, one must either go ahead and group this vague bundle type with the equally vague bear bundle, possibly under the buffalo group, or set it aside for insufficient evidence. At the present, the latter choice seems to be the most prudent.

wangegihi waluxawe (?)

Another confused bundle situation is the Chief's Sacred Bundle (*Wanikihi Waruháwa*), a "peace bundle" (Skinner 1925: 436). The grouping of a peace bundle with warbundles again seems inconsistent. It is likely that this was again an attempt by Small to make syncretic sense of the variety of remembered bundles.

If one analyzes the term *wanikihi*, standardized as *wangegihi*, one gets: *wange* (man) + *-gi* (motion toward a third point) + *-hi* (to cause something), which might be glossed as either "one who causes things to happen" or "one who causes men to do things." This would translate well to the character of a chief.

There are no descriptions of this bundle. The bundle may actually be the chief's personal pipe bundle. In 1926, Skinner called the chief's personal pipe, *wanegixhi ranowe*. This is a further example of Skinner's transcriptive variability, not only *wanegixhi* vs.

wanikihi, but also *danuwe* vs. *ranowe*. The chief's personal pipe may be the same bundle as the chief's peace bundle, but again, description is lacking. In any case, it is doubtful that the peace bundle or pipe bundle would be called a *waluxawe*. It is not the gens pipe bundle, for Small said the Twins gave the gens pipes later (again a contradiction of other clan stories which attribute them to the clan ancestors).

manka shuje waluxawe

The red medicine bundle, or red bean bundle, has remained a distinct type of bundle, called *makacutzi waruhawe* (Skinner 1915), *maka sudje waruhawe* (Skinner 1925), *mankanshudje oyu* (Skinner 1926, after Harrington), and *mankan cudje oyu* (Harrington MS.). The term may be considered as *manka* (medicine) + *shuje* (red) + *waluxawe* (sacred bundle) or *oyu* (bundle). The *waluxawe* designation seems supported by the bundle descriptions, which includes skins used as war amulets, as well as the function, which was predominately war. The bundle was transferred to the Ioway by the Pawnee, and was the property of a particular family or clan (never named), and not part of the clan scheme.

hinage manka

A love medicine, *inake mankan*, was reported to have been collected by Harrington. The medicine probably should be transcribed *hinage manka*, "woman medicine."

naxowe waluxawe

He also collected a bundle of witch medicine, which remained undescribed. The accuracy of its description as a *waluxawe* cannot therefore be confirmed. An analysis of the term applied to it, *naxowe waruxawe*, may mean: *na* (wood, tree) + *xowe* (spirit power) + *waluxawe* (sacred bundle), glossed as "woods power bundle." The connection of the woods to witch power, if this translation is correct, may be a circuitous one.

Witch power was centered on the supernatural ability of the witch to do harm to someone. While war bundles had similar power, their use was against extra-tribal enemies and were socially sanctioned. The witch bundles were used usually against others within the tribe and were thus antisocial. Transformation and shooting medicine into people were some of their ways.

The woods were full of spirits with similar shooting power, like the Dakota's Tree Dwellers, which lived in stumps. These evil wood spirits may have been the patrons of some of this harmful power.

Another connection is the tendency for trees to be thought of as good. Trees sometimes became spirit traps, capturing people in trouble and protecting them, or capturing evil spirits and witches in a kind of prison. Trees acting this way would become different in appearance. Evil would twist a tree; the tree was not evil, but the spirit inside was. One was cautioned to leave any twisted, barren snag alone as a "witch trees," and to above all, not cut it down, which would free the spirit inside. Instead, the tree was left to the power of the lightning, which would eventually take care of the problem.

iyunke waluxawe

The *iyunke* (*iunke*) *waluxawe* was reported to be centered on the Forked-Tailed Kite (*iyunke*). No such bundle was located, but it was probably an individual vision bundle. The Omaha's Sacred War Pack also had a Swallow-tailed Kite skin.

wiglexe

The tattooing bundle has been mentioned in all the accounts, and Harrington collected the word *wigrex* for it, which Skinner related in 1926. The analysis of *wigrex* would seem to be *wi-* (expressing instrumentality: "by which something is done") + *glexe* (or *gledhe*) stripes or marks, glossed as "that by which marks are made."

wanaxi oyu (?)

The oath bundle, mentioned by Hamilton in 1848, contained the spirit rock or iron, *mandewatsansa*, transcribed here as *mandhe* (iron) + *washansha* (to have holes). This "iron" was probably a meteorite, and was kept in seven wrappings or buffalo bladders, with slender sticks, and wrapped together with a holy pipe. It apparently is not within the collections, although at the Museum of the American Indian, there is a "Cow Bundle." This bundle, with no function given, has a catlinite pipe as well as eight buffalo bladders. The parallels are interesting, but no "rock" or sticks were included.

Skinner said the bundle was called the "Ghost Bundle," and so a reconstructed name is given above (*wanaxi* means "ghost" or "spirit"). As it was not apparently considered a *waluxawe*, the term *oyu* is suggested.

ta waluxawe

The earliest sources, Hamilton and Dorsey, indicate that at one time the Otter Dance otter bags were kept wrapped in the *ta waluxawe*, or deer medicine bundles, and Skinner intimates that they were once wrapped as well. There is no such bundle surviving today it seems, but there are bags, and the evidence seems sound enough to warrant their inclusion. There is no explanation as why the bundle was called the deer bundle, however.

Suggested linguistic taxonomy of bundles

The sources are contradictory and incomplete, and yet the following taxonomy (Figure 8.1) is suggested based on linguistic grouping. Certain bundles were judged to be outside the original clan bundle structure, like the witch bundle and the fork-tailed kite bundle. The social placement of the Buffalo Tail bundle was also problematic. The taxonomy is repeated for every clan, except for the Oath bundle, or Ghost bundle, which was the property of the

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSIONS

Last Thoughts on Bundles

Bundles, the clans, and NAGPRA

The emphasis on bundles as clan property (except witch bundles, which were not discussed) shows the importance of the clans as distinct cultural entities. Yet, except for the Thunder clan Ghost oath bundle, all clans apparently had equivalent bundle systems. This seems to indicate a "separate-but-equal" ideology for the Ioway clan system.

At the same time, there were dualistic tensions between security and innovation, tradition and progress, the group and the individual. This was institutionalized in the clan bundle system's stability versus the possibility for variation and change in the bundle gained through individual vision. It was broken down even within the clan bundle system with the *wach'e / wathe* split. The bundles seem to be able to be split in terms of their being considered clan property or individual property, Skinner's opinions notwithstanding.

Table 9.1, "Bundles and the social system," is a suggested arrangement which splits bundles considered to be strictly organized by clan, and those which seem to be idiosyncratic, or the property of an individual or segmentary lineage. It is equally possible that all bundles were integrated into the clan system. This arrangement is based on inferences found in the historical data. Unfortunately the time is long past when such issues could be investigated ethnographically with assurance.

It is a pertinent question to ask how this arrangement of bundles as clan or individual property might interact with the issue of repatriation and NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act). Although someone outside the Ioway culture might argue that only clan bundles should be considered to be tribal sacred items (and thus up for return)

Table 9.1: Bundles and the clan system

<u>CLAN PROPERTY</u>	<u>INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY</u>
LAHNUWE lahnuwe waxonyitan (seven (?) clan pipes)	wangegihi lahnuwe
WANAXI OYU (Thunder only)	
WALUXAWE waluxawe (proper) wach'e wathe (wathu) che waluxawe (chexowe waluxawe, ta shage waluxawe)	che thinje wagle
manto waluxawe wan'wasose (waluxawe)	manka shuje waluxawe (oyu) naxowe waluxawe (?) iyunke waluxawe ta waluxawe
WIGLEXE	

because the others are more linked to individual families, this would be missing the point as well as avoiding the spirit of the law. Items of cultural patrimony, those items of profound religious significance to the tribe or native community, include the spectrum of material expressions which EACH TRIBE MUST DEFINE ITSELF AS BEING IMPORTANT TO ITS RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND WELL-BEING. No outsider can do this.

This is the essential weakness of NAGPRA. In attempting to return burials and associated items, non-Indian society has failed to recognize that each tribe and components of

that tribe have different needs and values. While the southern Cheyenne may welcome the return of the bones of their ancestors, the Navajo have a distinctly different feeling about the dead. While some bundles and religious items still have a vital position in a living religious system, as the Zuni war gods, others are little-understood and great ambivalence is felt in their return, as the Omaha felt about the return of the Sacred Hide. In promoting a pan-Indian, monolithic view of "Indians" wanting the return of their "ancestors" and their "sacred items," the values of tribal peoples still aware of their tribal ways have been jumped over. There is a world of difference in the approach of a Laguna-Sioux-Yakima activist living in L.A. and that of a Salish herbalist or Zuni priest (or even a non-specialist Salish or Zuni). This misleading, oversimplified issue of what is "Indian" is thus perpetuated in NAGPRA and the public-oriented activities of well-meaning, but often ignorant of profound tribal and intratribal differences, non-reservation or non-traditional Indians.

For the Ioway, therefore, the spectrum of both clan and non-clan items, including bundles, is important. My perception is that a great deal of ambivalence regarding repatriation is felt among the Southern Ioways, while a spectrum of feelings ranging from disinterest through curiosity is felt by the Northern Ioways. The best approach may be a period of open comment and discussion among the concerned parties until a CONSENSUS (not a majority opinion) can be reached. If that can not be reached, then perhaps most of the items should remain cared for where they are. Bundles and their like need not only care of their physical components, but also spiritual care of their non-physical aspects. Unfortunately acculturation and lack of cultural information may lead to some people's insistence of the return of these items without the recognition of these different care issues, to the detriment of both people and bundles.

Transformation processes in the museum

Nancy Parezo has written about the transformations collections undergo even after their placement in museums. Any artifact in a museum must be seen as the end point of formation processes beginning from the time of manufacture and lasting through the time of actual examination by the researcher. It is vital to take into account as many of these formation processes as possible as they determine what it is the researcher is looking at; these processes form the data base and thus affect the sample.

Museum artifact formation processes may be broken into two phases: 1) pre-collection, in which the formations in the artifact are primarily driven by the producing culture as well as natural forces, and 2) collection/post-collection, in which the formations are primarily driven by the collecting culture as well as natural forces. There are interactions between the two cultures, especially during the actual point of collection and the accompanying negotiations.

Formation processes must be taken into account when studying a museum's collection. Too often studies are made and published as if the studied artifacts were found just as the creators intended them to be. Rarely is this so. As has been shown here, even once the artifact is in the museum, it is not immune to loss of integrity. Many of the bundles are jumbled-up beyond recognition. The question of how well museums actually care for their collections because of the human factor should be addressed. By taking into account these formation factors affecting museum collections, as well as the individual artifact, a more realistic, accurate, and useful study may be assured.

Suggested directions for future research

A number of issues regarding bundles seem to require further study. The elements in the bundles need further material analysis, including work on fabrics and the identification of pigments and plants. A statistical study could create and test attribute clusters to further define

bundle types, which could theoretically lead to 'natural types' of bundles once classified by the Ioway. Other bundles exist at the Museum of the American Indian, the St. Joseph Museum, and possibly the American Musuem of Natural History in New York. Some older Ioways may have some further knowledge of the bundle system. Linguistic material and the material of Dorsey in the National Anthropological Archives needs further research. Other museums may have undiscovered Ioway material.

Archaeological implications of bundles

Little is known about Ioway patterns of bundle disposition. Gens property, like pipes and warbundles of the *wathe* and *wach'e* types seem to have been passed down within the patrilineal clan (gens) to different keepers of high status, rather than being buried with the deceased keeper; personal pipes may have been buried in this way, as Catlin mentioned for Little Wolf's burial. Individual property like war bundles gained through personal vision may have been transferred, but burial with the individual or abandonment to the elements was also possible. Transformation processes would usually affect some materials faster than others. Except in an anaerobic environment such as a wet site, typical goods found within Ioway bundles would quickly deteriorate in Iowa's moist, warm climate. Harder items such as stone, bone, or metal should last longer.

Following is a list of the harder materials, which may have proven more resistant to degradation during deposition, found within bundles. They are listed as associated with the different kinds of Ioway bundles examined in this paper. The list below is given as a beginning point for the consideration of this issue.

- lahnuwe: pipe bowl, Carolina parakeet skull
- waluxawe: animal skulls, feet, tails: weasel, squirrel, mole, otter, misc.
bird skulls, feet: owl , hawk, Carolina parakeet, swallow

- reptile: snake, lizard
- other: pottery, adze-shaped blade (stone or metal) for club,
round stones, fossil bone or tooth, tin box, brass locket
- ta waluxawe: skulls, foot bones: otter, squirrel, rattlesnake
tin jinglers, bells, beads, fossil bone
- che waluxawe: buffalo tail, buffalo horn, bone wedge, clay ball,
deer hoof, bone tubes
- manto waluxawe: grizzly claw
- manka shuje waluxawe: skull: mole, snake
other: stone, bullet, crystal
- wiglexe: needles (bone, steel), rabbit foot bones, spectacles
- wanaxi oyu: meteoric iron, pipe bowl

Material Culture, Language, and Ethnicity

The importance of clan in future studies

During a two-day conference / workshop, "Oneota Archaeology: Past, Present, and Future," held in Iowa City, Iowa, on March 4 and 5, 1994, some 150 scholars, including archaeologists, anthropologists, materials analysts, and linguists, discussed the Oneota culture, the ancestors of the Ioway. I attended as well. One fact seemed to stand out in my perception. People specializing in one discipline seemed to know only a limited amount of information produced by other disciplines. Linguists knew little about the archaeological work, and the archaeologists knew little about the linguistics, and both knew little about the ethnological issues. As specialized as this conference was, there was still a substantial knowledge gap among scholars specializing in one cultural manifestation, the Oneota. This fragmentation of knowledge is a problem faced not only by archaeology, but also by anthropology, as well as

by the world at large. With knowledge expanding exponentially, it is perhaps impossible to keep up with new information. Use of computer mail networks and bulletins might help. It is imperative that anthropology (and in America, archaeology is part of anthropology) strive to retain a holistic perspective.

I shared a lot of what I found out in my bundle studies and my Ioway culture with the other scholars. The exchange was very fertile and exciting, and gave me much to think about. One of the questions brought up in the section on symbolic archaeology was what the small pots often found in burials meant. These extremely small, probably nonfunctional, pots were often highly decorated. Sometimes they were quite crudely made. No one seemed to be able to make head or tails of a lot of them. Their crudeness, decorative / symbolic aspects, smallness, and nonfunctionality gave me an inspiration, which I related to the assembly.

In undertaking this study, I have come to realize that tribe is a function of place and time. The concept of the clan is the real factor in social organization. Clan cuts across tribal boundaries. Clan defines marriage. Clans met together to form a tribe. It is significant that the Ioway Wolf clan was said to have spoken a different language and that it brought the bow and arrow; linguist Robert Rankin mentioned that the word for "bow" was a word borrowed from Algonkian languages by the Siouan ones. Clan defined one's paint, one's hair style as a child, one's symbolism, and it still defines one's powwow outfit symbolism today. Tribes may form and reform, but clans stand distinct, or they die. The clans were said to have had different villages to themselves along the river bottoms near the place of tribal origin. Once the Oneota used longhouses; the Iroquois longhouses were clan longhouses. Was the old Oneota word for village the same word for longhouse? The language gives *chi*, as the word for lodge, *chithleje* as longhouse, and *china* as village ('forest of lodges?').

Returning to the little pots, I recalled that Ian Hodder had shown decorative symbolism to often function as an active marker defining the boundaries of ethnic groups in Africa (1982). Could the decoration on Oneota pots have been a similar ethnic marker? Women made the pottery and it is said that once, long ago, the ancestors of the Ioway were probably matrilineal and matrilocal, the usual situation among horticulturalists. Could the various, often uniform, designs on Oneota pots be emblems of a matrilineage, of a clan?

Those little, nonfunctional, decorated pots were found often associated with burials. They could have once held food for the spirit of the deceased. An alternate explanation is that clay, earth, represents the human body, a vessel for the spirit. The Ioway are known to have believed in the likelihood of reincarnation. Were those little pots emblems of hope and identification with the clan? Perhaps the spirit was asked in this way to return once more to belong to the clan.

Many of these pots were apparently slipshod and perfunctory in manufacture. It is well known that, contrary to the modes of other peoples in decorative exuberance when constructing the sacred, Native American groups often intentionally made mistakes when making articles connected with the spirit. Pots were "killed" and mistakes intentionally made in the decoration of baskets and rugs. One intended to show one's humility in the face of the supernatural; only God made that which was perfect. It was the height of arrogance to assume a mere human should attempt likewise. On the other hand, as the pot was symbolic only, it may have not have mattered as much to certain individuals, or in times of conflict and crisis. Craftsmanship is, after all, akin to artistry.

Symbolism, similarities, and diffusion

More symbolism illumination could be gained from further comparison with other midwestern tribes. An examination of the feasibility of the proposed protohistoric / historic "Prairie Peninsula Interaction Sphere" seems potentially useful. Stylistic similarity between related Siouan tribes is to be expected; designs on Ioway woven bags, such as the step, the zigzag, and the Thunderbird, has been seen also on bags from the Winnebago, as well as the Algonquian Sauk and Chippewa. Clear tribal barriers of style may indeed prove to be illusions based on Euroamerican conceptions of and desires for tribal distinctiveness in material culture and over-acute historical focus. In other words, it is reasoned if people are politically distinct, they should be materially distinct. Differences are then sought in order to create stylistic culture histories. I believe a lot of this talk comes from a diffusionist mindset relying on erroneous logic, as well as the "expert's" familiarities and biases. First noticing a style among a certain tribe does not necessarily establish the style's origin there. If one grows up in Iowa amongst cornfields, and travels to Mexico later in life, to see cornfields there also, it does not follow that corn originated in Iowa!

The study and the Ioway of today

Although the bundle system no longer has the importance for social functions it once did, current developments in the forms of Native American religious freedom and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) demonstrate that, contrary to the statements of Skinner, the bundle system's death is greatly exaggerated. I was warned by several people that handling such things might be spiritually and thus physically dangerous. There is some talk also that certain families may still keep their bundles. It is also said that the Ioway of Oklahoma are involved with setting up a tribal museum, and that some bundles are involved. Bundles are repositories of power, but only with the right rituals and songs, and in

the proper, rightfully authorized hands. I have not a lot to say on this subject except that a living people have the right to their own past. At the same time, our present is our children's past, and this must always be borne in mind. Because access to this study is a right of all descendants of the Ioway, now and in the future, copies are being given to the public libraries nearest the respective communities in Kansas-Nebraska and Oklahoma. It is my sincere wish that it is found to be useful and enjoyable, in spite of its need to also be scholarly.

Final comments on Ioway language and worldview

Linguistically, terming the bundles "that-which-is-flayed" (warbundles), or "that-which-causes-marks" (tattooing bundles), emphasizes the action / function of the bundle, rather than its status as sacred. This seems to attribute a practicality to Ioway religion.

Bundles reflected and guided the Ioway social system but they were not stifflingly deterministic. With a tension between the status quo of the clan bundles and the opportunity to accept new bundle types, through purchase or vision, but tempered by social consensus, one could enjoy the assurance of certainty through the status quo as well as the stimulation of adaptability and exchange.

In conclusion, Ioway language and worldview were steeped in mythological and metaphorical references securing one's relationship to the natural world, which was a reflection of the spiritual reality of *Wakanda*. The world was real and active, practical and poetic, rather than ephemeral and time-oriented. Action and function took precedence over static and compartmentalized views of "reality" and were the foundation for existence. Creation did not happen once long ago; creation was seen in the ongoing processes of life all around the individual, the clan, and the tribe. Life results from movement and pragmatism rather than proceeding from static egocentricity. Action defines the actor, the actor does not define the action. Things are defined by their context, context is not defined by things. Life is a matrix of

movement. Spirituality comes from doing and living rather than from static contemplation. In essence, rather than the Greco-Roman "I think, therefore I am," the Ioway language appears to say "I do, therefore I live."

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APPENDIX: GLOSSARY OF IOWAY TERMS

The following glossary supplies Ioway terms used in this paper. Because of variations in the sources, these have been standardized, although historical and dialectical variations are to be expected. Ioway terms are italicized. The English translations should be understood as glosses; they are given in normal type. More exact translations are given in normal type in quotations when possible. If there is no difference, then only the normalized gloss/translation is given. Some meanings were not found in the sources and are probably lost unless more linguistic data is recovered. When exact meanings are uncertain, the term is given a rough identification in parentheses, in normal type. If a scientific name for an animal or plant is known, it is given in underlined normal type in brackets.

<i>aglache</i>	arm	
<i>alemaha</i>	cross (shape)	
<i>aloschon</i>	Thunder Clan (archaic name)	
<i>aluhwa</i>	Buffalo Clan	
<i>awagela</i>	a kind of war medicine (not translated)	
<i>axho</i>	scalplock braid	
<i>bikax'e</i>	star	
<i>che</i>	buffalo	[<u>Bison bison</u>]
<i>che hin</i>	buffalo hair	
<i>che manglida</i>	Heavenly Buffalo Spirit	"buffalo + above + there"
<i>che pa woglunhe</i>	buffalo horn headdress	"buffalo + head + headdress"
<i>che thinje</i>	buffalo tail	"buffalo + tail"
<i>ch'e 'un</i>	Acting Dead; "Killers" (warrior society)	
<i>che watan</i>	shed buffalo hair	
<i>che watan wagle</i>	buffalo hair scalplock amulet; buffalo tail with quillwork	
<i>chexita</i>	Thunder Being, Thunderbird	
<i>chexoyoyuje</i>	said to mean buffalo rattle; actually seems to be:	
	<i>che</i> + <i>xoyoyuje</i>	"buffalo + whistle"
<i>che yi woglunhe</i>	buffalo hide headband	"buffalo + band + headdress"

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<i>che</i>	buffalo	[<u>Bison bison</u>]
<i>che hin</i>	buffalo hair	
<i>che manglida</i>	Heavenly Buffalo Spirit	"buffalo + above + there"
<i>che pa woglunhe</i>	buffalo horn headdress	"buffalo + head + headdress"
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<i>che watan wagle</i>	buffalo hair scalplock amulet; buffalo tail with quillwork	
<i>chexita</i>	Thunder Being, Thunderbird	
<i>chexoyoyuje</i>	said to mean buffalo rattle; actually seems to be:	
	<i>che</i> + <i>xoyoyuje</i>	"buffalo + whistle"
<i>che yi woglunhe</i>	buffalo hide headband	"buffalo + band + headdress"

<i>cheyinye manka</i>	windflower, pasque flower, prairie smoke "buffalo + little + medicine" [<i>Anemone patens</i>]
<i>dogwehi</i>	prairie wild turnip [<i>Psoralea esculenta</i>]
<i>dostunka insahe woglunhe</i>	otterskin turban "otter + ? + headdress" (var. <i>woglanye</i>)
<i>dostunye</i>	otter [<i>Lutra canadensis</i>] (var. <i>dostunka</i>)
<i>dotun manka</i>	leader's medicine "leader + medicine"
<i>dotun pagle</i>	warparty leader "leader + ahead"
<i>echinye</i>	little feathers
<i>gletan</i>	hawk (general term)
<i>gletaninye</i>	American kestrel, sparrow hawk "hawk + little" [<i>Falco sparverius</i>]
<i>glexe</i>	stripe, spot, mark (var. <i>gledhe</i>)
<i>heloshka</i>	war dance society
<i>heloshka wachichi</i>	war dance society roundhouse
<i>henghlu</i>	oldest son
<i>hewashi</i>	dance standing in place "there + dance"
<i>hina</i>	my mother
<i>hinage manka</i>	love medicine "woman + medicine"
<i>hinda</i>	great horned owl [<i>Bubo virginianus</i>]
<i>hixlani</i>	(not translated: "leader's pipe")
<i>hokanthu</i>	a gambling and friendship medicine
<i>huma</i>	elk [<i>Cervis canadensis</i>]
<i>iblinxdo</i>	blackbird (possibly the grackle [<i>Quiscalus quiscula</i>])
<i>ihun</i>	someone else's mother (var.: <i>dihon</i> , <i>hoeihon</i>)
<i>ikunt'e</i>	guide for pigment in tattooing "in + paint"
<i>ilachoki blaxge xanye</i>	seeds used as incense in doctoring
<i>indontha</i>	weasel [<i>Mustela</i> sp.]
<i>ino inthwe</i>	stone (celt)-headed warclub "stone + axe"
<i>inthagele</i>	medicine cane or staff
<i>ishchexi</i>	Underwater Panther "mouth + dangerous, difficult"
<i>ishjinki</i>	Trickster
<i>iwak'o</i>	buffalo hair swab "in + something + to swab"
<i>ixdopahi</i>	Sharp-Elbow (janus-faced monster) "elbow + sharp"
<i>iyunke</i>	swallow-tailed kite
<i>kayugela</i>	warrior (exact meaning not known)
<i>kikleche</i>	flat warclub
<i>kilaji</i>	clan
<i>k'omanyi</i>	Thundering (Thunder Being) "thunder + going along"
<i>lahnuwe waxonyitan</i>	sacred clan pipe "pipe + sacred"

<i>lawe</i>	beaver [<u>Castor canadensis</u>]
<i>lawe ununthe</i>	beaver castoreum (waxy substance from gland)
<i>lexek'in</i>	kettle carrier (title of junior members of war party) "kettle, pot + carry"
<i>lohan</i>	much; a lot; plenty
<i>luche</i>	pigeon; dove (passenger pigeon; mourning dove)
<i>luglimanyi</i>	Lightning (Thunder Being) "lightning + going along"
<i>mahato</i>	blue pigment "earth, mud + blue"
<i>makashuje</i>	Red Earth; Red Banks "earth (place) + red" (place of tribal origin)
[In considering the terms <i>maha</i> , <i>maka</i> , and <i>maya</i> , all of which mean "earth" they each have <i>ma-</i> as a root, meaning "earth, soil, mother." <i>-ha</i> may indicate a separable portion, as <i>ha</i> also means "a skin." <i>-ka</i> or <i>-ga</i> may indicate there, indicating static location, as <i>-ga</i> means "over there." <i>-yan</i> is related to <i>yan</i> , "to lie down," indicating a horizontal expression. One might then suggest the following: <i>maha</i> connotes earth or mud separate from the place, as pigment or soil suspended in water. <i>maka</i> connotes earth as a specific location, a cliff, a riverbank. <i>mayan</i> connotes earth as a large expanse of land or the living earth (planet), our Mother.]	
<i>manakxehane</i>	kind of herbal war medicine (perhaps <i>manka xanye</i> "medicine + big")
<i>mandhe</i>	metal
<i>mandhe wachansa</i>	spirit rock of "Ghost Bundle" "metal + something pocked" (possible meteorite)
<i>mandu ikanhi</i>	bowstring "bow + sinew"
<i>mangli wanshige</i>	Person Above; Air Spirit "above + person"
<i>maninye</i>	mole [<u>Scalopus aquaticus</u>]
<i>manito</i>	a kind of poisonous paint (perhaps loan word from Algonkian <i>manito</i> , "spirit, power")
<i>manka</i>	medicine
<i>mankachi</i>	Owl Clan "medicine + real"
<i>manka shuje</i>	mescal bean "medicine + red" [<u>Sophora secundiflora</u>]
<i>manka thewe yinye</i>	little black medicine; plant medicine rubbed on body for protection in war "medicine + black + little"
<i>manka thewiye</i>	root medicine rubbed on body to avoid wounds
<i>manka thewiye stanste</i>	berry medicine (use not described)
<i>mankanye</i>	medicine people "medicine + they"
<i>manka choblin</i>	crystal rock salt "medicine + (?) sacred (animate)"
<i>mankoke</i>	barred owl (supposed to be the kind of owl representing the Owl Clan) [<u>Strix varius</u>]
<i>manpakeyen</i>	swallow (bird)
<i>mansha</i>	feather
<i>manshu huje</i>	bird quill used for cane whistles
<i>manshutakoyu</i>	medicine sack of down and rattlesnake rattles
<i>manshuthake</i>	type of red mud paint: not translated: <i>thake</i> = "raw"; used in war and by doctors in the buffalo dance
<i>manthikun</i>	tattooing needle tool

<i>manto</i>	grizzly bear	[<i>Ursus arctos</i>]
<i>mantonje</i>	wild cane	
<i>mantunje iyoye</i>	cane whistle	
<i>manyika'thi</i>	coyote	"goes along + there + (on) foot"
		[<i>Canis latrans</i>]
<i>ma'un</i>	Earthmaker; Creator	"earth + to make, create, do"
<i>mawatani</i>	Mandan; Mandan warrior society (similar to Dog Soldiers)	
<i>mayan</i>	Earth; Mother Earth	
<i>mayan wadahe</i>	About the Earth Man (dwarf spirit patron of hunting)	"earth + someone + to be standing there"
<i>mejiraji</i>	Wolf Clan	
<i>mingke</i>	raccoon	[<i>Procyon lotor</i>]
<i>misteke</i>	red fox	[<i>Vulpes fulva</i>]
<i>misteke yin</i>	fox skin headband	"fox + band (?)"
<i>mixe</i>	duck (general term)	
<i>munje</i>	black bear	[<i>Ursus americanus</i>]
<i>naniyukuni</i>	Indian tobacco	"tobacco + common, real"
<i>nanje</i>	heart	
<i>nanthu</i>	hair (scalp)	
<i>nantocha</i>	scalp	
<i>nawake</i>	wooden bowl	
<i>nawakeyen</i>	little wooden medicine bowl	
<i>naxowe waluxawe</i>	witch bundle	"wood + power + warbundle"
<i>nikowatha</i>	regular members of war party who are not officers or junior members (var. <i>nangkewatha</i>)	
<i>nyi</i>	water; breath; life	
<i>nyinge</i>	nothing, none	
<i>nyi tanga</i>	ocean	"water + great"
<i>nyiyumanyi</i>	Raining (Thunder Being)	"water + falls + going along"
<i>nyiyutaxha</i>	Smoking Horses (ceremony)	
<i>oyu</i>	bundle; container	"within + put it in"
<i>pahe</i>	Beaver Clan	
<i>paxoje</i>	Ioway	"head + ashy, grey"
<i>pokadache</i>	tattooed round spot on girl's forehead	
<i>shahan</i>	Sioux (Dakota)	
<i>shuje</i>	red	
<i>shunka</i>	dog	[<i>Canis familiaris</i>]
<i>shunka walawakiya</i>	carrying-off-dogs (hyena-like animal)	
<i>shunta</i>	wolf	[<i>Canis lupus</i>]
<i>ta</i>	white-tail deer	[<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>]
<i>tainye gleshka</i>	spotted fawn	"deer + little + spotted + white"
<i>ta sagle</i>	deer hoof rattle	"deer + hoof"
<i>thaka</i>	bulrush	[<i>Scirpus</i> sp.]

<i>thaka oyu</i>	mat bundle cover	"bulrush + container"
<i>thechin</i>	flying squirrel	[<i>Glaucomys volans</i>]
<i>thewe</i>	black, dark	
<i>thloje</i>	diamond (shape)	
<i>tukala</i>	kit fox; Kit Fox warrior society	
<i>tununpi</i>	Black Bear Clan	
<i>uglepashtushe</i>	crooked staff of warrior society	
<i>ukiche</i>	nation; tribe; to fight against other tribes	
<i>uwelaiyu thatachin</i>	medicinal herb rubbed on and drunk for swelling	
<i>wabage</i>	blood	
<i>wabage manka</i>	black war medicine paint	"blood + medicine"
<i>wabaxuna</i>	menstruation	"blood + to flow (like water)"
<i>wach'e</i>	(bundle type; title of successful war leader)	"that + kills"
<i>wahu</i>	bone	
<i>wakan</i>	snake (general term)	"something + old, mysterious"
<i>wakanchi</i>	<i>Heloshka</i> society roundhouse	
<i>wakanda</i>	God; Thunder; Supernatural Being or Power	"something + old, mysterious + there"
<i>wakandainye</i>	Little Thunder(god) (Thunder Being)	"Thunder(god) + little"
<i>wakanda oye</i>	god tooth spirit (mastodon tooth)	
<i>wakanda pishkunyi</i>	underwater monster (Piasa)	"god + bad"
<i>wakanda wawa'in</i>	Creator's Four Helpers at the corners of the Earth	
<i>wakan thewe</i>	black snake	
<i>wakan tinje thake</i>	rattlesnake hide sash	"snake + tail (?) + raw"
<i>wakan okenye</i>	snake (type not identified)	"snake + common, real"
<i>wanantu keye</i>	type of roots used in curing wounds	
<i>wanaxi</i>	ghost, spirit	"something + (transparent like) ice"
<i>wanaxi oyu</i>	Ghost Bundle (see <i>mandhe wachansa</i>)	
<i>wangegihi</i>	chief	"man + towards + causes (it)"
<i>wankwashoshe</i>	warrior, brave	"man + brave, courageous"
<i>waluxawe</i>	warbundle	"something + flayed"
<i>waluxawe k'in</i>	warbundle carrier (title of designated warparty member who carries the leader's warbundle)	"warbundle + carry"
<i>waluxi wagle</i>	owl feather amulet	
<i>wanunpin</i>	necklace	
<i>wanutukeye</i>	a plant medicine able to turn hair grey (not translated)	
<i>washi</i>	dance; dance society	
<i>washushke</i>	<i>megis</i> (cowrie shell) used in Otter Dance	
<i>washwehi</i>	doctor	
<i>wathe</i>	(bundle type: meaning uncertain)	
<i>wathe manka watho gleshuje</i>	grey-head herb (namesake of <i>wathe</i> bundle)	" <i>wathe</i> + medicine + to shed hair + very red"
<i>waxluste</i>	buffalo hide rubbing stick foundation (tattooing tool)	
<i>wayanwe</i>	calumet/pipe dance	"they sing (over them)"
<i>wayinye iwi</i>	hawk wing fan	
<i>wekan</i>	sacred story	

<i>wiglexe</i>	tattooing bundle "by which are made + marks, spots, or stripes"
<i>wiki'in inmanka</i>	gambling medicine "by which + gambling + to be + medicine"
<i>wikunt'e</i>	stick which applies pigment "by which is placed + paint"
<i>wokigo</i>	society
<i>xanami</i>	sweetgrass [<u>Savastana odorata</u>]
<i>xga / shka</i>	white
<i>xla hunwe gihe</i>	eagle "chief" feathers
<i>xoblin (waxoblin)</i>	sacred (person or animal) (animate)
<i>xonyitan (waxonyitan)</i>	sacred (object) (inanimate)
<i>xowe</i>	Power; supernatural patron