

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS**  
**OF THE**  
**American Museum of Natural**  
**History.**

**Vol. XI, Part IX.**

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**SOCIETIES OF THE IOWA, KANSA, AND PONCA**  
**INDIANS.**

**BY**  
**ALANSON SKINNER.**

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**NEW YORK:**  
**Published by Order of the Trustees.**  
**1915.**



# American Museum of Natural History.

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## INTRODUCTION.

The Iowa are a small tribe of the Tciwere branch of the Siouan stock, whose closest relations lie with the Winnebago, Missouri, and Oto. Their ethnology has been practically unknown save for the scattered writings of Rev. J. O. Dorsey and Catlin. Historically, they have fared better, the latest volume on the subject being "The Iowa" by William Harvey Miner.

The former habitat of the tribe was principally in the state which now bears its name, but now they occupy two reservations, one, on the Cimarron River, near Perkins in central Oklahoma, the other, on the Kansas-Nebraska border. The data here given were obtained in Oklahoma, mostly from Chief David Towhee and Joe Springer, the latter also serving as interpreter.

There has been some discussion as to the meaning of the name Iowa, but the writer offers the following data on the subject. According to Springer, the proper name for the tribe is "Áiyuwe," a title given by themselves, which means (probably) "marrow." The Oto call them Ba<sup>x</sup>oje, they say, because the Oto are supposed to have first seen them in the winter when their lodges were covered with snow, hence the name, meaning "snow-covered." The Iowa call the Oto "Odo'to" meaning "lechers," on account of their profligacy. The Eastern Dakota call the Iowa, Aiyúhoba.

The Iowa are divided into six exogamous gentes which are still extant, while traditional and historical information add several which are now extinct, making nine or ten in all. Each gens is further divided into four subgentes, each of which is supposed to be descended from one of the four ancestors of the gens. Chieftainship in each subgens was hereditary in the leading family and during the winter the tribal chief was the eldest lineal descendant of the eldest gens ancestor of the bear gens; during the summer the chief was the eldest lineal descendant of the leading buffalo gens ancestor. There was once a time when the tribe was divided into two groups with the bear and buffalo gentes as opposing leaders, but this is obsolete.

In addition to these divisions, there are three important social cleavages which should be noted. The Iowa recognize three social classes: namely, royalty, nobility, and commoners. These groups are made up, first, of the

hereditary chiefs and their families; second, of braves who have "built up their names"<sup>1</sup> and their families; third, the people at large.

These groups tended to be endogamous, it being thought disgraceful for a chief's child not to marry a chief's child. The braves also intermarried among themselves, though it was not thought out of the way for the child of a very prominent brave to marry into the family of an hereditary chief.

In addition, in some societies, notably the ha<sup>n</sup>he waci, or night dance, which belonged to the chiefs, and the kaugera waci, or braves dance, which belonged to the braves, membership was denied to those not socially qualified. In others, less exclusive, the officers were chief's or brave's sons or daughters. The comparative size of these social groups cannot be learned at this late date; presumably the two upper groups were small in number.

These class strata are not entirely peculiar to the Iowa though they seem more highly developed among them than with the other southern Siouan tribes. The Ponca and Osage, and perhaps the Kansa, had something of the sort, though less pronounced. Among the Ponca, the writer was told that there were hereditary chiefs and chiefs whose office was acquired through social and military merit. These latter were privileged to have their daughters tattooed and did so at great expense in a public ceremony. The tattooed women had their own dancing society and special privileges. Among the Iowa the noble women and chiefs' daughters were also tattooed by the gentle tattooing bundle owners, and even though they were little girls, no one was permitted to take liberties with them; no other children might even pull their hair.

The Kansa, according to my information (p. 752) and the Osage<sup>2</sup> also, had customs suggestive of the Iowa social distinctions. It will be remembered that among the Natchez to the south, these castes were carried to a much more elaborate conclusion.<sup>3</sup> Hence it is possible that the Ofo and Quapaw, who must have come in contact with the Osage, but who lived nearer the Natchez and their neighbors, acted as carriers of these relatively unusual features to their northern relatives.

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<sup>1</sup> Braves were those who had obtained the war honors recognized by the tribe, served as soldiers, or police, who had been tattooed, were noted for their generosity, or had received the pipe dance, etc. They were also permitted, like the chiefs, to contract polygynous marriages, to eat with the chiefs at their feasts, and to have their daughters tattooed. They themselves might be braves' sons, or even commoners who had risen through their achievements. As a title was attached to each of these achievements, progression up the scale, or the earning of these titles, was called "building up one's name."

<sup>2</sup> La Flesche, 127-130.

<sup>3</sup> Swanton, 100, *et seq.*



## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

### CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

The civil chiefs of each gens are the eldest male lineal descendants of the four ancestors, the descendant of the eldest brother being paramount in each gens. The offices are hereditary. If a chief dies his eldest living son succeeds, if he has no sons his daughter's son or his niece's son succeeds, never a female relative. If the heir apparent is a child, another chief or notable warrior is chosen as his regent. The war chiefs are those who have charge of the gentile war bundle. The writer 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 look upon the war bundles as individual property.

As the ancestors of the bear and buffalo gentes were supposed to have been the founders of the tribe, these gentes are most important, and the bear gens rules half the year, during fall and winter, as bears like the cold, and the buffalo the rest of the year. That is, the tribal chief during half the year is the eldest lineal descendant of the eldest bear clan ancestor, and during the rest of the year, of the buffalo. This is suggestive of Omaha, Pawnee, and Southwestern customs.

When on the march a leader was chosen each day by the chiefs of the leading gens during that part of the year. This man took charge of the people, saw to it that they were guarded and well cared for during the day, and selected the camping spot at night. When he pitched his lodge no one dared to pass ahead, but all camped behind him in a circle (*watuda*) or semi-circle, if the nature of the land would permit. The camp criers were then ordered to tell the individual bands where to camp, and each band camped with its chief in some part of the circle. I could find no fixed order for this. The tribal chief camped in the center of the circle. If anyone broke away and camped further on than the tent of the leader of the day, he was treated to a soldier killing, in this case a ceremonial whipping by the *waiakida* or soldiers, two of whom were allotted to each chief and lived in his lodge. When all was in order, and night had fallen, the officer of the day invited all the other chiefs of the tribe to his lodge, feasted them, and surrendered his office. They then chose another leader for the next day.

The buffalo gens was supposed to "own the corn" and in the spring no one might break the earth and plant corn until after a ceremonial beginning,

had been made in which the chiefs of the buffalo gens planted a few grains. The buffalo chiefs then gave a feast and announced that the others could start.

#### MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

The military affairs of the tribe were in the hands of the gens war bundle owners and those braves who had made a name for themselves in war. When a young man of importance wished to go to war he called all the war leaders (or war bundle owners) together and they gladly came when they heard that a chief's or brave's son wanted to go on the warpath. The waruhawe or war bundles of the gens were brought in and opened,<sup>1</sup> 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 (dotu<sup>n</sup>pagre), 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 (lexik<sup>x</sup>e), and set the time of departure for eight days later.

Meanwhile, as soon as the meeting broke up, the volunteers informed their families and female relatives that they were going on the warpath. The relatives were proud, and the women prepared many moccasins for the youths to carry and got ready roots, herbs, and medicines, preferably those pertaining to the buffalo, to bring him back safely.

Catlin gives some data on the war ceremony known as the "wolf song." He says:—

"This amusing song, which I have since learned more of, and which I believe to be peculiar to the Ioways, seems to come strictly under the province of the *medicine* or *mystery* man. . . . The occasion that calls for this song in the Ioway country is, when a party of young men who are preparing to start on a war excursion against their enemy (after having fatigued the whole village for several days with the war

<sup>1</sup> This suggests that each gens may have had several bundles, probably one for each subgens.

dance, making their boasts how they are going to slay their enemies, &c.) have retired to rest, at a late hour in the night, to start the next morning, at break of day, on their intended expedition. In the dead of that night, and after the vaunting war party have got into a sound sleep, the serenading party, to sing this song, made up of a number of young fellows who care at that time much less about taking scalps than they do for a little good fun, appear back of the wig-wams of these "*men of war*," and commence serenading them with this curious song, which they have ingeniously taken from the howling of a gang of wolves, and so admirably adapted it to music as to form it into a most amusing duet, quartet, or whatever it may be better termed; and with this song, with its barking and howling chorus, they are sure to annoy the party until they get up, light the fire, get out their tobacco, and other little luxuries they may have prepared for their excursion, which they will smoke and partake with them until daylight, if they last so long, when they will take leave of their morning friends who are for the "death," thanking them for their liberality and kindness in starting, wishing them a good night's sleep (when night comes again) and a successful campaign against their enemies."<sup>1</sup>

*Conduct of a War Party.* Men went to war for various reasons, but chiefly for fame. A father might say to his son. "Go out and die so that I may hear of you till the end of my days. Increase your name. If you are shot in the back and fall on your face I'll be ashamed, but if you are wounded in front and fall on your back, I'll be proud."

For this reason, young men often went to war weaponless, with the intention of being killed. Others bore only whips or light slender sticks, clubs, or spears, but the majority bore bows and arrows, or later, guns. A seer or prophet was taken along to insure success, and warn them of impending triumph or disaster.

No one knew the exact time at which they left, they just disappeared together on the appointed day, some time early in the morning or after dusk, as a rule. The advancing war party sent out three or four men as scouts who always reconnoitered before them. If the scouts saw the track of a foeman or a horse, they returned, singing one of the sacred bundle songs expressly made for the occasion. The leader on hearing it at once recognized its import and ordered his warriors to paint and prepare themselves, for one of the scouts had seen an enemy or a track, or whatever the case may have been. These songs ran: "I see men." Or, "I see a track."

The men now painted and rubbed themselves with the sacred bundle medicine intended to deflect the arrows and weapons of the foe, 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Catlin, (b), vol. 2, 24, footnote.



After this preparation the attack commenced. During the fight, the bundle owner stayed behind and sang and rattled to help his men. All trophies were brought back and given him. He sang about each victor, and at this time gave him a new name if he so desired. He himself took no part in the actual fighting, but got great credit if his party were successful. The special honorary title given a successful partisan was the highest that could be attained.

*Ceremonies on Return of a War Party.* After the fight the party returned. If unsuccessful, they stole noiselessly into the village, covered with shame and confusion, in deep disgrace. If successful, the partisan ordered his band to stop on a hill or knoll some half mile from the village where they were commanded to whoop and fire off their guns to announce the good news.

The relatives of the absent warriors were overjoyed and all poured forth to meet the returning war party and learn what their favorites had done. Each young man rode up to his sister or near female relative and said, "I did so-and-so, and my name is now So-and-so."

The girl scurried back to the village shouting the news that all might hear. 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 nephews, uncles, sisters, brothers, and other relatives of the triumphant braves gave horses and other presents to them to be given away.

The dance continued until the war leader ordered it to cease. After this the oath bundle was brought out to decide contested coups. He then withdrew and went out of the camp where he stayed until he could raise another war party, for most partisans and warriors went out on four warpaths in succession; for to be successful in four warpaths, one after another, was the acme of greatness. When a successful war party returned, a white oak tree about two feet in circumference was cut down, peeled, sharpened, and set up in the ground to make a war post. It was painted red, and on it, in charcoal, were drawn the exploits of the party. The scalps taken were depicted as stretched on netted hoops and suspended from sticks. Dead enemies were shown as headless bodies. The 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.

*Coups and War Honors.* The Iowa warrior strove to obtain as many as possible of a series of graded titles accorded to those who performed certain specified feats of valor, especially since these carried with them desirable social perquisites. Each man tried to be known by as many of these titles as possible, or to have it said by the people that he had earned such a title so many times, such another so many. Of course the primary titles were most sought for. These titles were of three classes, and are, in order of their importance:—

1. Watcle, "successful partisan," the greatest title a man could possibly receive, given only to bundle owners who conducted victorious war parties; a hunt leader (gixrowatogera) who was attacked and whose men fought off the foe was entitled to great honor also.

2. Wabothage, "foe killer," the term applied to a man who actually killed a foe. This is next in rank to the preceding.

3. The following honors are all third rate and all belong to the same group, being of equal value. There is no order of precedence:—

(a) Ucka'o<sup>n</sup>, "coup striker," a term applied to the first two men to strike a foe, living or dead.

(b) Paruthe, "head cutter." Galloping up to the body of a fallen enemy a man would make the motions of cutting off the head or nose, or if he had time he would actually do so. For this he received the title.

(c) A<sup>x</sup>odulte, "scalper" given the man who secured an enemy's scalp. In scalping, the bowstring was tied around the top of the victim's head, a knife cut made under its guidance, and the scalp ripped off.

(d) Na<sup>n</sup>thudilte, "lock taker," awarded to the warrior who succeeded in cutting a lock of hair, other than the scalplock, from a fallen foe.

*A War Custom.* The Iowa braves often ate the heart of an enemy in order to attain the bravery of their fallen foe. Brothers were not allowed to partake of the same heart lest it breed enmity between them. Another custom was to swallow a small turtle alive. If it could be kept down, the warrior would be brave and tenacious of life. This is the same as the Menomini and Omaha custom. Many powerful men had live animals, such as turtles, resident in their bodies and could, it is said, cough them up and show them on occasion.

*The Braves.* Various honors were shown those who had achieved war titles. Every chief was entitled to two body guards who also acted as camp police or soldiers (waiak'ida) and these he chose from among the titled braves. Very brave men had the right to be tattooed on the breast, something which is also true of the Kansa and Osage. Those who were entitled to this honor "had to sit down four days before it was done to them."

If a youth wishes to wear an eagle feather in the dance he repairs to a

waiak'ida or some other brave and gives him a horse or some other rich present with a request to that effect:—"I give you the right to wear an eagle feather and to boast that you did what I did on such and such an occasion."

While the writer believes that few of the above distinctions were confined to the waiak'ida alone, since the latter, after all, were only appointed officers, but to all braves, the following privileges and duties were the especial prerogatives of the soldiers:—

(a) Exemption from vengeance, blood or otherwise, at the hands of those whom they had injured during the performance of their duty.

(b) The privilege of being present even at feasts given by the chiefs. In fact they were always invited to feasts in the chiefs' lodges.

(c) Whipping ungrateful friends from other tribes. A waiak'ida who frequently visited some friend in another tribe, say the Oto, without receiving a horse from his host, waited until the Oto visited him, when he had the culprit taken and bound to a tree. Then he would approach and count one of his coups, striking the captive, who was then released and given a horse by his captor amid the whoops, laughter, and approval of the assembled Iowa. Such a gentle rebuke was thought to be conducive to increased friendship between the tribes.

(d) To walk about the village of an evening wearing the "crow" eagle feather bustle. None but braves were permitted to do this. It advertised their position in society.

The following were the recognized duties of the waiak'ida:—

(a) As camp police and protectors the waiak'ida prevented quarrels, and guarded the camp from the attacks of the enemy.

(b) Keeping men in line when charging the foe that none might break away and attack alone.

(c) Keeping men in line when surrounding and charging the buffalo herd until the chief orders the attack.

(d) Preventing people from camping ahead of the tent of the officer of the day when on the move, and assigning the individuals of their band their camping spot.

(e) Keeping order during ceremonies. Children were forbidden to ride on horseback during the dance of the buffalo shamans, for example, lest the shamans should shoot them with magic arrows. The soldiers had to restrain the children.

(f) Inflicting punishment. This was the well known flogging or "soldier killing" of the Plains without the common accompaniment of the destruction of property. It was dealt out in two ways: an offender might be flogged on the spot, without ceremony, or, if he resisted, or afterwards complained,



he might be visited by all the waiak'ida, captured, brought to some lodge or public place, stripped, and bound. Then each waiak'ida would step up and count his coups, saying: "At such a place and time I hit a man who looked just like this one." Then he struck the victim.

As an example of "soldier killing" the following incident was related:— A white man who was married into the Iowa tribe thought that he could over-ride the authority of the soldiers, so when the leader of the day pitched his tent, the squaw man tried to go on ahead to a tempting clump of trees. He had not gone far before he was stopped by the chief's two waiak'ida who rained blows on his horses' heads with their quirts until he was obliged to turn back. The squaw man was very angry and publicly declared his contempt for the soldiers who, in due course, heard of his threats and repaired in a body to his lodge. When he saw them coming he tried to beg off, claiming that he had only spoken in fun, but his excuses were unavailing and he was severely thrashed.

The waiak'ida were also scouts, and it was one of their duties to observe the approach of enemies and report it to the heralds, who announced the approach of danger to the village. The waiak'ida then kept the warriors in line and prevented a premature charge, just as was done on the buffalo hunt. Each band chief had two waiak'ida allotted to him as assistants. Each chief had his own lodge in which the soldiers dwelt with him.

### CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

The dances and societies of the Iowa may be divided into four groups: namely, war dances, social dances, animal and mystery dances including the medicine dance, and modern religious dances.

The first group is made up of unorganized dances performed, as the name implies, always in connection with war. It includes the ceremonies connected with the ritual of the gens war bundles, the war, discovery, victory, and scalp dances. Only the last dance was participated in by women, and was held around a painted post upon which the exploits of the victorious war party were depicted. This resembles the painted war posts of the Iroquois and others much farther east.

The second group of dances is composed of social and military ceremonies of the true Plains type performed for the most part by organized societies with definite officers. These societies were purely social, or military, and essentially non-religious. They took part in all public celebrations and state occasions, befriended the poor or infirm, and condoled with those in mourning.

These societies usually sprang from a dream of the founder, although some are obviously not native to the tribe, even though so considered by the Iowa. The officers were appointed and instructed by the founder, who acted as leader, and on his death the officer best acquainted with the ritual took his place. The societies seem not to have been graded, admission was free and depended merely upon the candidate agreeing to observe certain requisite conditions as to dress, actions, etc. There was no age limit, but those socially ineligible might be debarred. A person might belong to as many societies at one time as he could afford, or as would admit him.

Some of the societies "belonged to the braves, or the chiefs," that is, membership was limited to the royalty or nobility. In others, the officers or chorus had to be the sons or daughters of chiefs or nobles. Each society owned a certain ritual of speech, song, and dance, and its own costume, paraphernalia, and painting.

Rivalry was keen between the military societies, and each tried to be represented on every warpath. Coups counted by members increased the society's prestige, and the organization was allowed to boast of them. Hence, each society courted the membership of braves, and tried to outdo all others. The rival associations *par excellence* were the tukala and mawātani, who, while also posing as rivals among the Ponca, curiously enough do not seem to bear this opposing relationship among the Dakota, where the tukala presumably originated. On the contrary, the Iowa societies are more like the Foxes and Lumpwoods of the Crow. The fact that the society which corresponds with the lumpwoods is called mawātani, which is Dakota for Mandan, is significant. However, the Iowa (and Ponca) custom of members of one society stealing wives from the other, finds no parallel among the Mandan-Hidatsa, or the Sioux, who borrowed the associations directly from the Mandan, though the usage is a prominent feature among the Crow.

The next group is that of the animal or mystery dances, including the medicine dance. This series of dances is made up of strictly religious and ritualistic performances built up around sacred bundles (except in the case of the medicine dance) and is of the Central Algonkin type. Indeed, most of these ceremonies are 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.

Most of the minor ceremonies consist of the repetition of rituals in song, chant, or speeches, based on dream revelations made to an ancient founder, a feast, the ceremonial production or opening of the bundle, and mimetic

dances, in which the performers were disguised as the animals which gave their power to the society. Some of these bundle societies, all of which were at least semi-secret, had to do with war, and the line of demarkation between the war and the mystery dances is therefore not always as sharp as we have made it in this paper. Other societies had as their object the cure of the sick and wounded through the aid of their animal patrons invoked by the members as shamans. 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 a high price.

The medicine dance stands alone as the ancient religious society of the Iowa, *par excellence*. It resembled the other societies of this group in that it was a secret order of shamans, to which admission was gained by purchase, but differed in that it had fixed officers, a lengthy ritual which had to be learned verbatim, an elaborate initiation, and a code of morality.

As practised by the Iowa the medicine dance resembled the Dakota-Winnebago ceremony rather than that of the Central Algonkin. It lacked progressive degrees, was not founded upon a myth dealing with the culture hero, and the members were divided into four bands with their respective leaders. As among the Algonkin, admission could be secured purely through purchase, or (also by purchase in a lesser degree) in the place of a deceased member. It likewise possessed an identical lodge building and paraphernalia with the Algonkin, and the so-called "shooting" ceremony is, of course, the same as that found wherever the society occurs, even in the aberrant Omaha and Ponca types. As among the other Siouan, the society is obviously borrowed from the Algonkin and even some of the songs are still sung in an Algonkin dialect unintelligible to them. This dance will be treated in a later publication.

The last group, the religious dances and societies of modern origin, comprises the ghost dance religion and the peyote. All are tinctured with Christianity, and all have ancient conservative features. The story of their introduction is doubtless parallel with that of the introduction of the ancient dances, but, as their advent is more recent, the whole story is available. It seems that the social and religious history of all the Woodland and Central Siouan tribes, since record has been kept of them by the whites, has been one of revival, change, and innovation and doubtless the same conditions obtained ages before European advent.

The peyote cult has caused all those ancient practices of the Iowa, which were still in vogue at its introduction to be cast aside, and if, as bids fair to be the case, now that the Iowa are no longer numerous and their culture virile, it persists a few generations, the whole of Iowa culture as such will be obliterated, and a more profound change made than any other influence

has ever effected. This cult, founded on a mixture of biblical and pagan teachings, with a new and semi-christian code of morality, combined with a curious ceremony in which the peyote plant is eaten for its supposedly narcotic effects, is frowned upon both by the Government and missionaries as a peculiar form of the drug habit. It does, however, seem to destroy the desire of the user to drink alcoholic liquors or to use tobacco, and, as it does not appear to leave any evil effects after taking, is not an unmixed evil.

J. O. Dorsey refers to a dance now obsolete which does not fit in any of our categories.<sup>1</sup> This was the introduced green corn dance. He says:—"This dance did not originate with the Iowa: It is said that the Sac tribe obtained it from the Shawnee. It is held after night. Men and women dance together, and if any women or men wish to leave their consorts they do it at this dance and mate anew, nothing being urged against it."

## SOCIETIES AND SOCIAL DANCES.

### THE HELOCKA SOCIETY.

This society, the Iowa claim, was founded by themselves and introduced elsewhere among other tribes, including the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The ceremonies of the society are held either outdoors or inside a round wooden house with a conical roof. This house is called wa<sup>n</sup>kotci, an antique word the meaning of which is now forgotten, or by the more modern term hel'ocka watcitci. The society is composed of the following officers and an indefinite number of members:—

1 leader or "song starter" who owns the dance called hel'ocka dotu<sup>n</sup>a.

4 rulers or heads (hel'ugra) chosen by the leader.

4 female singers (ni'awalajê) chosen by the hel'ugra. Chiefs' daughters are always chosen for these positions.

4 male singers (o<sup>x</sup>!ke) chosen by the female singers.

4 female singers (ni'awalajê) chosen by the preceding.

2 waiters (wa'ruta<sup>n</sup>).

x members.

There are no whip bearers, as among the Kansa and Osage, where the Iowa have seen them. The positions the members assume in the dance lodge are shown in the accompanying diagram, Fig. 1. The dance leader and waiters have no fixed positions, but move about.

When the leader or owner of the dance wishes to call a ceremony he

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Dorsey, (a), 429.

gathers the society and thus addresses them:—"Collect game and other good food and cook it, for we are about to give a hel'ocka dance to the tribe. Bring lots of food and we'll dance. Paint, and you warriors put on your deer hair roaches, perfume yourselves and bring your little flutes or whistles. Carry your war clubs."

The members then begin to prepare. 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

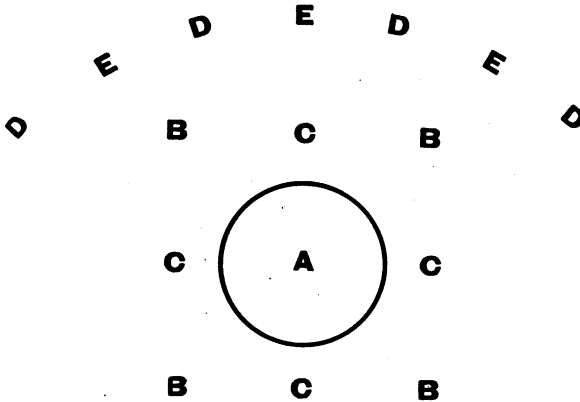


Fig. 1. Diagram of the Helocka Dance. A, drum; B, leaders at ceremonial points of compass; C, male singers chosen by female singers; D, female singers; E, female singers chosen by male singers.

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."

Before the indoor ceremony, when all were ready, they often went the rounds of the village, dancing before every camp; this was especially prevalent in the evening. When they did this the lodge owners were in honor bound to come out and make presents which the dancers divided among themselves. After this open air performance they went to the hel'ocka lodge and danced there.

Catlin gives the following notes on what he calls the war dance, or Eh-Ros-Ka, which is probably the helocka. Its connection with war is not now so pronounced as in Catlin's time, and several features may always have had counterparts in the real Iowa war dance:—

"The War Dance, which is one of the most exciting and spirited modes of the American Indians, is danced by the warriors before starting on a war excursion, and as often after they have returned, making their boasts how they are going to slay their enemies in battle, or how they have met them and taken their scalps, to be carried through the dance by their women and children, &c. &c. It is a long and tiresome dance if given entire, and is divided into the number of parts named and described below.

### EH-ROS-KA,

#### The Warrior's Dance.

This exciting part of the war dance is generally given after a party have returned from war, as a boast, and oftentimes when not at war, is given as an amusement merely.

The song in this dance seems to be addressed to the body of an enemy, from its name, Eh-Ros-ka, meaning the body, the tribe, or war party, rather than an individual, although the beginning of the song is addressed to an individual chief or warrior of the enemies party, thus:

O-ta-pa!

Why run you from us when you

Are the most powerful?

But it was not you,

O-ta-pa!

It was your body that run,

It was your body, O-ta-pa!

It was your body that run.

### (WA-SISSICA) THE WAR SONG

is sung for the last part of this dance, and the movement in the dance is quickened, beginning with — the ejaculation —

How-a! How-a!

O-ta-pa!

I am proud of being at home!

I am proud, O-ta-pa! I am proud

I am at home — my enemy run

I am proud, I am proud, O-ta-pa!

Such is near the interpretation of this song — and, like this, the various parts of the war dance are accompanied with boasts and threats upon an enemy to whom the songs are usually addressed."<sup>1</sup>

"The Approaching dance is a spirited part of the *War Dance*, in which the dancers are by their gestures exhibiting the mode of advancing upon an enemy, by hunting out and following up the track, discovering the enemy, and preparing for the attack, &c., and the song for this dance runs thus: —

<sup>1</sup> Catlin, (c), 18-20.

O-ta-pa!

I am creeping on your track,  
Keep on your guard, O-ta-pa!  
Or I will hop on your back,  
I will hop on you, I will hop on you.

Stand back, my friends, I see them;  
The enemies are here, I see them!  
They are in a good place,  
Don't move, I see them!<sup>1</sup>  
&c.      &c.      &c.

When a prominent man, say a chief or a brave, lost a child the hel'ocka members often went over to "help him mourn." They would weep, slash themselves, and let the blood drip on the ground, run skewers through their flesh, and sing wailing songs. One song, referring to the daughter of a chief was:—"If I had power to stand her up, I'd stand her up." They would give presents to the mourners, perhaps as many as fifteen or twenty horses. They also made presents to the very poor. Therefore, the hel'ocka was considered a helpful as well as a social society.

#### TUKALA SOCIETY.

The túkala<sup>2</sup> and máwatani societies were famous as rival organizations and flourished up to within the memory of Towhee and Springer. The last survivor of either, a mawatani, died about 1906. In war, the societies strove their hardest to outdo each other in bravery and sometimes rival war parties made up entirely of members of the societies, went out. They vied with each other as to who could give the most brilliant social functions, and members of either society tried to steal the wives of members of the other, although this was not sanctioned by the officers. They chose opposite styles of dress, paint, and regalia, and played against each other in games.

The officers of the tukala society were:—

- 2 leaders (dotohú<sup>3</sup>)
- 4 drum chiefs (real chiefs of subgentes)
- 4 assistants (idúgerú)
- 4 women singers (canwalätcê)
- 4 "tails" (th'injerugerú)
- 2 waiters (warutan) (chiefs' sons were always chosen)
- 100 (?) members

<sup>1</sup> Catlin, (c), 23, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the name is not known, but Dave Towhee suggested "coyote," though he afterwards retracted the suggestion. The origin of both the tukala and mawatani is so ancient that no one remembers what it was.

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. When they went to war they might never flee but were obliged to fight to the death. If they dropped anything they had to hire a brave to pick it up for them, and if they were thrown from their horses or fell, they had to wait until some one, preferably a brave, raised them. For this assistance they gave a large reward, generally a horse.

As illustrating this obligation it is told of a túkala man named Ta<sup>n</sup>ak-wûn<sup>a</sup> (Wants-to-be-chief) that he was thrown from his horse and lay in the road for hours. As no one came, he at last got up, and gave his horse to the first person he met, an old squaw, to whom he told the story of his mishap.

Anyone could join the túkala who was willing to live up to the obligations; initiation was free and consisted merely in adopting the characteristic hair cut and regalia and joining the dances. Any person might go to a company of assembled túkala and offer them a tied package of tobacco. This could not be opened until some one gave him a horse. When it was opened he was taken in as a guest and all members present showered him with gifts.

The túkala had the privilege, which seems peculiar to them and not to the máwatani, of causing persons to cease mourning. When a prominent Iowa lost a member of his family, it was customary for the various organizations to cease their functions for the time being. After a few days the túkala might hold a council and decide to put a stop to the general gloom pervading the camp. They prepared a feast and sent for the mourner whom they caused to be led into their midst. Then one of the leaders would say to him: "We want to dance. It is true we stopped out of respect to you, but now we've let you have so many days, and we should like to begin again. May we begin?" If the mourner said, "Yes," and he invariably did, the túkala leader went on. "Well, we won't do it right away, we are going to make it right with you first." Then they would give him many presents to make all well with him again.

Túkala endeavored to steal the wives of máwatani whenever they could though their leaders inveighed against the practice. If the woman stolen by a túkala (or by a máwatani from a túkala) was the wife of a very prominent and popular man, the braves (waiak'ida) might go directly over and take her away from her abductor and restore her to her husband, who himself appears to have pretended to be unmoved by the loss. The braves



also made him gifts to overlook the theft. The thief durst not keep her for fear of the vengeance of the soldiers who might beat or even kill him if he resisted. Ordinarily, however, it was the part of the thief's parents to make good the loss of the bereaved husband by presents.

In playing lacrosse *túkala* and *máwatani* often opposed each other. Ordinarily in the lacrosse game the sticks of all the players were shuffled and a blindfolded man picked out two at a time and laid them in separate heaps until two equal sides were chosen and the ball stick pile exhausted, but if the two societies were present he might then say: "You *túkala*, take such a side, and you *máwatani*, the other." So they took sides with the players as societies, and never as individuals.

#### MAWATANI SOCIETY.

The *máwatani* society had the same number of officials and members as the *túkala*, and their titles were the same, except that in each case the name of the society was prefixed to the name of the office, as *máwatani* *didúgerû* or *túkala* *didúgerû*.

2 leaders	4 women singers
4 drum chiefs	2 waiters
4 assistants	100 (?) members
4 tails	

Like the *túkala*, the *máwatani* had their special drum, but 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 otter-skin 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 *túkala*.

The leaders were accustomed to announce that at such a time they would give a feast in honor of their drum chiefs. (In both the *mawatani* and *tukala* societies the drum chiefs were also the chiefs of subgentes, outside of the organization their prestige in the society was supposed to lend prestige and make for order.) Everyone would then prepare the best of food. When the dance came off every member had a song which he sang if called on and when he did so he had to give a big present. There were other songs,

however, which imposed no such duty on the singer. Between songs the drum chiefs preached to the society on morality and right conduct.

Towards the end of the ceremony the assistants, who had been running it, turned it over to the "tails," who would announce how much longer the performance was to last. They then sang an eating song and waiters served the food. Before the members could commence, a brave was called upon to tell them to do so, and they were obliged to finish every crumb of their portions, or else find someone else to eat it for them, and pay a fine of a deer, some pumpkins, or some other eatable at the next dance. All these things, including this type of ceremony, were also found among the *túkala*.

In April, they challenged the *túkala* at lacrosse, and after the game season, as April is generally referred to by the Iowa, they were apt to go on the warpath. They too had the no-flight obligation, and the obligation never to pick up dropped articles or themselves. Whenever they got up a feast, or indeed attempted anything, the *túkala* would strive to outdo them at the same time, and they followed the movements of the *túkala* with the same end in view. The chiefs are said to have gotten up these societies, but no one now knows why or how.

#### BRAVES DANCE.

The function of this society (*kafugera waci*) seems to have been that of publicly entertaining other tribes when they came to visit, and the like. These people had their special drum and peace pipe and the following officers:—

- 1 leader (who bore a straight feathered lance or staff)
- 4 assistants (braves' sons)
- 2 women singers (braves' daughters)

They had a feast of venison at stated intervals, and performed a peculiar dance by hopping around. When another tribe came to visit the Iowa they would get out their peace pipe and all would dress and paint and men and women, would mount their spotted or race horses and ride out in full regalia, first around the visitors, then around their own people, performing a sort of welcoming dance on horseback. They had their own songs, peculiar to them. The society has long been obsolete.

Catlin speaks of a welcome dance and song, which may have been this dance. He says:—

This peculiar dance is given to a stranger, or strangers, whom they are decided to welcome in their village; and out of respect to the person or persons to whom they

are expressing this welcome, the musicians and all the spectators rise upon their feet while it is being danced.

The song is at first a lament for some friend, or friends, who are dead or gone away, and ends in a gay and lively and cheerful step, whilst they are announcing that the friend to whom they are addressing it is received into the place which has been left.<sup>1</sup>

#### ACTING DEAD DANCE.

This society (teé!u<sup>n</sup>waci) was founded by a man who blackened his face and fasted to obtain power in the usual way. The white wolf took pity on him, and appearing in a dream spoke as follows:<sup>2</sup> — “I have interest in the Powers Above. I have pity on you people, for I am myself a sort of wa-kanda, and I shall help you.”

The wolf then proceeded to give him the ritual of the society. When the founder had learned it he proceeded to call together his friends and impart the news to them. He selected officers as follows:—

- 1 leader (originally founder)
- 2 pigeon feather bonnet wearers
- 2 crooked staff bearers
- 4 servants or waiters
- x members

The founder commanded all those who desired to be members to let their hair grow till it fell to their waists. It will be remembered that the shaved head with the standing roach was the typical Iowa hair dressing, and this was the only requirement for admission. “It was a long hair lodge,” said Dave Towhee, my informant. Each member was further ordered to furnish himself with a buffalo rawhide rattle, gourd rattles being taboo. The crooked staves were hung with feathers, and were called ugrepactuce.

The dance itself was not unlike the *helócka*. It was led by the crooked staff bearers and the pigeon headdress wearers dancing two and two. All had their hair flowing and were naked. The dancers, howling like wolves would go about from house to house throughout the village and dance before the lodges. If the four leaders entered anywhere, the others followed.

This society which is now long extinct, is reputed to have had the greatest number of brave members of any Iowa organization. On one occasion two famous chiefs Gá'íkê Wacace (Osage-chief) and Notcinínga (No-heart) both members, were on the warpath. Osage-chief killed the first enemy

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<sup>1</sup> Catlin, (b), vol. 2, 31, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> This is a typical wolf dream speech, the wording is nearly identical for other societies who were befriended by the wolf.

and No-heart counted the next coup both securing the great honors for the society. It is said further that these two men used to dress every evening in their best clothes with otter fur garters and head bands and circle the village. No one ever knew why, but it was surmised to be some medicine rite, presumably a prayer, connected with the society.

#### FIRE DANCE.

This is another long obsolete ceremony (petcuduthe utakohi). The founder was called Pabr<sup>x</sup>édethe (Good-smeller, or Trailer) and he obtained the rites in a vision, apparently of an eagle, and a wolf who gave him the leaf of a certain tree as his medicine. A buffalo also had something to do with the revelation, because after Good-smeller founded the association his name was changed to Tcéuwarupi, or Easily-makes-himself-buffalo, because he had that power. The society was nicknamed the "children's lodge" because so many young people joined. The dance is said to have resembled the helócka in part. The officers were:—

- 1 leader (originally the founder)
- 4 assistant leaders
- 4 waiters
- x members

The assistant leaders and waiters were chosen by the leader. Prior to the dance all the members took a ceremonial sweat to purify themselves, and a herald was sent out to announce in his loud rapid monotonous sing-song:—"The coal grabbers<sup>1</sup> will dance now. All you women cook food and have it ready and very hot."

All the dancers having sweated they retired to the leader's lodge, whence he appeared and howled like a wolf; on his fourth appearance all the society followed him and they sang and danced in front of their tipi. The first song referred to wakanda and his goodness to the people. The second was:—"Hohomani a ye a ye. (The man said an eagle told me to do this, that's why I do it.)" The third and fourth songs referred to other donors of the society's powers. The leader yelled "He! he! he! he!" and danced while his followers sang. A sacrifice of native tobacco was made with each song.

Meanwhile the women in the various lodges cooked bear, deer, or dog meat and made it as hot as possible to see whether or not the dancers really dared to take it. The society proceeded from tipi to tipi and the members

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<sup>1</sup> Another nickname for the society.

danced up to the kettles and plunged their naked arms into the boiling broth and drew forth collops of meat which they handed the spectators. The food was so hot that uninitiates could not take it even then, but often dropped it, whereas the society members were hardly troubled, the only effect noticed being a slight reddening of their arms. After this performance the members danced back to their own tipi or wigwam and the rite was over.

#### BONE DANCE.

This was a very ancient dance (*wa<sup>x</sup>úragê waci*), long antedating the *túkala* and *máwatani*. It has long been obsolete and its origin is lost. The officers of the society were:—

- 1 leader
- 4 braves
- 2 waiters

No women were in its ranks. The members were recruited entirely from among the braves, and wore skunkskin garters outside their leggings below the knee to show who they were and as badges of the society. During dances the members carried and used rattles made of deer or buffalo shoulder blades cut into sections. They had their own special society songs, of course. The function of the society was purely social; the dances had no significance save for pleasure. When the Iowa went to visit some friendly tribe, the *wa<sup>x</sup>úragê* often danced before the strangers. The regular dancers wore feathers on their heads, stripped to the clout, and blackened the body all over. They daubed themselves with white spots to represent crow dung, and tied a bunch of hair over the forehead with a string made of otter fur, and through this forelock they thrust feathers. They stuck jay feathers in their earring holes. The leader blackened his face and drew a red line across it through his eyes. He wore whole dried jay birds in his ears, and a necklace of painted dogwood shavings.

#### BOUNCING DANCE.

This dance (*agahâ waci*) was started by a man who came upon a coyote performing it, and received the ritual from him. It was a foggy, showery day, and the coyote found a fine fat buffalo which had died. He gorged himself on fat meat until he felt so good that he began to dance and sing. When he looked up and saw the founder of the society watching him, he cried, "Oh, you think you've caught me at this, but I intended it for you

all along, it is for your own good." So he taught the eavesdropper. The peculiar actions of the dancers were in imitation of the dancing of the happy coyote.

This dance "belonged to the braves," and only brave men were allowed in it. There were from four to seven leaders. All sat in a row and acted in unison with each other, causing a rhythmic effect. The dance consisted in the repetition of eight songs with their accompanying maneuvers. During the first song the dancers remained seated, but shook their heads. During the second they shook their heads and bodies, during the third they partially arose and repeatedly pretended they were going to get up, during the fourth they actually rose and during the next four songs they danced.

At the conclusion of the eighth song the bravest man present was the last to sit down. As he did so he postured with his war club and grunted, "e<sup>x</sup> e<sup>x</sup>! e<sup>x</sup>! e<sup>x</sup>!" etc.

Sometimes when other tribes were visiting the Iowa they were challenged to compete with the horses in this dance and judges were chosen to see who did better.

#### NIGHT DANCE.

This dance (ha<sup>n</sup>he waci) the Iowa say was undoubtedly founded on a dream. It belonged to the chiefs, and so is often called the chiefs' dance. Each chief had the songs. In the spring they would get together and announce that they would hold this ceremony in praise of wakanda to bring long life and health to the tribe and themselves. They would then order the young men to go out and hunt for deer, buffalo, elk, bear, and turkey, and the hunter who brought in the first deer was given a prize.

The giver of the feast of that year sent out invitation sticks (slender twigs about six inches long) to the other chiefs, who had to bring them back as their tickets of admission. Women also danced in this ceremony.

When all was ready a flag was raised as a signal. Then the giver caused his drummers, of whom each chief had several assigned to him, to beat their drums while he sang. Then the drum was passed to the next chief, and so on, until all had done their part. The dance usually lasted all night long. It began in the evening because every chief of every subgens had to take part. In the morning a feast was made of the game provided, but first the viands were offered to the wakanda (or "manitou") who dwells in the east, with a prayer for health and long life.

This ceremony was given every spring by a different chief. It is said that the dancers all turned to look at the giver while they performed.

## LEADERS PIPE DANCE.

This dance (hí<sup>x</sup>rāni waci) perhaps derives its name from the fact that the leader carried a pipe while dancing. It originated through a dream of the sun; the owner is also a war bundle owner, and carries the bundle during the ceremony. The dance was held in the spring when everything begins to turn green, at this time the host notified all the chiefs, and they agreed to come and help him out with donations. 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. Two chiefs were then selected for leaders, and with them two women who had been tattooed.<sup>1</sup>

A double row of dancers, two men, then two women, and so on, alternating, was started off to a song. After the conclusion of the dancing, a feast was made on "chiefs food." After this the paraphernalia were packed away, and it was announced that the dance would be repeated the following year at the same season.

## CONDOLENCE DANCE.

According to the seers who have fasted and dreamed and know, the souls of the departed go to a splendid village in the western heavens, beyond a river. When anyone dies who is at all important, a death feast (wawacihi) is held and a four days' and nights' wake is held over the body which is dressed and painted and carefully laid out. If outsiders see that the relatives take their loss very hard, they procure a drum and come to the place to hold a mourning dance.

They begin by lacerating themselves; running long withes of peeled and scraped dogwood, with bunches of shavings left on, through the flesh. These withes are about the thickness of a ten penny nail, and when dappled with blood, and with drops of it on the white shavings, they are supposed to look beautiful. They are thrust through the flesh of the forearm.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Persons of affluence and distinction paid large sums to owners of the gens tattooing bundles to tattoo their daughters who thus were permanently marked as among the social élite. Even as children no liberties could be taken with them, and other children dared not pull their hair. They were always persons of distinction and consideration thereafter. The Ponca tattooed women had their own dance and certain special privileges.

<sup>2</sup> Joe Springer, my interpreter, showed me that his arms were mottled with scars received in this way.

Others merely gash themselves and let the blood drip on the ground. Others again thrust skewers through the skin and flesh of their backs and drag horses' heads attached to these pegs up to the funeral, where they sing some of the same songs used in the *helócka* mourning observances, addressing themselves to the corpse or the mourners:— "Chief, if I could stand you up, I'd stand you up."

The survivors then come out, take the skewers from their backs and lead away the horses as condolence gifts. They attempt to return these gifts many times, but the donors persist in refusing until the mourners accept them.<sup>1</sup> At last the chief mourner asks the condolers to dance over the dead. They withdraw to think it over and pick out four braves to be leaders. They then come back and begin.

The four braves sit at the cardinal points and the mourner squats between them with a drum and two or three singers. He commences and sings the first song. He then gives the drumstick to one of the braves who mounts, circles the group on horseback, dismounts, dances, and reënacts one of his coups. Then another song is sung and the performance is repeated.

The object of this is to secure the direct passage of the soul of the deceased to heaven, and this is obviously connected with the *Ménomini* and other Central Algonkin practices where four braves, after counting their coups appoint the spirits of those they have slain to guide the ghost of the dead man to its destination.

#### CALUMET OR PIPE DANCE.

The *waio<sup>n</sup>ewaci* is one of, if not the most elaborate of all Iowa dances or ceremonies except perhaps the medicine dance. The symbolism is most thoroughly worked out and remarkable, though this is true of most of the neighboring tribes where the ceremony is found. The Iowa, as usual, claim to have originated the ceremony, but it is a form of the well-known and very widely disseminated calumet dance, found in some form among the Omaha, Pawnee, Oto, Kansa, Osage, Plains-Cree, and probably other tribes, some far to the east.

The founder of the *waio<sup>n</sup>ewaci* 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

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<sup>1</sup> These donations, and the arm-cutting performances, etc., all count towards social prestige, and may be boasted of. Sometimes some brave man will offer a horse to the person who can boast that he has slashed himself at more condolence ceremonies than anyone else. Horse giving in any form now takes the place of war coups.



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.<sup>1</sup> Then he caught a dark eagle and made a fan pendant for the other wand. Then he caught two ducks, 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°. 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 two gourd rattles.

The use of the pipe wands is this. 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 he 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 may use them and thus have more power. The pipe bearer agrees also to accompany him on his mission.

They set out as though they were going to war. Four scouts or assistants are chosen to be waiters and to spy out the country ahead of them.

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<sup>1</sup> By the way, both the pipe wands used by the Iowa are regarded as males whereas among the Kansa they are considered male and female.

The leader himself acts as pipe filler for the smoking pipes that are also carried. All those who are invited to go prepare presents, such as blankets, leggings, garments, etc. to be carried to the other tribe. Many who do not go also invest, for each donor of a gift expects to receive a horse in return for it.

The party then sets out and on the way, at the various nightly camps, the men practise the pipe dance that the two best may be chosen to dance before the strange tribe. In the morning, before the delegation arrives, they encamp about a mile or a half mile from the other tribe, and the leader selects two men to carry the tobacco bladder to the others to see whether or not he and his party will be received. He first opens and medicates the tobacco, then gives it to his couriers, and sends them off on horseback, or as they did before they had horses, on foot. The party then awaits their return.

On receipt of the tobacco the other tribesman to whom it is sent tells the messengers where their party may camp and sends them back. From this point on, the recipient becomes the adopted son of the donor of the wands and all his tribe address the donor's people as fathers and mothers.

As the donors approach and the people come out to greet them, the two wand bearers dismount and begin a beautiful graceful dance waving the feathered wands through the air before them, and sing. "We bring health, power, and prosperity to our new son, he shall live to be white-headed and to carry a cane."

The dancers halt four times on their way to the village, and each time their party halts behind them. They all go to the recipient's lodge, where the forked stick is set up with the wands and a servant detailed to watch them and from this time on, until the wands are hung up in the recipient's lodge, they are never left alone. There is a special ceremonial song for the setting up of the stick.

The recipient now says to the dancer, "Father, cook something, I want to gather my friends." The donor then causes a beef or other meat to be cooked and carried to the recipient's lodge where he asks for a blanket to spread the feast upon. The recipient's friends now gather to the banquet and talk over the reception of the dance, whether to accept the wands or not. One remarks: "Here is the bladder of tobacco they sent us. If we even untie it to look at it, it will cost us a horse." Then someone volunteers, and so on, until four have promised horses after which the pouch is opened. "Our father will now have to cook for four days," they say, meaning that the donors will have to feast the recipient's friends for four days, while the ceremony lasts.

The next day the pipe dance is given and at the end of the session on the last day, before the pipe wands with all their powers, songs, and rites

are finally hung up in the recipient's lodge, he takes his favorite child, for whom he wishes a long and prosperous life, dresses it, paints it, and prepares it for adoption. The donor's party learns which child is to be given and four braves are sent over for it, at about ten o'clock in the morning. They rush into the recipient's tent and count their coups, then seize the child and take it on their backs to the donor's camp, where they redress it and paint it, and dance back with it, bearing the wands.

The recipient's people, although they have been giving horses all along, still ride up to the dancers, dismount and give away their horses. Last of all the recipient gives the finest horse in his power to the donor, and the child is returned to him. The paint is wiped from its face with a paw of the wildcat skin; eagle down, representing fair weather is tied on its head, and the donor tells the assembled crowd the story of the origin of the dance. He concludes by saying:—"I must now think more of this child that has been given me than of my own children who drew life from my body, even than my own son."

He must now never fail to make the child presents, such as horses, whenever he meets it in the future. The packet of gifts brought over by the donors from their tribesmen is now opened, and every horse giver receives a gift, and they depart. The ceremony is repeated for four successive years.

Catlin says of the calumet dance:—

The Calumet, or *Pipe of Peace* Dance, is given at the conclusion of a treaty of peace, after smoking through its sacred stem, by the dancers holding the calumet in the left hand, and a *sheshequoi*, or rattle, in the other.

The calumet is a sacred pipe, and its stem is ornamented with *war eagle's* quills.

This dance is also often given in compliment to a warrior or brave, and is looked upon as the highest compliment they can pay to his courage and bravery, and on such occasions it is expected he will make some handsome presents. By this dance also they initiate friends into the relationship of brothers or sisters, by adoption.

To commence this dance the pipes and rattles are handed to the dancers by the greatest warrior present, who makes his boast as he gives them, and the one on whom the honour is conferred has the right to boast of it all his life.<sup>1</sup>

## ANIMAL AND MYSTERY DANCES.

### BUFFALO DANCE.

Two varieties of the buffalo dance <sup>2</sup> (tce! waci) exist. One works through the power of the buffalo alone, another has assistance from the

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<sup>1</sup> Catlin, (c), 21.

<sup>2</sup> Under the appropriate title of "Buffalo Dancing Society," J. O. Dorsey (a,429) gives a brief note on this organization.

bear also. The man who founded the original dance was named Ista<sup>n'</sup>ma<sup>n'</sup>yi, 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 back fat to grease yourself and the wounds of your patients.<sup>1</sup> 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 tce!hówe, 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 bundle 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.<sup>2</sup>

The society had a number of leaders, six or seven, all of whom possessed sacred buffalo bundles. When anyone wished to be a member he approached a leader and asked to join his following or division of the society. The candidate was obliged to wait until the leader had called his colleagues together, feasted them, and learned their opinion on the matter. If they approved the candidate he was told that his application had been successful, and it devolved upon him to give a feast to the society every July for four successive years when they danced, at the end of which time he was formally taken in.

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<sup>1</sup> There are supposed to be pieces of dried buffalo meat and fat in the bundles (Tce! warúhawe) of the buffalo society to this day.

<sup>2</sup> The Menomini and other Central tribes insist that clay is the "buffalo's paint" and no other kind should be used by buffalo shamans or dreamers.

When an initiation was at hand the candidate handed each of the band leaders of the society a bundle of invitation sticks which they sent out to their followers by a messenger. When the guests, or rather the members, received these invitations, they repaired to the lodge of their leader, returning the little sticks to him as their credentials, and proceeded to paint and prepare. Women had their distinctive style of painting, and so did the men. If a member of either sex desired to paint in the style of the other, he or she sent a present, generally a blanket, to the band leader with a request to be permitted to change. When the band was ready, they set out in single file, led by their chief, for the lodge of the head of the society where the initiation was to be held.

When they approached the dance lodge, the head of the society was seen sitting in the doorway, and as they drew near he bellowed in imitation of a buffalo bull, while the band leader replied in kind. Each band as it came up entered the lodge, circled it four times, the leader calling all present by terms of relationship and thanking them, and took its allotted place and was seated. When all the bands had arrived, the head of the society rose and said. "All of you who so desired are present so I'll drum and sing."<sup>1</sup>

While the head was singing, the leader who was first to enter, got up, and ran around the lodge imitating a buffalo until all the others rose and fell to dancing. When the first song was over there was a pause, then the drum went to the first band leader, the one who had just imitated a buffalo, who now sang his song, while the band leader next to him performed, and so on until all had had a turn. The drum was then placed in the center of the lodge. The head of the society then led his band up to the drum and sang his set of buffalo songs, while all the rest danced around them. Then, one after another, the minor leaders took their turns.

When they had all finished, food was served, and after this the members 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. A typical speech was that concerning the dream of one Hómatcutze, or Red-elk, who augmented the powers of the society. The story runs:—

Hómatcutze 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.

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<sup>1</sup> Instead of doing this himself he could deliver the drum to the leader of the first band that entered the lodge on this occasion.

After this all the leaders began singing all their songs at once, making a terrible din. The first leader to come in was the first to go out, and the others followed in order.

This is the regular performance. When a candidate was being initiated, each leader in turn led him by the hand about the lodge, instructed him during the performance, and transferred his power to him, telling the novice that in the future he would have the right to pass on his new powers in the same way.

In the dances all members but braves hold the dewclaw rattles upside down. Braves have the exclusive right to hold the rattle the proper way. Buffalo doctors stay with their patients for periods of four days, keeping the bandages they use saturated with medicated water.

The second form of the buffalo society is one which, as has been stated above, draws upon the bear for part of its power. It was founded by I'watce<sup>x</sup>ga, or Little-rock. This hero fasted for four days and never saw any person nor tasted water, still he was not rewarded with any vision whatever. Early in the fourth night he began to bemoan his fate. "It is a shame," he thought, "I'll gain nothing, after all my fasting." Scarcely had he uttered this complaint when he fell asleep.

Someone came to Little-rock and spoke to him: "Man, I've come after you," he cried. Little-rock looked up and saw a person standing there. He followed the stranger over bad rough roads leading through cedar timber, till suddenly they came on a large party of bears seated in a circle. They had cushions of cedar boughs under them and they were all painted. Then he realized that his conductor was a bear too. "Mr. Man," said the chief of the bears, "we knew you were fasting, hoping to get power to go to war and 'build up your name.' We took pity on you, but not in the way you desire. We want you to raise people up instead of knocking them down, to give them life instead of death. We bears are partners of the buffalo and it is high time that your people learned it and received our assistance in doctoring. We're going to give you our whole power, so that when anyone is ill and your heart turns toward him, remember us, and whatever you wish shall be so."

Then the bears showed him among themselves what they could do. They broke each others arms and legs and made them whole again, they wounded each other and healed the injuries; then they gave him power to cure injuries too. "We want you to know this for your own and your tribe's good," they said.

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. His song was: "You must depend on me because what I tell you I can accomplish, I wouldn't say so if I couldn't."

Catlin tells of another sort of buffalo dance. He says:—

This and all the other tribes living within the country abounding in Buffaloes, are in the habit of giving the Buffalo Dance, preparatory to starting out upon a Buffalo Hunt. For each animal that these people hunt, they believe there is some invisible spirit presiding over their peculiar destinies, and before they have any faith in their hunts for them, that spirit must needs be consulted in a song, and entertained with a dance. For this curious scene nearly every man in an Indian village, keeps hanging in his wig-wam, a mask of the buffalo's head and horns, which he places on his head when he joins in this amusing masquerade, imagining himself looking like a buffalo.<sup>1</sup>

#### BUFFALO TAIL DANCE.

This is a sort of shamanistic society (*tcéthinjiwag're waci*) that closely resembles the hawk bundle group. It still exists. The bundle owner gave a little feast in the spring to which he asked certain people, whom he begged to bring him game and corn, pumpkins, beans, or Indian potatoes, for his ceremony. Before the feast he tells the guests: "Tonight I'm going to sing all night alone in behalf of my medicine. Next night I'll cook and dance."

The guests then eat and depart, spending the morrow obtaining game for him. When he has received and prepared the game the host sends invitation sticks out, and, as is usual, those who receive them know without questioning what is to happen and get ready their own wooden bowls and wooden or buffalo horn spoons to bring to the feast. Both men and women are invited, and when all the guests have arrived, the host addresses them as follows, first laying down his buffalo tail medicine and a bunch of feathers:—"This is the way I was taught to do at these feasts; it is the way of our ancestors." All the guests interrupt, crying, "Hau." "I've invited you all to come here and have a good dance, and I want to see your ranks full." All agree crying, "Hau."

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.<sup>2</sup> After

<sup>1</sup> Catlin, (c), 22.

<sup>2</sup> This trick is performed by Menomini shamans in the *mit'áwin* 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.

this all dance, but no one sings except the host. When all is over the guests bring up their bowls and spoons to receive their share of the feast. The shaman wears his buffalo tail upright in his hair or headband during the rites.

#### BEAR DANCE.

A dream faster had a vision in which a bear came to him and gave him the ritual of this society (*mató waci*). There were five leaders, all of whom had their own dancing songs, and all of them were instructed by the originator who saw exactly how the bear danced.

In the spring the five leaders held a council and made arrangements for the ceremony. They appointed someone to go out and get a cedar tree, for they must have one in the middle of their dancing ground. They then prepared a sweat lodge, and a cushion of sagebrush was made for them to sit on while they were being steamed. One of them was appointed captain in the sweat lodge. This man made a noise like a bear when he went in. The other four followed immediately in silence. Once inside they growled like bears and proceeded to crush the stones, no matter how hot, with the palms of their bare left hands. When they had finished this rite, water was poured on the rocks, but first the waiter was generally called in. He might not go in, however, if he was not invited. All then sang their appropriate songs and finished their bath.

The sudatory was always placed close to the wigwam or tipi where they intended to perform, so the minute the bath was over they went into the lodge and seated themselves. There they painted in yellow, green, brown, or some other color, to resemble bears. When they were ready to dance, they commenced to imitate bears. They smelled the palms of their hands, some danced on all fours, or on their knees. Their leader went ahead, and ran his index finger into the ground exclaiming, "I'll get this out." Then he pulled out an Indian turnip. Another exclaimed, "You have done a great thing, but watch me." He cried like a bear, circled the lodge four times, and then thrusting his forefinger into the earth, withdrew it with a wild bean adhering to it. A third would make a similar remark, dance four times around the lodge, scratch himself under the arm, raise his hand aloft and show blood flowing from his wounded side. "That is what I can do," he boasted. A fourth would cry, "See what I'm good for," and taking an old gun he would shoot one of his comrades dead, and then resuscitate him.

For this dance only meat was cooked, since bears particularly like it. It is said that the founder of this society was unusually afraid of menstruating women, since contact with one nearly killed him on a certain occasion.



Catlin speaks of a Bear Dance which is apparently not the one previously described. He says:—

“This curious dance is given when a party are preparing to hunt the *black bear*, for its delicious food; or to contend with the more ferocious and dangerous ‘*grizzly bear*,’ when a similar appeal is made to the *bear-spirit*, and with similar results (*i. e.*) all hands having strictly attended to the important and necessary form of conciliating in this way the good will and protection of the peculiar *spirit* presiding over the destinies of those animals, they start off upon their hunt with a confidence and prospect of success which they could not otherwise have ventured to count upon. In this grotesque and amusing mode, each dancer imitates with his hands, alternately, the habits of the bear when running, and when sitting up, upon its feet, its paws suspended from its breast.”<sup>1</sup>

This account certainly connects the dance noted above with the bear spirit propitiating rites of the Algonkin to the northward, and shows it probably not to be a part of the bear society’s functions, which were entirely directed to the curing of the sick.

#### FORK-TAILED KITE DANCE.

This dance (I’u<sup>n</sup>ke waci) was connected with the i’u<sup>n</sup>ke warúhawe, or Fork-tailed Hawk war bundle. It originated as follows: When the founder received it he was helplessly bedridden. He even had to be carried to war, but, as was usual in such cases, since he provided the means of the warrior’s success through his bundle, he was entitled to the name of successful partisan and could boast of all their coups even though he had not stirred from the dug-out canoe in which they transported him. His bundle had one great virtue above all others. It had a song, which, when its owner gave it, could cause a storm to arise and drive back fleeing foemen.

After the return from a successful raid, early some morning the hawk-skin from the bundle would be raised on a pole, and the people would dance about it, singing songs as in praise, while tobacco was heaped beneath it. The owner told his followers never to point at the hawk, or touch it; but one doubter presented his forefinger to the dried skin and exclaimed “Bite me, if you dare,” and the hawk did nip out his finger nail. It is said that the nail is still in the mouth of the bird as it lies in the sacred bundle.

This dance was given annually, in May, when the cottonwood buds fall. All the women dressed up and painted their faces and their hair partings with vermilion before taking part. A scalp dance was usually held in connection with this dance, and those who had taken a scalp were entitled to blow on a reed flute or whistle. There were many songs.

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<sup>1</sup> Catlin, (b), vol. II, 31.

## EAGLE DANCE.

In Catlin's "Fourteen Ioway Indians" he gives this additional statement concerning the eagle dance or "Ha-Kon-E-Crase."

The Eagle Dance (or as they call it) the "soaring eagle" is one of the most pleasing of their dances, and forms a part of the war dance. The war eagle of their country conquers every variety of the eagle species in those regions, and esteeming the bird for its valor, they highly value its quills for pluming their heads and parts of their dresses; and a part, therefore, of the war dance must needs be given in compliment to this noble bird.

In this beautiful dance each dancer imagines himself a soaring eagle, and as they dance forward from behind the musicians, they take the positions of the eagles, heading against the wind, and looking down, preparing to make the stoop on their prey below them; the wind seems too strong for them, and they fall back, and repeatedly advance forward, imitating the chattering of that bird, with the whistles carried in their hands, whilst they sing:—

It's me — I am a War Eagle!  
 The wind is strong, but I am an Eagle!  
 I am not ashamed — no, I am not,  
 The twisting Eagle's quill is on my head.  
 I see my enemy below me!  
 I am an Eagle, a War Eagle!  
 &c.      &c.      &c.<sup>1</sup>

In another work, Catlin adds:—

"The *Drum* (and their "*Eagle Whistles*," with which they imitate the chattering of the soaring eagle), with their voices, formed the music for this truly picturesque and exciting dance. . . . The song in this dance is addressed to their favourite bird the war-eagle, and each dancer carries a fan made of the eagle's tail, in his left hand, as he dances, and by his attitudes endeavours to imitate the motions of the soaring eagle. This, being a part of the war-dance, is a *boasting* dance; and at the end of each strain in the song some one of the warriors steps forth and, in an excited speech, describes the time and the manner in which he has slain his enemy in battle, or captured his horses, or performed some other achievement in war. After this the dance proceeds with increased spirit; and several in succession having thus excited their fellow-dancers, an indescribable thrill and effect are often produced before they get through.

In the midst of the noise and excitement of this dance the Doctor (or *mystery-man*) jumped forward to the edge of the platform, and making the most tremendous flourish of his spear which he held in his right hand, and his shield extended upon his left arm, recited the military deeds of his life — how he had slain his enemies in battle and taken their scalps; and with singular effect fitting the action to the word, acting them out as he described."<sup>2</sup>

This dance does not seem to be in vogue today, but it may have been something similar to the Fork-tailed Kite ceremony.

<sup>1</sup> Catlin, (c), 20.

<sup>2</sup> Catlin, (b), 17-18.

I do not believe with Catlin that this was a part of the war dance, but more probably an eagle cult dance in which the braves, with their boasting, took a prominent part, or possibly a ceremony connected with an eagle war bundle.

#### TURTLE DANCE.

This society (*kelto<sup>n</sup> waci*) was founded by a man who saw the turtles dancing. While he was watching them their leader suddenly looked up and caught him peeping. "Well," he cried, "you saw us dancing. Some day you can do this; it is yours, we give it to you with our power, and this is the way we do. In the spring, when the water gets warm, that is the time we come out and perform."

This dance only had one leader, and, while there were no restrictions to that effect, the membership was largely composed of old people. The members painted their cheeks with stripes to represent turtles, and there were no rattles used. In dancing the members formed a ring and moved contrainclockwise, pawing the air in front of them with their open hands to resemble turtles crawling. The conclusion of the ceremony was a feast of green corn, supposed to be "turtle food."

#### BONE SHOOTING DANCE.

The origin of this dance (*tatate<sup>x</sup>! waci*) is lost in obscurity, but it is supposed to have come from the Sauk and Fox or Prairie Potawatomi. Many of the details are forgotten, since the society has long been in disuse. It is said that only unmarried men were eligible for membership, since anyone who had ever known a woman before joining was likely to die when "shot" by the magic bones as only the pure could endure the shock. If a man married after he had joined and had been shot, it made no difference. The lodge was therefore mostly composed of youths.

During the performance of the rites the members were stripped to the clout. They divided into two companies, danced up to each other, blew on their clenched hands after striking them on their left breasts, and thrust them at the opposing party, at the same time flinging their palms open. Magic bones which were then plucked from the flesh of their breasts were "shot" right into the flesh of their opponents. Both parties whooped and sang.

Bystanders who ridiculed the performance were liable to be shot with the bones by members, and such a proceeding was extremely painful. The bone could only be removed by the shooter, who had to be handsomely

feed for his pains. He then removed the magic bone by rubbing one hand over the wound. The dancers would even shoot their mysterious bones into the drum and knock the sound out of it so that it could no longer be beaten.

Sleight-of-hand performances were commonly given after the dance. A non-member once expressed his disbelief in the powers of the society, so a member came up to him and said. "Wrap up your blanket and put it over in one corner and I'll send two bones into it."

This was done, and sure enough the member shot the strange bones from his hand into the blanket, and sent a third into the cheek of the non-believer. The pain was so great that the victim cried aloud. He found two holes through his blanket, and the bones lying in the center. The member, having proved his power, then drew the bones back into his breast.

#### RED BEAN DANCE.

This is an ancient rite (ma<sup>n</sup>kácutzi waci) far antedating the modern peyote eating practice but on the same principle. The society was founded by a faster who dreamed that he received it from the deer, for red beans (mescal) are sometimes found in deer's stomachs. There are four assistant leaders besides the leader, and it is their duty to strike the drum and sing during ceremonies.

In this society members were obliged to purchase admission from some one of the four assistant leaders. This was done in the regular ceremonial way. A candidate brought gifts and heaped them on the ground before the assistant leader and begged for the songs, etc., which he taught him and was then a member. There was no initiation ceremony. 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 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.

This ceremony was held in the spring when the sunflowers were in blossom on the prairie, for then nearly all the vegetable foods given by wakanda were ripe. The leader, who was the owner of a medicine and war bundle called ma<sup>n</sup>kácutzi warúhawe connected with this society, had his men prepare by "killing" the beans<sup>1</sup> by placing them before the fire until they turned yellow. Then they are taken and pounded up fine and made

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<sup>1</sup> The ma<sup>n</sup>kácutzi beans are supposed to be alive. 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.

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. Then a feast of the new vegetable foods was given them and a prayer of thanks was made to wakanda for vegetable foods and tobacco.

The connection of the ma<sup>n</sup>kácutzi warúhawe, or red bean war bundle with the society is not altogether clear to me, save that it was a sacred object possessed by the society which brought success in war, hunting, especially for the buffalo, and in horse racing. 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.

#### RECENT RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

##### GHOST DANCE.

This dance (wanáki waci), in which my interpreter, Joe Springer, had often taken part, was of very recent origin as compared with most of the others, but is equally obsolete today. It did not take its rise among the Iowa, but was brought to them by an Indian named Standing-buffalo, who they think was either a Cheyenne or an Arapaho. Standing-buffalo, as usual, "dreamed" the dance.

The only paraphernalia were shields carried by the dancers, and little drums. Sometimes the dancers performed singly with their arms outstretched towards the sun or moon, according to the time the dance was held, and worshipped wakanda through these signs. They would dance all day and all night and only think of God, weeping until their tears fell on the ground.

At other times, the dancers, men and women, would join in a circle and clasp hands, fingers between fingers, and dance, the men singing, while some old leader would walk around outside the ring and exhort them. "Do this for God. Look at the ground and put your mind on nothing else but wakanda while you pour your tears on the earth."

These dances were held even in the rain and snow, and the performers often fell in fits. Such a state was called feeling happy. A leader would approach a dancer who was showing indications of extreme fervor and flick him with a black silk scarf until he fell over. The exhorter would then feel

the hands and toes of his victim and pant, waving the handkerchief over his face until the fit was complete.

Persons in this condition were said to be dead. They had visions in which their souls left their bodies and went westward across the river to the village of ghosts, where they were well received. The ghost chief would say: "You see we are all alive and happy here. How are our relatives on earth, and how are so-and-so," etc., asking for specific persons.

When the person in the trance began to recover, or as the Indians say "When his soul came back to his body," he would lie there panting for a time, then arise and begin to weep: "Aiii, a-i-i-i!" All the other dancers would crowd around, but the man was always unable to speak loudly, so he had to have some one to whom he could talk who would orate for him. In this manner he would relate his experiences. The day after the dance a feast was held.

Springer confessed that he himself had never been in a trance of this nature, explaining it by stating that he had led too impure a life and that he was not a thorough believer.

#### CHIEF'S DRUM DANCE.

This dance (wanikihidekúroci waci) and the accompanying drum came to the Iowa from the Kickapoo of Kansas in the year of the Omaha Exposition (1898). Both Dave Towhee, whose deceased brother Dan was the recipient of the drum, and Joe Springer, who was the third of the four braves, possess the entire ritual, of which this is but a fraction, probably a half or a third. In almost every respect this society seems identical with that of the Menomini of Wisconsin who claim to have received their drum from the Prairie Potawatomi of Kansas. In the Iowa ceremony a large red wooden cross, capped by a cloth and tinsel crown supposed to be the crown of thorns forced upon Jesus, plays a conspicuous part. At the time of the present writing (July, 1914) these objects are in Dave Towhee's house where I have seen them. They do not come into any part of the ceremony on which I have gathered data. Joe Springer has another drum of the type mentioned here, called a "Brave's Drum." This I have seen; it looks exactly like those used by the Menomini, but is said to be smaller than the chief's drum. It came from the Sauk and Fox, and belongs to another ceremony probably very like the one described here. It is also very recent. The presence of these ultra-modern societies and dances shows that there has been a succession of borrowings and lendings since very ancient times, up to today. The peyote is the most recent acquisition, with its biblical

teachings, and the ghost dance connects the most recent dances with antiquity. Some of the Iowa ceremonies are no doubt original with them, most probably all those connected with sacred bundles are either original or very old.

*Origin of the Chief's Drum.* Early in July or late in June in the year of the Omaha World's Fair two Kansas Kickapoo came to Dan Towhee, then chief of the Iowa, and placed tobacco in his hand. When he had received it he could not refuse to listen to their errand, as he could have done had they told him before presenting the tobacco.

They said to him, "We suppose you want to know why we came and brought you this tobacco. Our chief, Kíokúk sent it to you to be put in your hand. It represents a drum that is coming to you this fall at the first frost."

In the fall, two men, one a pipe bearer, the other his servant, appeared. They requested the Iowa to select a suitable place for the dance ground, which they proceeded to examine. Then they measured off a circular space for the dance ground, to be used in the daytime, and another to use at night. After this the Kickapoo told the Iowa when the drum would arrive, and departed.

Eight days later all the Kickapoo drum society arrived with the drum. The two Indians who had measured off the ground had also told the Iowa: "Keep your mind on the drum all the time and ask God for help. Dream over it if you can, and select officers. You must have four drummers and singers, one assistant to sit with you, one drum heater (to tighten the drum heads), four braves, four "young chiefs," one "green chief," one speaker for the braves, one pipe man each for the braves, chiefs, drummers, and yourself. Have them ready when the drum arrives. God will help you."

When the Kickapoo came with the drum they camped half a mile from the chosen spot. The Iowa went out to meet them and they danced towards each other abreast with their right hands raised to God. They passed each other, then turned back and shook hands. Then all repaired to the dance ground, and arranged for the ceremony, which is described below. The accompanying diagram shows the positions occupied by the members and officers in the dance ground circle, Fig. 2. All persons must go contra-clockwise to their positions on entering and in going out.

The chief and his assistant pick out the secondary chief, the four chiefs, four braves, four young chiefs and the green chief. The braves select the male drummers or singers while each in turn selects an assistant and a female singer; the female singers again select an assistant each. The drummers also select a pipe man, and each of the other bodies selects its pipe man or servant.

The drummers are seated in rotation as follows: west, north, east, south. Their pipe man is placed on the east side of the drum. The four young chiefs sit at the left of the entrance door and no one may go out without presenting them with a fee. Among the Kickapoo and Menomini, tobacco is required, but with the Iowa tobacco is not much used, and a silk handkerchief or other gift is more acceptable. The drummers have to care for the drum and replace broken parts. The four braves are looked upon as "angels from heaven" (probably servants of God) and they run or regulate the dance. They drive out evil spirits. The four chiefs bring fair weather. "Everything blue is theirs." The function of the 'green

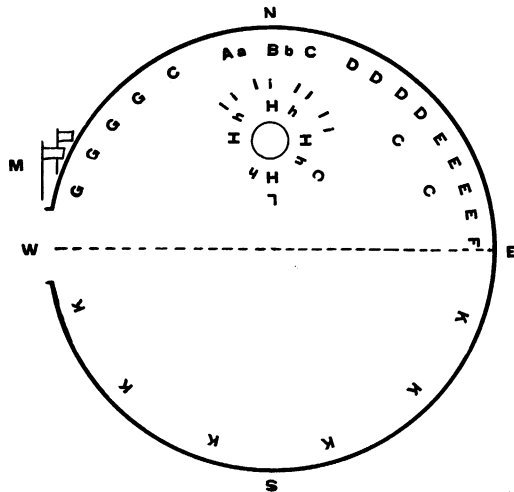


Fig. 2. Diagram of the Chief's Drum Dance. A, head chief (representing God) and (a) his assistant; B, chief, and (b) his assistant; C-C, servants of officials; D-D, chiefs; E-E, braves; F, green chief; G-G, young chiefs; H-H, drummers, and (h) their assistants; I, women singers, and (i) their assistants; K-K, members; ----, imaginary line, drawn from W, door across the dance ground, which only braves may pass; L, drum beater; M, two American flags.

chief' is to ask for rain or fair weather as the case requires. He always prays for fair weather while the dance goes on. The young chiefs, besides their duty as guards, have four songs to sing at quitting time. During these songs all must rise and dance, and their leader, club in hand, orders everyone up who does not respond. The drummers then carry the drum out, and all is over.

Various songs with dances are sung during the day, and speeches are made, with intervals of rest. At noon, when the sun is at meridian, food is brought in buckets and placed around the feet of the head chief and the four



chiefs and braves. The chief next to the head chief then harangues the company on tobacco and its sacredness, an idea presumably derived, with other teachings, from the Kickapoo, for, as has been pointed out, the Iowa, at least today, care little for the weed. Then the chief orders the feast.

The food is brought out and placed in the center of the dance circle. The leader, or chief, then sings four songs and dances about the food. After or during the last song he dances up to the food and pretends to grab a handful. He dances up to the north and pretends to throw it away. This he repeats to the east, south, and west, to nadir and zenith. Then he goes back, sings a song and dances up towards the food, but retreats as though in terror. This he does until the fourth song, when he whoops and snatches up the bucket. Then all present dance, and the feast follows. At the end of the day the drummers carry out the drum and all follow. The flags are hauled down and all is over until after dark. This is the regular first three days' performance. The ceremony lasts four days.

*The Night Session.* The rules of the dance are not so strict, except that all who enter the grounds must keep dancing, otherwise evil spirits will enter. All tobacco received at the night session by the chief is given to the braves who give it to their waiter who serves it, but dances four songs first. After the tobacco is given out, four more songs are sung and danced and all is over.

*The Fourth Day Session.* This day differs from the other three in that the "members' songs" are sung, and then those who are referred to must give away presents. These songs are for braves, for those who have been wounded, for buffalo, horses, bears, and other animals, for various tribes of Indians, half breeds, and the like. Those to whom the songs apply are required to dance while they are sung. Members who are not present are hunted up by messengers who present a pipe to them and demand their presence, which they dare not refuse. They must enter, passing as usual to the left, leave a present of tobacco with the god chief, take their places and dance. Their songs are kept up until they arrive.

At noon comes the dog feast. In this case the braves come forward and strike the dog's head and count their coups before eating it. An attendant feeds the other officers with dog meat which he presents to them on a wooden skewer about a foot long. He approaches each four times before placing the bit in their mouths. The members have dog meat served them in their own bowls or dishes where they sit.

After the feast, the braves give the charge of the ceremony over to the drummers, who sing the members' songs, beginning with the god chief and his assistant, and so on, down the line. The drum is generally taken out about noon every day, and the drum heater tightens the parchments over

the fire. Meanwhile the members dance to the sound of sleigh bells. Every day four pipes are passed. Two in the morning and two in the afternoon. On the last day the rags or handkerchiefs used to wrap up tobacco offerings are returned by a waiter. After this four songs are sung and the performance is over.

The object of the whole thing is to worship God through the medium of the drum. In the brave's drum ceremony the eagle feather belts or dance bustles are worn, and those who wear them must hire another to take them off, as in the Menominee and Potawatomi ceremony.

#### THE PEYOTE.

The following description of the peyote society and its religious practices was obtained from Joe Springer, who is at present one of the leaders. 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 are ardent peyote disciples, and only Dave Towhee and perhaps a few others still follow the old practices.

The name peyote is Mexican and it is not to be confounded with 'mescal' which is a different plant, bearing red beans which come two or three in a pod. Some southern peoples have used it for many years before it came to us. The 'Flathead,' 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.

We eat the peyote medicine buttons, and we know that we must not eat too much of them, for too much of anything, even food, is bad for any one. Some people eat as many as sixteen buttons. I, myself, have eaten that many.

We go into the tent, for we use a tipi for housing our society, late in the evening to begin our worship. To accompany our singing we have little drums made out of kettles, with buckskin stretched over them and small rattles made of little gourds, with handles decorated handsomely with beads and fringe; we have as ornaments five or six white eagle feathers beaded at the base and fastened together. These are badges of the society, for the eagle is a noble bird of lofty flight.

The leader sits in the rear of the lodge, opposite the door. He enters and goes to the left around the lodge. On his right sits the drum chief, and on his left the cedar chief. Before them rests the open Bible, in front of which lie the gourds, feathers, etc., of the members. In the center is a large crescent-shaped altar in the center of which is placed a huge peyote button. A fire burns between the horns of the crescent, and the four fire chiefs who sit two on each side of the door, are obligated to clear away the ashes when they tend it, and draw them back in another crescent just before the altar. The four fire sticks are built up in a conical shape, overlapping each other so that they will burn quickly and purely.

In front of the fire and altar, that is, to the east of it, stands a pitcher filled with rain water, which fell from God in heaven. Sagebrush is piled thick along the walls for the devotees to sit on. The men form the inner circle, the women the outer, and sing.

The peyote chief sees to the seating of guests and members, and leads in the preaching and Bible reading. When it is over he orders the head fire chief to distribute the peyote. Each male member receives an even number of buttons. He gets, according to his desire, two, four, six, or eight of them. Women get only two each. They also have the privilege of leaving the lodge at midnight, if they are so inclined, but the men should stay till dawn, though only the fire chiefs and other officials must do so.

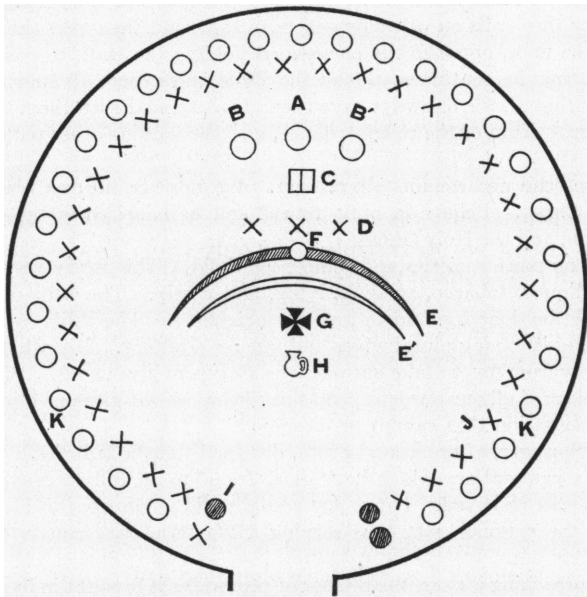


Fig. 3. Diagram of the Peyote Ceremony. A, peyote chief; B, drum chief; B', cedar chief; C, bible, D, gourds, and feather ornaments; E, altar; E', crescent of ashes; F, peyote button; G, fire; H, pitcher of rain water; I, fire chiefs, leader first from left at entrance; J, male devotees; K, female devotees.

The peyote chief gives orders that all must eat the peyote and think of Jesus and his goodness. All the medicines must be eaten before the singing begins. When the peyote chief sees everyone is done, he orders the cedar chief to burn cedar leaves on the coals that incense may be offered to the Lord. While this is being done all kneel and pray to the Lord silently in their hearts.

Then the leader picks up his gourd and his cane, which represents the staff of the Saviour. He holds it up in his hand and prays, singing four songs, each of which he repeats four times, making sixteen in all. (As a matter of fact, each song is usually sung only twice.) When he is through he passes the staff to the 'cedar chief' on his left, who goes through the same performance, the 'drum chief' going over and drum-

ming for him, then to the first member on his left. In this way the staff circles the lodge, each member singing his sixteen (now eight) songs. The drum chief going along and accompanying each.

When the staff reaches the first fire chief on the left, he holds it a while. The leader (or, as the writer understands it) perhaps some visiting preacher of the faith, gets up and delivers a sermon, while the cedar chief casts more incense on the fire. He also says:

I want all of you to rise and confess your sins. You know what Jesus has done for you, tell us, if you would repent.

So the members get up, one after another and testify that they have given up drinking (peyote is believed to kill the taste for liquor), smoking, chewing, adultery, etc. "And all this Jesus has done for me," is the conclusion of each statement.

The leader then calls on other preachers to talk, and then asks the fire chief on the right of the door, opposite the one who is holding the staff, to pass the peyote again. Meantime he 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.<sup>1</sup>

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. The Bible teaches us to do as we would be done by, and to love our neighbors. The Bible says to give up bad language, quit having plural wives and forsake adultery. We ask Jesus to take all this sin away from us; to take our passions away and give us his. When we have that, we are clear of all our burdens. So this peyote we eat gives us a joyful feeling. It gives us a sensation that cannot be described."

Once Joe Springer, after eating peyote, dreamed that he traveled a long way on horseback to a penitentiary where he 'talked Jesus' to an Indian convict, exhorted him to repent and be saved. Later, Joe actually did as directed in his dream, and he says that the prisoner, who was serving a life term, was converted and soon pardoned.

After the preaching is over, the pitcher of rain water is brought in by the fire chief and placed before the altar. The fire chief then kneels and prays, after asking all present to join him in their hearts. The pitcher, which is said to contain "blessed water" is then carried up and set in front of the chief or leader where it stands till morning.

The leader now starts the singing again by causing the sacred staff to be passed to the next fire chief on the left of the present holder. Then the dawn chief carries the gourd and staff across the lodge and starts it on the other side. There is then a pause in the singing. The fire chiefs on the east build up the fire and clean the fire-place. The cedar chief next burns some incense with a prayer, and the singing commences once more. At last it reaches the drum chief's place again. When it arrives there is another burning of cedar and all pray. The fire is again cleaned at this point, and the chief sings again and the staff starts on its second round.

Just about dawn four quitting songs are sung. Then all the musical instruments

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<sup>1</sup> This baptism is performed either by sprinkling or immersion, both forms being recognized.

are piled in front of the chief who takes the pitcher of blessed water and all pray, asking God to make it the living water, teach us, guide us, give us health, strength, and power to live and be Christians.

Then the fire chief takes a little dipper of water to everyone, beginning with the cedar chief and so on, around. When he gets back to his starting point, he takes food, fruit, and candy, and distributes it to all present. Then the women go out and cook breakfast. When the little feast is over, the peyote chief, followed by the fire chief shakes hands with everyone in token of friendship and good will.

A big feast is now ready, but before eating all must wash with soap and water where they sit. The peyote chief himself carries the water to show his humility, because of Biblical references to the washing of the feet, etc. All then leave the tipi

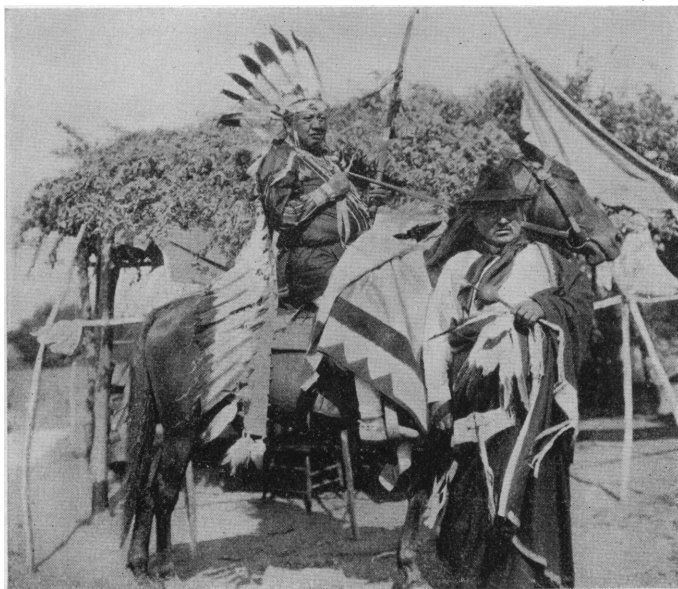


Fig. 4. Towhee and Springer, Iowa informants. Springer (standing) holds peyote rattle and feather badge.

and go out under a shed where the feast is served. The peyote chief asks a blessing saying:—

We are all relatives in Christianity. We must be one, and stick together. No difference of color shall deter a Christian from being one of our number. That is what this great and wonderful Book teaches us. So today I shall ask some member (or visiting peyote preacher) to ask God to bless this food, for which we thank him.

After the blessing, which no peyote devotee omits before any meal, the feast is held and all is over. Peyote ceremonies are usually held Saturday nights.

Some typical peyote society songs are given. Most of them are sung in English, but with Indian style and pronunciation, with Indian refrains and syllables added to the last word. It is by no means easy to recognize and understand them when heard, unless they are explained. They are sung in a high voice, through the nose.

## Typical Songs of the Peyote Society.

## I.

Jesus' way is the only way.

## II.

Saviour Jesus is the only Saviour.

## III.

Oh Lord, Lord, Lord! It is not everyone who says that who shall be saved.

## IV.

I know Jesus now.

## V.

You must be born again.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Before taking up our study of the gentes it seems best to give the following (probably fragmentary) origin myth, obtained from Dave Towhee:—

In the beginning, wakanda 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 ancestors of the bear gens, and whose names are borne by the subgentes. They told the faster that they would give him power and that they would become people. At the time he saw them they acted like human beings, but had the appearance of bears.

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,<sup>1</sup> the oldest, ordered one of the others to go 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 lay there. 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.

"This will be for some good and great use," said Henghru, and he took it and carried it. Because of this circumstance the descendants of this eldest brother own the pipe of the bear gens, and possess the titles Hangeskûna or Not-There, and Hangeskûna-îmi, She's-Not-There, Wita'tai, Hears-Pounding, and Witai-îmi, She-Hears-Pounding.

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<sup>1</sup> Note the use of ordinal names.

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 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. All this was told to the man who fasted with a darkened face.

As they journeyed, the bears met the four ancestors of the buffalo gens. These brothers also had a pipe, so they offered it in peace to the bears. Each sat on the ground, and the pipestems were crossed and each accepted the mouthpiece of the other's pipe. That peace conference was the origin of the custom of dividing the year between the buffalo and bear gentes; the chief of each is chief for half the year, the bears in the fall and winter, the buffalo in spring and summer.

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, hence the gens name Ma<sup>g</sup>rudjê, "Splitting the Pipestem." He gave himself that name at the time with a laugh to smooth matters over.

Then a village, the first Indian village, was made there. In the center of the camp circle the chief's tent was set up and Henghru observed it. Hence, the personal name in the bear gens, Wighreu, meaning, notices everything.

#### GENTILE ORGANIZATION.

J. O. Dorsey gives a list of gentes and subgentes which in the main corresponds with mine. Where there are discrepancies, however, I believe that Dorsey's list, which was collected thirty-four years ago by the late Rev. Wm. Hamilton, and corroborated by himself, should be accepted as final, although in some cases a dual terminology may exist. He gives nine gentes as compared with the writer's seven. The modern Iowa deny that they ever had a Snake gens, referring it to the Oto. Dorsey gives it as a gens extinct in his time. He also gives an Owl gens which I have not recorded, and marks it extinct, and a Beaver gens which he says was then incorporated in the Oto tribe. This gens too I failed to obtain. I, however, found the Elk gens which he calls extinct, still extant, or at least remembered, and obtained the name of an additional Red Earth band, now extinct. Morgan, in his "Ancient Society" (p. 160) gives eight Iowa gentes and adds the Beaver gens which he says was extinct even then. Dorsey also gives two phratries, listing the gentes as follows: first phratry, Black Bear, Wolf, Eagle, and Thunder, Elk, Beaver; Second Phratry, Pigeon, Buffalo, Snake, and Owl. No traces of this remain, but doubtless the Bear and Buffalo gentes were the leaders of their respective phratries. The writer's information is that the tribal chief was the chief of the Bear gens in the fall and winter and of the Buffalo during spring and summer. Dorsey gives the ruling power to the first phratry and second phratry in the order named.

The names of the subgentes gathered by Dorsey differ not a little from my list. I cannot account for this, as my information was definite.

The Rev. S. M. Irvin and the Rev. Wm. Hamilton, in a report on the Iowa and Sauk, made to Schoolcraft and dated February 1, 1849, enumerate eight Iowa gentes, namely: the Eagle, Pigeon, Wolf, Bear, Elk, Beaver, Buffalo, and Snake. They also give some interesting data on a custom now entirely obsolete, that of characteristic hair cuts for the youths of the different gentes. This has been noted at length among the Omaha by Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche. Irvin and Hamilton say on the Iowa:—

These families are known severally in the tribe by the particular manner in which their hair is cut: 1st, the Eagle family, is marked by two locks of hair on the front part of the head, and one on the back part left long: 3d, Wolf, scattered branches of hair left to grow promiscuously over the head, representing islands, whence this family is supposed to have sprung: 4th, Bear, one side of the hair of the head left to grow much longer than the other: 7th, Buffalo, a strip of hair left long from the front to the rear part of the head, with two branches on each side to represent horns.

The other families, with their peculiar badges, are lost. This manner of cutting the hair is confined to the male children; as soon as they are grown, they adopt the common fashion of the tribe, which is to shave off all the hair except a small braid, or scalp-lock, left near the top of the head, with a small formation of cut hair surrounding it about two inches on the front and sides, and extending down the back of the head. This cutting is usually done about once a year, and is said, by them, to be of great advantage in expelling vermin.<sup>1</sup>

Though a number of the Iowa with whom the writer talked had worn their hair in the roach, which was the tribal style, none now do so, probably owing to peyote teachings, and none remembered the distinctive gentile hair cuts.

Each gens was traditionally founded by four animals, brothers, who became human beings, and hence each gens is composed of four subgentes, the members of which claim descent from one of the four gens ancestors.

If asked his gens a man might reply merely giving the gens name, or if he wished to be precise he might give his gens and his subgens, as, in the Bear gens, "Múnjê Watogehri." Again, he might give the gens and the ordinal name of his subgens ancestor. In former times, the members of every gens had the right to call children after one of the ancestor brothers and a feminine form of each name existed, formed by adding the syllable *me* or *mi* to the masculine: as, Watógehri-me, Inúwahu-me, etc. As before stated, these remarks apply to every gens. The gentes are exogamic and patrilineal. I did not learn that the subgentes had any functions.

The gentes in order of their present importance are: The Bear, Buffalo,

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<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft, part 3, 269.



Pigeon, Elk, Eagle and Thunder, Wolf, Red Earth, Snake, and Owl, the last three, as stated, being extinct. Data on them was given as follows:—

### Living Gentes and their Subgentes.

- 1 Tunápi Kiradji or Bean gens <sup>1</sup>
  - a Watogehri — Four Together
  - b Inúwahu — Comes with Him
  - c Wann'í<sup>n</sup>tcaki — Strong Mind
  - d Thigripi — Good Tracks
- 2 Tce Kiradji (also called Aruwha),<sup>2</sup> or Buffalo Gens
  - a Tc'inúkiu<sup>n</sup> — Village Maker
  - b K<sup>x</sup>érata<sup>i</sup> — Clear Day
  - c Nao<sup>n</sup>ta<sup>i</sup> — Road Maker <sup>3</sup>
  - d Mao<sup>x</sup>radje — Mired in Mud
- 3 Lútcí Kiradji or Pigeon Gens
  - a Lutci<sup>n</sup>ya — "Mister" Pigeon
  - b Lutcahren — Old Pigeon
  - c Awemongre — Up Wing
  - d Mi<sup>n</sup>kā<sup>x</sup>hingre — Big Raccoon.<sup>4</sup>
- 4 Hrodadtci Kiradji or Elk Gens
  - a Homakixrtci — Elk Bend
  - b Homa<sup>x</sup>únya — Big Elk
  - c Homa<sup>x</sup>ka — White Elk
  - d Hompé<sup>x</sup>a — Bull Elk
- 5 Hra Kiradji (eagle) and Wakanda Kiradji (Thunder) Linked Gens.<sup>5</sup>
  - a Bacumani — Storm and Hail
  - or
  - Kloma<sup>n</sup>ye — Thunder
  - b Noto'we — Lightning Struck
  - c Ni<sup>u</sup>'man<sup>i</sup> — Always Raining (Walking Rain?)
  - d Mangri ta'amani — Soaring Eagle

<sup>1</sup> The bear gens also has a second or common name, Múnjé, the term Tunápi being considered a sacred or ceremonial appellation.

<sup>2</sup> The second name is a ceremonial title.

<sup>3</sup> Reference to the old time buffalo trails so deeply worn in the prairie.

<sup>4</sup> No explanation of the fact that a raccoon subgens occurs in the pigeon gens was obtainable.

<sup>5</sup> Though the two names were given as separate they seem interchangeable, a fact noted by Dorsey. The Wakanda (literally, god) gens is also called Tce! hida.

6 Cunta Kiradje or Wolf Gens<sup>1</sup>

- a Cuntátherê — Black Wolf
- b Cuntánka — Big Wolf
- c Cuntahodje — Half Coyote
- d Ma<sup>n</sup>yikati — Coyote

## Extinct Gentes.

## 7 Mokátcuze Kiradji or Red Earth Band

A band, who, tradition states, first moved westward from a mythical home in the east where the sunrise reddens the land by the ocean. No subgentes remembered. The next two are from Dorsey.

8 Wa-ka<sup>n</sup> — Snake.

- a Wa-ka<sup>n</sup>-çi — Yellow snake, i. e., Rattlesnake
- b Wa-ka<sup>n</sup>-qtci — Real Snake (named after a species shorter than the rattlesnake.)
- c Cé-ke-yiñ'-e — Small or young like the copperhead snake.
- d Wa-ka<sup>n</sup>-qó-tce — Gray snake (a long snake, which the Omaha call swift blue snake)

9 Ma<sup>n</sup>-ko-ke — Owl. Subgentes forgotten.

## ORDINAL AND GENTILE PERSONAL NAMES.

Every Iowa had an abundance of names. First, there were the fixed ordinal names always applicable in every family and used for men and women both. Then there were the regular gentile personal names. Each family of each gens had the right to call their children, male or female, by a name referring to the ancestor of their father's subgens, or some attribute thereof. In addition, a man who performed an exploit in war might change his name on that account, and could change it on the occasion of every new exploit or supernatural experience. Hence, one man might have half a dozen names during the course of his life, and of these he always had two or three at once; that is, his ordinal name, next his gentile name, given by his parents, and third, his own chosen war exploit, or individual name.

The ordinal names, being the first a man or woman receives are given here before the others. They find parallels among the Sioux and Menomini. They are:—

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<sup>1</sup> Dorsey gives mitciratce for this gens, it may be the ceremonial title.

	Male	Female
First born	Henghru	Henu
Second born	Henu	Miha
Third born	Haka	Hatika
Last one <sup>1</sup>	Hakainê	Hatika'inê

The individual names belonging to each gens are many, and may be made up apparently *ad infinitum*. The following are samples. All have a mythological reference.

#### Bear Gens

- 1 Hangeskuna — Not-there. Reference to disappearance of the mythical pipe-maker.

Hangeskuna-imi (female) She's-not-there

Wita'tai (male) Hears-pounding.<sup>2</sup> Witai-imi (female form)

These names belong by right only to the leading family which owns the sacred pipe, and have special reference to it. The more common bears are named more as follows. (Each name has a feminine counterpart in each gens.)

a Mantrêhowe — Bear-guardian.

b Thrididuwê — Four-tracks.

c Wigre<sup>u</sup> — Noticing-them.

The names pertaining to bears can only be used by bear gens members, and so on, throughout the tribe.

#### 2 Buffalo Gens

a Nuy'atci — Forked-corn-sprout

b Ma<sup>o</sup>tcera — Corn-tassel-man <sup>3</sup>

c Tceinê — Little-buffalo

d Tceto<sup>n</sup>'éi — Standing-buffalo

e Abrako<sup>n</sup>'ei — Buffalo-standing-in-bottom

f Tcedutu — Buffalo-ribs

g Tcewan'aki — Buffalo-ghost

h Ahenaskai — Fetlock

#### 3 Pigeon Gens

a Min<sup>x</sup>äxû — White-raccoon

b Maio<sup>n</sup>p'idgri — Bird-who-found-land, i. e., the world. Mythical reference.

c Lomŋcingû — Island (the earth)

<sup>1</sup> In any case where there are more than four children, male or female, all above are called by the last name given.

<sup>2</sup> Reference to third of the brothers, who heard the pounding of the mysterious pipe-maker, according to tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Joe Springer is a buffalo gens member and one of his daughters bears the feminine version of this name: Corn-tassel-woman.

## 4 Elk Gens

- a Xomaiyo or Xomaiunji — Little-elk
- b Xompexretca — Filled-out-antlers

## 5 Eagle — Thunder Gens

- a Wakandath'ere — Black-god (thunder?)
- b Wakanda — God (thunder?)
- c K<sup>2</sup>ratci — Original-eagle
- d Ma<sup>n</sup>gruwe — Circling-eagle

## 6 Wolf Gens

- a Cunta<sup>n</sup>ai — Standing-wolf
- b Cuntanka — Big (black)-wolf
- c Cuntaio<sup>n</sup>yê — Little-wolf
- d Cuntahoje — Gray-wolf <sup>1</sup>

## GENTILE PROPERTIES.

Each gens had its sacred pipe, obtained traditionally by the four ancestor founders (p. 734). It had also its war bundle and tattooing bundle. No taboos were learned but certain gentes had special privileges. There is some connection between the seven gens pipes and the constellation called "Seven Stars" by the 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, and the seven pipes." These pipes seem to have been the property of the gens chiefs.

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

<sup>1</sup> "The people of this gens make fun of themselves in their names, they pretend they breed with coyotes!" Springer.

(ma<sup>n</sup>dewatsa<sup>n</sup>sa), 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.

#### TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.<sup>1</sup>

Hee-to6-ga (intúga), my grandfather and all males of ascending generations, lineal or collateral.

Hee-ko6-n'-ye (inku<sup>n</sup>ye), my grandmother and all females of ascending generations, own or collateral.

Heen'-kă (xinka; na<sup>n</sup>je, your father),<sup>2</sup> my father, my father's brother; my mother's brother's daughter's husband (M. S. and F. S.); my father's father's brother's son (M. S.); my father's father's father's brother's son's son; my stepfather.

Heen'-nä (xin<sup>a</sup>), my mother; my father's brother's wife; my mother's brother's daughter, older or younger (F. S. and M. S.); my mother's brother's son's daughter (M. and F. S.); my mother's mother's brother's son's daughter (M. S.); my mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter (M. and F. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter; my stepmother.

Hee-yin'-ga (xei<sup>n</sup>ga), my son; my brother's son (M. S.); my sister's son (F. S.); my sister's daughter (F. S.); my father's brother's son's son (M. S.); my father's brother's daughter's son (F. S.); my father's sister's older or younger son (F. S.); my mother's sister's son's son (M. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's son (F. S.); my father's father's brother's son's

<sup>1</sup> The terms in parenthesis are those obtained by the writer, the others those obtained by Morgan (see Smithsonian Contributions, Vol. XVII). The abbreviations M.S. and F.S. are used to designate "Male Speaking" or "Female Speaking," respectively.

<sup>2</sup> For father's brother, the writer obtained áxinkainya or "little father."

son's son (M. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (F. S.); my father's father's father's brother's son's son's son's son (M. S.); my stepson (M. or F. S.).

Hee-yun'-ga (xeu<sup>n</sup>ka), my daughter; my brother's daughter (M. S.); my father's brother's son's daughter (M. S.); my father's brother's daughter's daughter (F. S.); my father's sister's daughter, older or younger (F. S.); my mother's sister's son's daughter (M. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's daughter (F. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son's daughter (F. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (F. S.); my older or younger stepsister (F. S.); my stepdaughter (M. or F. S.).

Heen-tä'-kwä, my grandson and all males of descending generations own or collateral.

Heen-tä'-kwä-me, my granddaughter and all females of descending generations own or collateral.

He-yen'-nä (xeina), my elder brother (M. S. and F. S.); my father's brother's son older than self (M. and F. S.); my mother's brother's daughter's son (M. and F. S.); my mother's sister's son (older) (M. and F. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son, older (M. S.); my father's father's father's brother's son's son's son, older (M. S.); my elder stepbrother (M. and F. S.); my wife's sister's husband.

He-yü-na (xeu<sup>n</sup>a), my elder sister (M. S.); my father's brother's daughter, older (M. S.); my mother's brother's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my mother's sister's daughter, older (M. S.); my older stepsister (M. S.).

Heen-tan'-ga,<sup>1</sup> my elder sister (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter, older (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter, older (F. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter, elder or younger (F. S.).

Heen-thun'-ga (xi<sup>n</sup>su<sup>n</sup>ga), my younger brother (M. S.); my father's brother's son, younger than self (M. S.); my mother's sister's son, younger (M. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son, younger (M. S.); my younger stepbrother (M. S.).

E-chun'-cha, my younger brother (F. S.); my father's brother's son, younger (F. S.); my mother's sister's son, younger (F. S.); my younger stepbrother (M. S.).

Heen-tan'-ya (xinta<sup>n</sup>ga), my younger sister (M. S.); my father's brother's daughter, younger (M. S.); my mother's brother's daughter's daughter (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter, younger (M. S.); my younger stepsister (M. S.).

Heen-tun'-ga, my younger sister (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter, younger (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter, younger (F. S.).

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<sup>1</sup> The writer collected this term (xita<sup>n</sup>ga) for younger sister.

E-nú-kä-ne, my sisters (F. S.); my brothers (M. S.).

E-chin'-cho, my brothers (F. S.).

Wa-he-cha, my sisters (M. S.).

Heen-toan'-ye, my brother's son's wife (M. S.).

Wä-dó-hä (wa<sup>n</sup>doha), my son-in-law (M. S.); my brother's or sister's daughter's husband (M. S.); my brother's daughter's husband (F. S.); my father's sister's daughter's husband (M. S. and F. S.).

Heen-toas'-ka, my sister's son (M. S.); my brother's son (F. S.); my father's brother's son's son (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter's son (M. S.); my father's sister's older or younger son (M. S.); my mother's sister's son's son (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's son (M. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son's son (F. S.); my father's father's sister's daughter's son (M. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son (M. S.).

Heen-toan'-ye (xeintu<sup>n</sup>ya), my sister's son's wife (M. or F. S.); my brother's son's wife (F. S.); my sister's daughter's husband (F. S.); my father's sister's son's wife (M. or F. S.); my daughter-in-law (M. or F. S.).

Heen-toas'-ka-me, my sister's daughter (M. S.); my brother's daughter (F. S.); my father's brother's son's daughter (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my father's sister's daughter, older or younger (M. S.); my mother's sister's son's daughter (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my father's father's brother's son's son's daughter (F. S.); my father's father's sister's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (M. S.); my sister-in-law; my father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter (M. S.).

Hun'-ga, brother's son's wife (M. S.); my mother's sister's son's wife (M. S.); my wife's sister; my brother's wife (M. S.). Cf. my ahānga, my husband's brother's daughter.

Hee-shé-kä (xi<sup>n</sup>tciké), my sister-in-law (F. S.); my son-in-law (F. S.);<sup>1</sup> my father's brother's son's wife (F. S.); my brother-in-law (F. S.); my father's brother's daughter's husband (F. S.); my mother's sister's son's wife (F. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's husband; my husband's brother; my sister's husband (F. S.); my husband's sister's husband; my husband's sister; my brother's wife's sister (F. S.).

Heen-tä'-hä (xint'aha<sup>n</sup>), my wife's brother's son, my brother-in-law; my father's brother's daughter's husband (M. S.); my mother's sister's daughter's husband (M. S.); my sister's husband (M. S.); my wife's brother.

Heen-toó-me (i<sup>n</sup>to<sup>n</sup>mi), my father's sister; my mother's brother's wife;

<sup>1</sup> My notes give ni<sup>n</sup>tciké for son-in-law (M.S.).

my mother's brother's son's wife (M. and F. S.); my father's father's sister's daughter (M. S.).

Heen-já-kā (indjēka), my father's sister's husband; my mother's brother; my mother's brother's (older or younger) son (M. S. and F. S.); my mother's brother's son's son (M. S. and F. S.); my mother's mother's brother's son, my mother's mother's brother's son's son (M. S.); my mother's mother's brother's son's son's son (M. S.); my father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter; my mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son; my mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son; my mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's son's son.

Heen-gä'-me (xi<sup>n</sup>gera), my husband.

Hee-tă'-me (xi<sup>n</sup>tamê), my wife.

*Joking-Relationship.* A man may joke with his wife's sister and brothers, his uncles and those whom he calls xintáha<sup>n</sup> or brothers-in-law and wife's brother's sons, and own nephews. These jokes may be obscene in character. On the warpath, joking-relatives may make fun of each other. One will say to another: "Your wife was heavy when we left, perhaps she is delivered by now." Or, "Your wife was very sick, may be she is dead by this time." The butt of these jibes could take no offence.

*Mother-in-law Taboo.* The mother-in-law taboo was strictly observed, and the father-in-law was scarcely ever addressed. A person's wife's or husband's brother's children were also considered very closely and warmly related to him or to her and treated accordingly.

## MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Three types of marriage were recognized: first those of the royalty, then nobility, and then commoners. It was considered best for a chief's child to marry a chief's child, in order to keep the blood pure; it will be remembered that among the Iowa rank is hereditary. A chief's child might however, marry into the family of a distinguished brave.

The parents of the groom usually negotiated with the girl's parents. If they gained their consent they would take the girl home, dress her in a magnificent gown and send her back with fifteen or twenty head of horses. When the girl's father saw these he did not take them, but sent for his eldest son, to whom he said:

"Let your sister give these away to her brothers and her brothers-in-law, then, if there are any left, distribute them among the chiefs and braves."

Then the father gave a feast, for which the groom's relatives provided large quantities of food. They also brought him clothing, blankets, and



other rich gifts. After the feast the groom spent three or four days with his wife and her family, then he returned to his own lodge accompanied by many horses and other gifts sent his parents by the bride's father in his turn.

In the case of the marriage of the lesser braves or the "nobility" the ceremony was quite similar. The groom's parents arranged a feast after which fifteen or twenty horses were given the guests, who were supposed to return them in one year's time.

For the commoners, who are often very poor, one or two horses, or perhaps even none, change hands, and no notice is taken by the public of such a ceremony. The man and women merely live together with little or no display.

Polygamy was allowed chiefs and nobles. Sisters were generally taken.

Adultery was severely punished by men whose wives had been unfaithful while their spouses were on the warpath. Such a woman might be killed by her returned husband without causing comment. Otherwise, it might be one of many causes for divorce, which was a mere parting. The children were cared for by one or the other of their sets of grandparents. A man who unjustly divorced his wife might be caused by his parents-in-law to give them several head of horses before they would consent to his marrying another woman.

#### TRAINING OF CHILDREN AND FASTING CUSTOMS.

Among the Iowa, parents began to inure their children to hardship while they were yet very young, with the object in view of preparing them for their sacred fast. At first, the young child would be made to go without food for half a day, a day, and then a couple of days. At last, when he was about the age of puberty, he blackened his face and went to some dismal and unfrequented place to fast for four days and nights, the full period.

The places selected were high rocks, bluffs, canyons, or other lonely places where god powers were apt to dwell. The faster wailed ceaselessly and prayed for war power, for success in life, and for many horses. Iowa ideals do not seem to have been as high as those of the Central Algonkin.

When it was time for a boy to begin to fast his father or some old man said to him: "Now it is time for you to use the burnt stick (i. e., rub charcoal on your face) and let your tears drop on our mother, the earth, that she may pity you and help you in the future. Find out your way; the creator will help you. He may send a voice to speak to you and prophesy whether or not you will be of any account in the tribe. May be you'll

dream of the thunder or some other one above, one of its assistants or servants. They may give you long life. Weep for help from the sun. The sun is a great power.

"If something comes up out of the water or the earth, don't accept it. Throw it away. Pay no attention to it. Don't listen at all or you'll soon die. That is the way to do. Be careful, there are both heavenly and evil powers, and the latter will try to deceive you. You must be willing to fast, for, if Wakanda helps you, you will be a great man and a protector of your people. You will become famous."

The following example of an unusually powerful dream, was collected:—

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 the 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."

This dreamer became a very potent doctor, so much so that if he ever sang a song over his patient the sufferer began to get better before the medicines were administered.

He made himself a whistle, rattles of buffalo dewclaws, buffalo horn bonnets and other paraphernalia. He was above all those who had merely dreamed of common animals. Once when he was alone on the prairie he saw a buffalo coming out of a wallow. It was blue, even to its horns. He soon saw that it was really I't'ci'i (like the Dakota Unktehi, a horned water panther, purely mythological, also occurring in Central Algonkin lore) who had assumed this guise to deceive him. He refused its aid, as it was evil.

This dreamer had an even hundred songs. He painted one half of his face red and the other dark blue. He used dirt for this. 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.

Inside the buffalo dance lodge he once did the following exploit:—

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.

KANSA ORGANIZATIONS.

By ALANSON SKINNER.



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## INTRODUCTION.

The Kansa (or Kânzê) are a small tribe of the Dhegiha Siouan group, whose closest relationship is with the Osage and Quapaw. Their former home was in Kansas on the Kansas River. In 1850 they numbered 1700. At present the remnant of the tribe numbers about two hundred, of whom seventy are full bloods. They reside in northern Oklahoma near Kaw City on the Arkansas River.

Many of the remaining Kansa are quite conservative, habitually wearing native dress, at least in part; but in June, 1914, when the writer visited them, only one man, So<sup>n</sup>jo<sup>n</sup>maihe, still roached his hair in the ancient fashion. The peyote religion and the acquisition of considerable wealth (many Kansa have automobiles, telephones, and other luxuries) have broken down old customs. Some very prominent features of their former life, such as the earth-lodges, so minutely described by Say, are apparently no longer recollected by the few old people who survive.

The Kansa, or Kaw, as they are popularly called, do not seem to have had, at least they claim not to recollect, the elaborate system of societies of the Iowa, Ponca, and other not far distant Siouan tribes. Possibly the Osage, who are closely related to them, may furnish a clue to the truth of this statement.

The literature on the Kansa is meager. The following are the most important titles, exclusive of the writings of J. O. Dorsey mentioned in the body of this paper, and the article in the *Thirtieth Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology*: Rev. Joab Spencer, *The Kaw or Kansas Indians: Their Customs, Manners, and Folk-Lore* (Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. X, p. 374); George P. Morehouse, *History of the Kansa or Kaw Indians* (Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, Vol. X, p. 327); and T. Say in *Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1820*.

Most of the data here given were obtained from Wamoi<sup>n</sup>ke, Forest Choteau, Jesse Mihejeh, Charles Sumner, So<sup>n</sup>jo<sup>n</sup>maihe, and Roy Monroe, on the Kansa Reservation, Oklahoma, June, 1914.

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

First of all, the tribe was governed by five hereditary chiefs whose offices were held in the five leading clans. The five chiefs who first held office were doubtless elected by a common council of the people because of their bravery and wisdom, but the origin of these offices is now forgotten. Now the eldest son follows his father in office. In case a chief died and left no male issue, the office went to his brother or eldest daughter; hence, female chiefs were known. These civil chiefs, and those about to be mentioned, had no war powers whatever.

Besides the five hereditary chiefs, the people, in common council, could elect a man chief and announce it to the world, after which he held office for life and his children became chiefs afterwards. The chiefs themselves could also elect a commoner to join them, without the consent of the people, if they felt the man was worthy and well qualified.

The three bands also had chiefs who were elected in common council, at least in Choteau's time. A tribal chief was also so elected and the other chiefs formed his council.

## REGULATION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

Just prior to going on the buffalo hunt, the three band chiefs would send a herald through the camp announcing that they would start. Then all the people would assemble and hold a general council as to where to go. When this was decided, some citizen noted for his reliability of character, and especially for his reputation as a *successful* man, was chosen to be oje<sup>a</sup>, or leader, during the hunt. This was one of the greatest honors within the power of the tribe to confer. He was told: — "We are now going to hunt, and we have chosen you as leader because of your well known success in life. We want you to take charge of us, and bring us where we will find plenty of buffalo, and have a safe and prosperous trip. That is why we have chosen you."

The citizen was always glad to accept, and at once proceeded to "give them a horse to feast on." This is the regular Kansa phrase, which really means that he gave them a horse which was sold or traded to buy food for a feast.

The chiefs in their turn now formally thank the leader-elect, and when



this is done, they select twenty men to act as akida, or police. The twenty have to be persons of proven courage, who have taken a scalp, counted coup, or slain an enemy, because their task of controlling the others is an arduous and often dangerous one. Their tenure of office lasts during the trip only. Scouts are sent out by them and they police in home camps. These men prevent premature attacks on the herd by individuals, allow no noise, guard the hunters during the hunt (they have men to hunt for them), and regulate the camp. Offenders are severely whipped but their property is not destroyed.

After the chase, when the successful hunters are returning with their ponies laden with fresh meat, the akida (or police) stop each one, and take a share of the choicest parts, which are afterwards given to the hunt leader. If an individual does not care to give up his portion, he is privileged to take a whipping from the soldiers, and then pass on without paying his tax. The meat received from this source is turned over to seven or eight boys whom the soldiers have selected as their assistants, and carried to the lodge of the hunt leader.

At the time when the twenty akida are chosen by the chiefs, seven or eight supernumerary officers, called, wabolutcê, are also chosen. Their duty is to be present during all "soldier killings" and if one of the akida fails to do his duty, they whip him.

After the buffalo hunt was over, heralds were sent through the village to announce that the hunt had been a success, the number of buffalo killed, and whether or not there were any accidents.

When a man had done something meriting a "soldier killing" the akida went to the culprit's lodge and called him out. If he resisted, all beat him mercilessly instead of limiting the punishment to one stroke each. Rods, about the size and length of a buggy whip, which were always carried by the akida, were used for chastisement.

Wamo<sup>n</sup>ike denied that the Kansa ever used the camp circle. He declares that the tribesmen pitched their lodges in two rows on the prairie and that there was no order or fixed division, except that the earth people pitched first. This, of course, does not agree with Dorsey, who had more and better informants at an earlier date than the writer.

#### GENS WAR BUNDLES AND THEIR OWNERS.

According to Forest Choteau and Wamo<sup>n</sup>ike, from the latter of whom the war bundle of the Pta (Deer) gens was collected, there were certain men in each gens who had the right to own the gens war bundle (wa<sup>x</sup>obe).

These men acquired the privilege through fasting and prayer which brought them the proper vision. After this had been obtained they sought out an old bundle owner and paid him to teach them how to make and use a clan bundle; henceforward, the new bundle owner was a potential war chief and might be called upon at any time to lead a war party.

The bundle obtained from Wamo<sup>ni</sup>ke was made up of an outer wrapping composed of a reed mat with angular designs, a bag woven of buffalo wool, and a leathern (perhaps deer or antelope foetus skin) bag in which was contained the mummified body of a hawk, daubed with thick bluish or greenish clay paint. A braided yarn cord was fastened to the hawk's neck for suspension, and a couple of scalplocks were attached to its tail. In other specimens, collected by Mr. M. R. Harrington and now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, the hawks are literally covered with scalps. This is also true of the hawks in two Osage bundles in the American Museum collections. Osage and Kansa bundles are remarkably similar throughout in every detail. Besides the hawk there were a number of dry (buffalo?) bladders, and a twist of sweetgrass. The bundle was tied with broad leather thongs to which scalps are formerly said to have been attached. There were also a number of short sticks or reeds thrust under these thongs outside the bundle. They were said to represent the number of warriors concerned in striking the foe when it was last used. In addition to being a war talisman this bundle was looked upon as a watcher of the lodge and a guardian of health. During the menstruation of any woman in the family the bundle was taken outside and hung up. It was also taken outdoors and aired on sunny days "to keep it well." Apparently the contents of the bundles of different gentes differed slightly. Some had large sea shell gorgets in them. J. O. Dorsey, referring to the ceremony before starting to war, states:—

The clam shell had been brought from the 'great water at the east' by the ancestors of the Kanzas. This was the case with all the sacred objects of the tribe, including the pipes and sundry roots used as medicines. The shell was opened and made like the face of a man, with eyes, teeth, etc. . . .

When the sacred pipe is smoked by a Large Hãnga (Black eagle) or a Small Hãnga (Chicken-hawk) man, he must hold it in his right hand, blowing the smoke into the clam shell, which is held in his left. The smoke is supposed to ascend to the thunder-god, the god of war, to whom it is pleasant. There are five envelopes or wrappings for the shell, similar to those around the war pipe. All of the wrappings are called the "i<sup>he</sup>-cabe." The inmost one is the bladder of a buffalo bull; the next is the spotted fur of a fawn; the third is matting made of the tall grass called sa; the fourth a broad piece of deer skin; the outmost one is interwoven hair from the head of a buffalo bull.

The war pipe was kept by Paha<sup>le</sup>-wak'ü (son of Ali<sup>le</sup>kawahu), who died in 1883. It is made of red pipestone (i<sup>y</sup>i<sup>le</sup>), and is called i<sup>le</sup>-jüdge nanü<sup>le</sup>ba or nanü-

ũba jüdje. The stem forms part of the stone, being just long enough to be put between the lips. The stone is about the thickness of two hands (two or three inches). On each side of the pipe is an eye, that it may see the enemies. The opening of the bundle containing it is regulated by Ali<sup>a</sup>kawahu.<sup>1</sup>

The occasion for a war party was the death of a gens member, the idea among the Kansa (and also among the Osage) being that blood (formerly of an enemy, now of any living thing) must be shed to make up for the loss of a member of the gens. On such an occurrence the relatives of the deceased would approach their gens bundle owner and give him a horse, bidding him to mourn from one to six months (Dorsey makes it less) as the case might be.

After this period had elapsed, the bundle owner would call the tribe to council and select four braves (akida) to help him as officers, gather a war party, and set out. Before going into battle, the sacred bundle was opened and two braves took from it the hawk or the sea shell (gorget) and the reed and buckskin wrappers. The two warriors who did this thereby pledged themselves to kill an enemy or die in the attempt. These badges were hung around their necks by the leader, who removed the charms at night before the party slept, and hung them on the forks of a crotched stick, whence they were removed and placed on their wearers early in the morning when they rose. The rest of the bundle, the bag and contents, was left behind. Dorsey gives an excellent detailed account of the rites performed at the death of Hosasage, a Kansa, in the winter of 1882-3. He says:—

Now, as the Kansas are few, all the men of the tribe assemble and go on the war path; but formerly it was not so. Then a sufficient number of warriors could be raised from a few gentes, probably among the gentes connected with the deceased by blood or marriage. Then a pipe was given to one who was an important man in the tribe; and he fasted for six days before summoning the warriors to join him in the expedition....

As soon as Hosasage died, his father-in-law, Wakanda, went after Paha<sup>a</sup>le-gaqli, the war captain. The old man said, "Hosasage is dead. Therefore I have come to tell you to take the sacred pipe." The reply was, "Yes, I will take the sacred pipe. I will also take the sacred bag." Wakanda returned home, reaching it as day was coming. Paha<sup>a</sup>le-gaqli took the mysterious objects, and put clay on his face as a sign of mourning. He fasted, performing the ceremonies of the ancients. At day he took the pipe and went to the

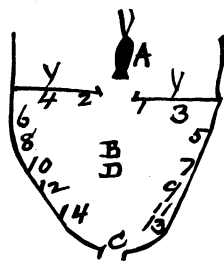


Fig. 1. Diagram of the Kansa Mourning Ceremony. After Dorsey.

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Dorsey, (d), 670 et seq. All the references to Dorsey in this section refer to this article.

house of the deceased. Hosasage's affinities had laid out the corpse, placing the body in the house near the door, and with the head to the east.

A skin tent was erected outside, extending from the front of the house towards the east. Representative men from all the gentes entered the tent and took their stations, as in the accompanying figure, beginning with No. 1.

When Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli arrived he first stood at C. Then the body was brought from the house and placed at B, with the head to the east. Then Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli stood at D, where he wept a great deal for the dead. He could not touch the corpse or any other dead body.

After mourning for him a long time, he said, "I will sit still for four days, smoking the sacred pipe. Then will I wander about, and I will kill any animals that I find." Then he condoled with all present. After which Wakanda took the ghost [a lock of hair] from the corpse, and carried it back to the house, crying as he went. Then Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli selected four young men to act as servants for himself and the warriors.<sup>1</sup> They were Gahia-ma<sup>yi</sup>, of the Turtle gens; Iuka-gaqli, the brother Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli, of the Black eagle gens; Teehawale, or Shield, of the same gens; and Tadjek'uwe, of the Qüya or Eagle gens. This last is the brother-in-law of Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli. All are Yata men, *i. e.*, men from gentes on the left side of the tribal circle. They were called djexe-k'<sup>i</sup>, or *kettle-carriers*, answering to the Osage *šex-e-k'<sup>i</sup>*, *leaders of the expedition*, or *qlots'age*. They always decide what is to be done, as the *duda<sup>n</sup>-hañga*, or war captain cannot do that. On this occasion the men chosen were Kibaqla-hü, of the Elk gens; Jiñgawasa, of the Qüya (Eagle) gens; Cu<sup>m</sup>ikase (Wolf), of the Ibatc'e gens; and Wats'aji, of the Black bear gens. Three were Yata men, and the fourth was an Ictuñga (Right) man.

The directors consulted one another, saying, "Let us go on the war path in four days." Then they addressed Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli for the first time in their official capacity, "O war captain, let us go on the war path in four days." Then Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli announced their decision to all the others present, saying, "O comrades! in four days I will go on the war path."

As a reward for his services Wakanda gave Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli a spotted horse, two red blankets, two white ones and a calico shirt. The two red blankets, one white one and the shirt were divided at once among the four directors. Then all present, except Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli, returned to their homes. Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli could not go to his home for four days. He had told the kettle-carriers to make him a small lodge by the course of a small stream which used to flow near his house. This was done by Gahia-ma<sup>yi</sup> and Teehawale. Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli was required to fast, wandering about and crying in solitary places, having clay on his face. At sunset his brother, Iuka-gaqli, brought him water. Then could the mourner wash his face and drink a cupful of the water, but he could eat no food. After sleeping awhile at night, he arose and put more clay on his face. At sunset on the fourth day the four directors went to the house of Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli and sent the four kettle-carriers to summon the mourner to his house. Then was he permitted to take food. The next morning he went for Gahia-ma<sup>yi</sup> and Teehawale. Before they arrived he and his wife left their house. He ordered them to invite the guests to his lodge. The messengers went in different directions, saying to each invited guest, "I have come to call you to go on the war path." And each man replied, "Yes, I will go with you." A lodge was set up near the house of Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli, and there the guests assembled.

<sup>1</sup> Nixudje-yinge says that there are six instead of four when the waqpele gaxe is performed.

Only two gentes met as such, the two Hǎŋga gentes, Black eagle and Chicken-hawk, but there were present the directors and kettle-carriers, some of whom were members of other gentes.

Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli, who took his seat suddenly when the guests arrived, was present in two capacities, as war captain and as the head of his gens; Cu<sup>m</sup>mikase was there as a member of his gens and as a director; and Iṭuka-gaqli was there as a member of his gens and also as a kettle-carrier.

Only three were allowed to sing the sacred songs, Ali<sup>ṭ</sup>kawahu, Gahi<sup>ṭ</sup>ge-wadayiŋga (who died in Jan., 1883) and Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli.

Two young men, one of the Turtle gens and one of the Qüya (Eagle) gens, attended to the sacred boiling (for the feast). Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli sent Tadj-e-k'uwe for the sacred clam shell, saying, "I will take the large covering and the large bowl too. I will perform a sacred ceremony. Go for them." These objects were at the house of Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli, beyond the person addressed.

After the singing Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli lighted and smoked the war pipe, and then handed it to all the others. After smoking they slept there. When the sky was getting light, before sunrise, the men took clay which they rubbed over their faces. All rose to their feet within the lodge and cried. They ceased crying when the sky became white. They went out, put the saddles on the horses, mounted them and departed. Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli kept far behind the others. All cried. By and by they reached the other side of the Arkansas river; then they reined in their horses and dismounted. Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli took the clam shell and gave it to one of the four directors to carry on his back. Subsequently they killed five prairie chickens. Thus was life taken, and the mourners were satisfied. They went on till they reached a small stream, beside which they encamped. A fire was kindled and the two kettle-carriers who had made the small lodge at the first, went for water; they gave water to all the warriors, who washed off the clay from their faces. They ate the prairie chickens and then started homeward. All returned to the house of Paha<sup>le</sup>-gaqli, where his wife put a kettle on the fire and gave them a meal. All partook of it and then separated, going to their respective homes.

According to Nixüdje-yiŋge, two qlets'age were chosen for each side of the tribe. They carried on their backs thread or sinew for mending their moccasins, and corn and squashes in bags. The war captain had a tobacco pouch of skunk skin. When he smoked he was ever praying, "O Wakanda! I wish a Pani Loup to die."

The war captain made one of the qlets'age carry the sacred bag before the ceremony of 'wáqpele gáxe' was performed. On this occasion there were six kettle-carriers instead of four. When the qlets'age carried the sacred bag two of the kettle-carriers carried a bundle of sticks, apiece, which they laid down on the road, one end of each bundle pointing towards the land of the enemy. Four of the kettle carriers remained still. The next morning all the warriors went to the spot; they drew a circle around the bundles and set up one stick within, which they attacked as if it were a Pani. This might cause, in their opinion, the death of real foes. Members of the Lu, or Thunder gens, could not take part in this ceremony, but were obliged to keep in the rear. The following prayers were said during the wapqeles gaxe, according to Nixüdje-yiŋge: "I wish to pass along the road to the foe! O Wakanda! I promise you a blanket if I succeed!" This was said facing the east. Turning to the west the following prayer was made: "O Wakanda! I promise you a feast if I succeed!"

On the return from war, during the scalp dance which followed, the wife of the war captain held the scalp and the war pipe as she danced.

U'ce-gu<sup>2</sup>ya, an aged man of the Black bear gens, told the following: In former days when a man lost a child he cried for it, and became a war captain. Two persons built him a small lodge and filled a small kettle with corn. When the corn was boiled, which was about dark, the captain gave a little of it away, but he ate none. He fasted because he wished to kill an Indian. The warriors departed the next day. The kettle-carriers took corn, meat, moccasins, small kettles and spoons. During the 'waqpele gaxe' the following petitions were made. "I wish to kill a Pani! I wish to bring back horses! I wish to pull down a foe! I promise you a calico shirt! I promise you a robe! I will also give you a blanket, O Wakanda, if you let me come home after killing a Pani!"

When an enemy was killed, in olden days, the party returned, placed it on the outside of the war bundle, to make up for the loss of the deceased. The leader then went to the chief mourner's lodge and gave him a horse, obligating him to feast the victorious war party. Then victory and scalp dances were held and the mourning ceased.<sup>1</sup>

#### COUPS AND WAR HONORS.

On the return of the war party the leader comes in ahead, singing and announcing the names of those who had achieved brave deeds. The accredited exploits were principally: killing, or killing and scalping a foe. For this a man had the right to wear the deer's hair roach, and for the first time assumed it during the scalp or victory dance held on the return of the war party.

Killing two foemen in the same fight: for this a double feather was worn in the hair.

Killing a foe at dawn when the sky was red: a red feather.

Stealing horses was also looked upon as a creditable and valorous deed, but counting coup was of no importance, although it was looked upon as a brave act.

#### PRIVILEGES OF WARRIORS.

During a surround, while the akida were holding back the people in order that all might charge in line, an akida who had a very swift horse might break away and race to the herd in order to kill the choicest beasts. He was pursued, and if caught before he reached the herd, he was whipped by his comrades; if he got there first, it was his privilege to hunt unmolested.

At feasts no commoner might sit on a stuffed hide pillow. Only an akida could do so, and he had to count his coups before he could be seated.

Akida were appointed to take charge of certain dances and see that everyone participated, but they were not supposed to perform police duty

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<sup>1</sup> Dorsey, (d), pp. 670-673.

in the village on ordinary occasions. However, it appears that they were sent for to regulate marital troubles at least, as will appear elsewhere in this paper.

When a warrior had succeeded in killing seven foemen, and capturing or stealing six horses, he was entitled to the greatest honor that could befall a Kansa, that of being tattooed on the breast. This was the summit of a warrior's ambition, and, though he might do many brave deeds thereafter, they could only add to his general reputation, and no more honors could be shown him. He might even retire on his laurels if he desired. The privileges and honors enjoyed by the tattooed warriors were numerous and important. Among them were: — the right to act as a go-between in marriage contracts; the right of ear piercing; the right of presiding at naming ceremonies. When a tattooed man died, it was customary to raise another to fill his place, provided he had killed at least five or six foes, otherwise only the regular count was accepted.

Warriors who performed brave deeds would approach the leader of the war party on their return, and offer him presents for the privilege of having their names changed. The leader would appoint four assistants (*hlätsagê*), presumably the same four whom he appointed at the outset and consult with them about the new names. These would be bestowed on the spot, and when the war party entered the village, these were the names which he announced when he recited the exploits of his followers. The people at large then adopted these titles, by which the warriors were known until they again performed some act of valor. Thus one brave might have several names during his life.

When asked what he considered a very brave deed, Roy Monroe gave the following instance: A Kansa was once fighting face to face with a Cheyenne. Both men were armed only with bows and arrows, and both were far from their own party, between the lines. The Cheyenne sent an arrow against the side of the Kansa, but it hit his butcher knife and was deflected. The Cheyenne, thinking he had mortally wounded his opponent, drew his scalping knife and dashed up. The two clinched, but the Kansa, though badly hurt, succeeded in getting his own knife clear and killed the Cheyenne. He was accorded great honor.

*Tattooing.* The rite of tattooing braves was vested in certain men who owned tattooing bundles. These were sacred bundles, connected with the war bundles, and were probably also clan bundles. There are said to be none now in the possession of the tribe. Presumably they were acquired by fasting and visions like other sacred bundles.

When a warrior had fulfilled the requirements for tattooing, he went to a bundle owner who did the work, and received no payment, as "he was

glad to be able to perform the rite since so few persons ever attained the honor." All these customs are doubtless similar to Osage rites. There are no living tattooed Kansa.

When a man had been very successful in war it was his privilege to have his wife tattooed. He would gather many presents, including a full suit of Indian clothes and give them to the owner of a tattooing bundle. The tattooing was done on the woman's chest, her arms as far as the wrist, and her calves. A round spot was also made on her forehead between the eyes. A prominent man's wife might have the septum of her nose pierced so that she could wear a nose ring.

*Ear Piercing.* A man who wished to have his child's ears pierced went to a tattooed man, or to one who, during combat, had had his body more thoroughly drenched in the blood of his enemy than anyone else (presumably there was a sympathetic connection here with the flow of blood from the child's ears during the rite of piercing) and gave him presents of calicoes, strouds, and robes, asking the brave to conduct the ceremony. The warrior accepted, and the father sold a horse to obtain the material for a feast. Then the public was invited, the warrior counted his coups and pierced the child's ears in several places. Everyone liked to be able to afford to do this for his children because of the special prestige it afforded. The wounds in the candidate's ear were plugged with lead to keep them open until they healed, and some time later the child's father gave a second feast to show that his son was ready to wear earrings, and would do so, henceforth.



## DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

E<sup>x</sup>GIKO WATCI.

When a person died this dance was given by his relatives if he had been a man of importance. Six akida were selected from among the invited guests, and blankets were spread for them to sit on. Each was given a tin pan upon which he beat time while their leader danced with his tomahawk in his hand and counted his coups. When he had finished, he handed his weapon to another who took up the dance while the former received a present from the mourners. When this ceremony was over the mourning ceased, which would otherwise have lasted four days.

## HELUCKA WATCI.

This dance is still performed, but has no longer any ceremonial meaning, being only a social function. Many of the characteristic regalia and other paraphernalia are still found, but they have apparently lost their significance.

The dance is performed by both men and women, and is held in a round frame building with a conical roof. The "crow," the well-known eagle feather bustle, is worn, and sword-like clubs of wood, presumably the flat "rabbit hind leg" form are borne by some of the men; short feather-covered wands are the property of some of the women. It could not be learned that there was specified any number of club, wand, or crow owners, or that these people had now any special rank, rotation, or privileges. There is no dog feast.

This dance was not originally a Kansa ceremony, according to my informants. It is supposed to have come from the Ponca, who previously got it from the Sioux. It is said to have been called formerly, "Ca<sup>n</sup>helucka Watci" or Sioux dance. The society is composed of:—

2 chiefs	2 whip carriers (wan'ûci)
1 drum owner	5 singers (h'oka)
6 leaders (dudan <sup>a</sup> )	4 speakers (ni <sup>j</sup> 'êtênûhê)
2 ushers (wawe'la)	6 women singers (oyazê)
2 "tails" (sinje)	2 waiters (o <sup>n</sup> hu <sup>x</sup> ê) <sup>1</sup>
1 water carrier (ni <sup>ai</sup> i)	x members

<sup>1</sup> These latter may be chosen from among the members just before the feast. The office is not permanent.

When it has been decided to get up a *helúcka* society, before a drum is made all the prospective members get together and appoint the two chiefs. These two decide who shall be caretaker, or owner of the drum. That is, who shall keep the drum in his house, and provide a place and food for the dancers, and people who go to his lodge to dance. Nowadays, however, there is a round, conical-roofed dance house of wood in which the ceremony is held.

When they have selected a proper person to own the drum, the chiefs fill and light a pipe and give it to the appointee. If he takes and smokes it, he has accepted. He then tells them to select the six *dudan*<sup>a</sup> or leaders. When this has been done the two *wawe'la*, or ushers, are chosen. They place visitors at the ceremony and settle any disputes, arguments, or quarrels that may arise in the society at a ceremony.

The next step is the selection of two boys called *sinjê*, or tails. Their duty is to dance alone after each song is sung to the music of a special little verse.

After this a boy is selected as *ni<sup>ai</sup>i*, or water carrier, during performances, and then two *wan'úci* (whip carriers) whose task it is to keep order and to tell people when the dances are called and invite them to be present. They rise first at the dance and make the others follow. Their function is like that of the ancient *akida*.

Following this the five *hoka* or singers are elected, and then four old men are chosen to be chiefs or *mi'jêtnûhê*. It is their portion to make speeches and preach between the dances during the ceremonies. If anyone loses anything while on the floor he calls on one of these old men to pick it up for him. The elder goes out, recites one of his coups, takes up the object and returns it to its owner, who is obliged to give him a present in return. This has its parallel among the Menomini.

Now the six *dudan*<sup>a</sup> or leaders choose six women singers (*óyazê*) to sit behind the five male singers. The men sit in a circle about the drum and the women form an outer circle. Just before the dance commences, the drum owner strikes the drum and gives away a horse. After this the ceremony opens.

In former times only the leaders might own and wear the "crow," or eagle feather bustle and only braves, the deer hair roach, but now anyone may assume them, and they have lost their significance.

There is no dog feast, or counting coups before eating an animal head, nor is there any throwing away of gifts at a confessional dance, nor divorce proceedings. These latter are found among the Menomini, Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, and perhaps Ojibway. Unlike the Menomini and Ojibway, the Kansa lack the sex taboo, a prohibition of sexual intercourse for some

time prior to the ceremony. There is no special pipe or pipe owner, but the drum owner keeps a pipe and tobacco for the pleasure of the members, not for any ceremonial use.

J. O. Dorsey says<sup>1</sup> that the "Ilucka watci" was danced by men alone after returning from war.

### WAR DANCES.

Dorsey<sup>2</sup> refers to two dances not mentioned by my informants. He says:—

There are two dances before going to war, the Maka'watci' and the Wacábe watci'. The former may be danced at any season. It is designed to increase the warlike spirit of the men. . . .

The Wacabe watci' is danced four days before going on the war path, in warm weather. There are about forty followers besides the leaders. They divide into two parties of equal numbers and dance out of doors, around the village, half going in one direction and half in the other. Each of the four qlets'age carries a standard or waqléqle skā, made of swan skin (mi'xa-ha). Two of these men are in each party. The he wáqleqle or wacábe, from which the dance takes its name, is borne by the wadjípa'yi' or village crier, a member of the Deer gens. When they start on the war path the qlet s'age go horseback, carrying their standards.

### SCALP OR VICTORY DANCE.

On the return of the war party, the successful warriors delivered their scalps to the women who placed them on the ends of sticks and danced with them. The warriors also danced, dressed in their best clothes, and young men, who had just performed their first exploits, were privileged to wear the deer hair roach headdress for the initial time. Dorsey refers to this dance as the watce watci', and says it was danced only by women. The following account of the scalp dance is given by the Rev. Joab Spencer:—

In the autumn of 1867 the Kaw Indians went off on their annual hunt into the buffalo country. . . . Some time after their return I learned there was to be a scalp dance at night at a village not far from the agency, and, with others decided to witness the performance. When I reached the village the dance was in progress. The scalps recently secured were hung on a pole erected in the midst of the village. Only men dance among the Indians. The dancers arranged themselves in a straight line, or in a circle, one just behind the other, assuming a stooping position, with the knees bent forward enough to balance the body. The dance consisted of a kind of shuffling motion and a spring up of a few inches from the ground. . . .

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<sup>1</sup> J. O. Dorsey, (d), 679.

<sup>2</sup> (d), 678 et seq.

The dancers had a grave and serious look, and seemed to give close attention to their work. If a dancer tired he would step out of line. If another wished to join, he stepped into line at any time. . . . They danced to music, or rather with music. The musician's instrument was a drum made by stretching wet rawhide over the open end of a keg; when the skin dried the drum was ready for use. This he struck with a stick, like a bass-drummer, and kept very good time. These drums could be heard for quite a distance. The performer accompanied the drum with an improvised song, in which he recited the brave feats of the warriors in the battle in which the scalps had been taken.

#### PEYOTE.

The peyote cult while very strong here, having apparently superseded all of the old Kansa beliefs, has been in vogue, it is said, only seven or eight years. It probably came from the Ponca. None of the teachings of the cult, as practised by the Kansa, have any biblical foundation. The ceremonies are held in a large conical tipi, and the usual rattles made of small gourds and eagle feather fans and other paraphernalia occur. The effect of peyote eating on the Kansa has been to abolish drunkenness among its followers.

#### WOMAN'S DANCE.

This dance (*paia'tê watci*) is said to be the same as the *helucka* with the same officers except that there are no whip carriers. Little could be learned of it, and it is perhaps extinct.

#### WANÁCE'S DANCE.

An Oto named *Wanáce* introduced a dance called after him, *Wanace watci*, but it died out soon after its introduction. It is said to have resembled the Potawatomi dream dance. There were two officers who bore pipes and preceded the line of dancers about the hall.

#### DALI WATCH.

This dance is regarded as being principally a woman's dance, although the warriors take a prominent part. The women dance close together, while the braves, mounted, parade around them and re-enact their coups. Many of the men carry wands with bunches of shavings rolled back at

intervals, one for each of his coups.<sup>1</sup> Wands are cut by braves and taken to noted warriors who prepare the shavings, one for each coup struck by the carrier, and return them.

The male dancers were stripped to clout and moccasins, and their bodies and legs were smeared with white clay. Sometimes an old warrior who had stolen a horse gave the right to some young man who requested the privilege of wearing a rope, bandolier-wise, over one shoulder. This doubtless had some connection with the horse's halter. If anyone asked why this was worn, the bearer replied, "As an argument." Some carried a corncob instead, with the same meaning. Other youths carried a pack strap. This privilege is given by old men who have killed an enemy and taken away all his possessions.

During a dance a man might dismount and ask another to strike him with his wand. The latter first recited one of his coups and then obeyed. Two akida were appointed to look around and bring in all youths and make them dance. If a young man refused, the akida counted their coups and beat him, after which he was set free.

The dancers were led by war bundle owners bearing the calumet stem, but the use of this regalia was only secondary in this society.

At one point in the dance a certain song was struck up and at this signal all the men raced to another lodge where a feast had been prepared. The one who got there first received the lion's share of the food.

Sometimes the proceedings were interrupted by the appearance of a man leading a child. The man had a butcher knife in his hand with which he stabbed the drum and ended the dance. This was a demand for more dancing and meant the preparation of a new drum. Next day the stabber gave a horse to provide a feast, and when it had been sold or traded and the feast prepared and eaten, the dancing started in again. The women began alone, the men meanwhile dressing. Finally, they were called and joined the ceremony. The dancers then went two by two, two women and two men dancing in a circle.

#### CALUMET DANCE.

Those who own the feathered pipe wand have the right of taking it to another tribe, or as I understand it, another individual of their own tribe, where, if accepted, the following ceremony, called *mo<sup>n</sup>cu watci*, or calumet dance, is given.

The recipient tells his friends what has happened and invites them to

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Menomini funeral customs, this series, Vol. XIII, 63-72.

take part. He then chooses one of his children to receive the calumet, and four assistants or advisors who council him about the final ceremony of acceptance. He orders his assistants to prepare a feast, and when the guests arrive the four announce to them the reason for the ceremony.

The pipestem wand is a perforated stick an inch or two in circumference and about a yard long, beautifully ornamented with feathers, horsehair and other objects. The perforation symbolizes the sun, which is said by the Kansa to look as though it had a hole in it, if it be gazed at steadily. One end of the wand has a duck's head fastened over it. This represents good weather, for ducks fly quacking when the weather is to be fine. The bunch of owl feathers attached to the stick represents rain, for this is what the owl's cry foretells. The woodpecker bills symbolize fair weather, as they are heard then, and the tuft of red dyed horsehair at the end opposite the duck head is a prayer for more horses. On the wand is a fan-like appendage formed from the plumes of two varieties of black eagles (?), and mottled black and white. A forked stick, representing a crotched tree of the type in which eagles nest, is also included. This is painted red to represent the green grass, and is stuck in the ground and the feathered wand is rested in it, with the duck's bill end on the ground. Four grains of corn also accompany the wand and these are planted later to symbolize the desire of the people for fruitful crops. The signification of the wand and all its accessories is long life. Two wands are used: one with white eagle feathers is the male, the other with black, the female.

The child's face is painted green with an outer circle of red, and it is lead from the lodge and placed before a drum. Then two men dance with the feathered wands and while they perform, the donor of the ceremony receives rich gifts of horses, blankets, and other goods.

When the dance is over a single grain of corn is cut into four parts and dropped into a little bowl of water. Then a horse's tail is dipped in it and drawn once in a circle about the child's face, symbolizing washing away the paint. Then it is dried by taking a wildcat skin and going through the same motions with it.

Next four bundles of grass are taken and placed one to the east, south, west, and north, and the child's feet are placed on each. This represents four generations of his own that the child shall live to see, and it is called, "giving four houses." This is the main object of the ceremony, to bring long life, and "all belongs to the child." The child is told by the donor: "Some day, when you have grown up and have a family, if you get in hard straits, remember me. Then give this ceremony to someone as I gave it to you, for this rite is performed partly for the benefit of the donor, who is usually very poor."

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

As might be expected, the Kansa have lost much of their social organization, yet a good knowledge of the old gentile groups remains. According to Dorsey, the Kansa had four types of social divisions, namely: moieties, phratries, gentes, and subgentes. Of these the writer was only able to obtain information on the gentes, and the gentile individual names belonging to them. These names seem to have escaped Dorsey's attention.

We obtained a list of fifteen Kansa gentes most of which seem to bear identification with Dorsey's list of sixteen, although our translations of the names of the gentes do not always agree.

Dorsey gives a *Mi<sup>n</sup>k'i<sup>n</sup>* (Carries-the-sun-on-his-back) gens, which the writer took for *Mika*, or raccoon, but Dorsey lists the raccoon people as a subgens of the *Ibatc'ě*, or Holds-the-firebrand-to-sacred-pipes, a group which I did not obtain from my informants. One other discrepancy of a like sort occurs. I did not obtain the *Qüya*, or White Eagle gens of Dorsey's list, but did get a *Khryanika*, or Real Eagle division. This seems to correspond with Dorsey's *Qüyunikaci<sup>n</sup>ga*, or White-eagle-people subgens of the gens of that name, which after all amounts to practically the same thing.

My list does not agree very well with that of Fletcher and La Flesche <sup>1</sup> who record in all twelve gentes, including the following not found by me. *Wazhazhe* or *Osage*, *Kansa*, *Waxhi<sup>n</sup>ga* or bird, *Te* or buffalo. The bird and buffalo gentes occur neither in my list nor in Dorsey's, but Dorsey clears up the other cases, however, by giving *Osage* as an alternative name for the *Deer* gens, *Kansa* as an alternative for *Tcihaci<sup>n</sup>*. In addition Dorsey also gives the following alternative names for other gentes: *Ma<sup>n</sup>yiñka gaxe* or *Earth Lodge Makers* for the *Earth* gens; *Hañga utandji*, *Hanga-apart-from-the-rest*, and *Ta sindje qaga* or *Stiff-deer-tail* for *Hanga tinga*; *Si tanga* or *Big feet*, for the *Buffalo bull* gens; *Leda<sup>n</sup>unikacinga*, or gray hawk for the *Thunder* people. Dorsey gives *Sindjale* (tail wearers, or anything with a tail) as a subgens of the black bear group. We collected it as an alternative name for the black bear people.

The matter of the subgentes also needs attention. The list of names which Dorsey gives as subgentes sounds like the personal gentile names which we collected. As the Kansa whom we questioned were all of the opinion that the gentes were never subdivided, perhaps Dorsey mistook these terms for the names of subgentes.

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<sup>1</sup> Fletcher and La Flesche, 67.

## BANDS.

According to Wam'o<sup>n</sup>ike<sup>1</sup> the Kansa tribe was originally divided into three bands, known as:—

(a) Gah'oli, or Creek band under Chief Nopauwoi, in recollection of my informant.

(b) Mo<sup>n</sup>h'azuli, or Yellow-cutbank band, under Chief Aligaw'ahu.

(c) Bígiu (Picayune?), Nickle band, so called because this division was first to obtain five cent pieces, under Chief Wâ'cungê.

While the chiefs named are those known to my informant, and the name of one of the bands at least is of recent origin, it is still possible that this treble division is very old, and the names only are modern.

## GENTES.

Regardless of the bands, however, there still remain a number of exogamous gentes, with descent in the male line. Wam'o<sup>n</sup>ike added that several more gentes were extinct, and gave the names of all that he could remember. The first five are the most important and go in rotation. The order of the others does not matter. The tribal civil chieftaincies are five in number, and the office is hereditary. My informant believes that the original five were chosen for wisdom and valor, but that the reasons for choosing them, together with their names, etc., are long since lost. They also were important according to the rotation of their gens. The gentes are:

- (1) Moi<sup>n</sup>ka ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, earth people.
- (2) Mika ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, raccoon people.
- (3) Hungatinga ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, black eagle people.
- (4) O<sup>n</sup>pa ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, moose (?) or elk (?) people.
- (5) Pta ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, deer people.
- (6) Lunikucana ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, thunder people. (Dorsey Lu, Thunder, or Leda<sup>n</sup>unikicinga, grey hawk people.)
- (7) Ha ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, night people.
- (8) Khryanika ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, real eagle people.
- (9) Tcedoga ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, buffalo bull people.
- (10) Wanagre ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, ghost people.
- (11) Kê'ta<sup>n</sup>ga ní<sup>k</sup>úcinga, big turtle people.

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<sup>1</sup> Person-who-steals, in the sense of a brave deed, as one who steals horses from the enemy.



(12) Tcihaci níkúcinga, not translatable, derived from wind, perhaps means blowing. (Dorsey gives this as Last Lodge.)

(13) Wasabe níkúcinga, (extinct) bear people.<sup>1</sup>

(14) Wacta'ge níkúcinga, (extinct), never do wrong people. (Dorsey gives this as Tci ju Wactage, Tci ju, peace maker.)

(15) Ponka níkúcinga, Ponca People.

*Gens Rites.* Each of these gentes originally had certain positive or negative rites, that is, privileges or taboos. Many of these are forgotten, but the following are remembered:

(1) The Earth-people announced the moving of camp, after counseling with buffalo and deer-people. They also pitched their tents first upon the ground and the others followed. The earth-people might never eat "roasting ears" of maize until all the other gentes had had their fill.

(2) Raccoon-people, rites forgotten.

(3) Black-eagle-people. Members can skin eagles if they kill them, or give permission to others to do so. Other gens members may not do so, but must bring any eagle that they may slay to an eagle man, who will either skin it for them, or give them oral permission to do so. They had the right to strew eagle down on the graves of the dead.

(4) Elk-people, rites forgotten.

(5) Deer-people. Originally the members of the deer gens were not supposed to touch venison but this custom has long been ignored. Latterly, when on a deer hunt, if a member of the party fell sick, it was taboo to eat the flesh of a deer of the opposite sex from that of the patient.

(6) Thunder-people. When there was a drought these people burned the prairie to cause rain. During violent storms, they threw cedar leaves on the fire and besought the thunder to moderate or go away.

(7) Night-people, rites forgotten.

(8) Real-eagle-people, rites same as black eagle people.

(9) Buffalo-people might not eat buffalo meat when on hunt until all other gentes had finished.

(10) Ghost-people. When a person died, the relatives gave a horse to the ghost gens to pay for a feast at which the ghost people ate first.

(11) Big Turtle-people, rites forgotten.

(12) Blowing-people (?), rites forgotten.

(13) Bear-people. When on the warpath if a member touched the body of a foe with his right hand on his return he had the privilege of touching his son's mouth with the same hand. If the child vomited, he was a bastard.

(14) Never-do-wrong-people, rites forgotten.

(15) Ponca-people, rites forgotten.

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<sup>1</sup> Sinjale, "anything with a tail" was a nickname sometimes applied to the Wasabe.

There were no special clan paintings nor hair cuts. There were no sub-gentes, nor was there a dual division. Each gens formerly had its own type of sacred bundle.

Wam'o'ike says that he knows only the origin myth of his own gens, that of the deer, but that he believes the other gentes had similar origin myths, now forgotten. The deer gens myth runs as follows: Long ago two Indians, relatives, killed a deer. They ran up and looked at it. The elder said, "Well, this is a nice little animal we have killed. We can name our children and ourselves after it." So they took the name of deer, and their descendants have always been known by that title.

*Individual Gens Names.* Each gens had its own male and female gentile names, which could be used by every family in the group. These titles were bestowed in order of birth, in the rotation given here. The names all had reference to the eponymous object of the gens and could be used by the owners throughout life if they chose, even when other names had been earned in war or otherwise acquired.

Many of these names cannot now be translated, for the terms are archaic. Each set given had to be gathered from a member of the gens in question, as it was not customary for any person to pay attention to those occurring outside their own gens. So far as could be learned, all these names are still vigorously kept up.

#### A. The Ghost-people Gens

##### Male

- 1 Wa\*liji
- 2 Watc<sup>x</sup>esna
- 3 Yútculêzê, ribs showing (as in a decomposed corpse)
- 4 Pa'hrêga, skull
- 5 Wanaghrê, ghost
- 6 Huj'êmaia, whistle (of ghost) <sup>1</sup>

##### Female

- 1 No<sup>o</sup>duwabi, watching-it (child) grow
- 2 Míhowê, Hunting-trouble
- 3 Huyáli
- 4 Asihowê
- 5 Wáguwû

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<sup>1</sup> The ghosts of people who have died horrible deaths are supposed to stay behind on earth, wandering and whistling. The name alludes to this phenomenon.

## B. Deer-people Gens

## Male

- 1 Gah'iginizê, Standing-chief
- 2 Mij'inoho<sup>x</sup>, Breaking-bow
- 3 He<sup>x</sup>hûta, Forked-horns
- 4 Tasiha<sup>x</sup>, Deer-hoof
- 5 Níabi, (Shot at and) Missed-deer
- 6 Tatûnga, Buck
- 7 So<sup>n</sup>jo<sup>n</sup> maihe, Walking-through-the-oaks

## Female

- 1 Hambáidoka, Wet-moccasins
- 2 Wúcamiť'caka, Wild-animal
- 3 He<sup>x</sup>ojami, Gray-hair (Reference: Deer in winter coat)
- 4 Sânsile, Deer-tracks
- 5 Mo<sup>n</sup>juwabi, Spying-at-deer
- 6 Hí'jujame, Red-in-spring (Reference to deer's spring and summer coat).

## C. Night-people Gens

## Male

- 1 Lado<sup>x</sup>hojê, Gray-hawk
- 2 Hambaih'u<sup>x</sup>, Coming-daylight
- 3 Hámbaska, Dawn
- 4 Ha<sup>n</sup>cábe, Dark-night
- 5 Ha<sup>n</sup>cihê, Dusk

## Female

- 1 Bek'ûnjê, Bird
- 2 Ka<sup>n</sup>hamê, Glittering-stars
- 3 Wat'cestomi, Early-morning
- 4 Lúwatcê, Midnight
- 5 Há<sup>n</sup>jamê, Night

# D. Real-eagle-people Gens<sup>1</sup>

## Male

- 1 Ka<sup>x</sup>omai<sup>a</sup>, Soaring-eagle
- 2 Waha<sup>n</sup>ha<sup>n</sup>, White-spots-showing (in a soaring eagle)
- 3 Hûntasabe, ?
- 4 Wai<sup>i</sup>gîda', ?
- 5 Wa<sup>x</sup>hito', ?

## Female

- 1 Xuaiádownabi, ?
- 2 Waguwa, ?
- 3 Bazêmi, Yellow-head
- 4 Mizhúhawaka, ?
- 5 Wazhónhai, ?

# E. Ponca-people Gens<sup>2</sup>

## Male

- 1 Wacista, ?
- 2 Wa<sup>x</sup>ingali, Pretty-bird
- 3 Hizha<sup>n</sup>, ?
- 4 Gaska, ?
- 5 Watcigahê, ?
- 6 Yújiwaci, ?

## Female

- 1 Hombáidoka (This name was given to the Ponca gens by the Deer gens, hence the duplication.)
- 2 Mihêtcunga, ?
- 3 Ma<sup>n</sup>saki'da, ?
- 4 Skawaho<sup>n</sup>tcî, ?
- 5 Tamo<sup>n</sup>zhi, ?
- 6 Wakansalê, ?

## KINSHIP TERMS.<sup>3</sup>

Be-ché-go (Mitcîgu), all males of my grandparent's generation and beyond, lineal or collateral.

<sup>1</sup> Tapani, a woman, informant.

<sup>2</sup> Jeff Macaulay, informant.

<sup>3</sup> The terms in parentheses are those collected by the writer. The others are listed by Morgan. M. S. and F. S., stand for "male speaking" and "female speaking," respectively.

E-kó (Iko'), all females of my grandparents generation and beyond, lineal or collateral, except my mother's mother's sister and my father's father's sister's daughter.

E-kó-be-ta, my mother's mother's sister; my father's father's father's sister's daughter.<sup>1</sup>

E-dä'-je (Idai<sup>a</sup>), my father; my father's brother; my stepfather; my mother's brother's daughter's husband (either sex speaking); my father's father's brother's son.

E'-naw (Inu), my mother; my mother's sister; my stepmother; my father's brother's wife; my mother's brother's daughter (either older or younger, either sex speaking); my mother's brother's son's daughter (either sex speaking).

Be-ché-ga (Wicingi), my son; my brother's son (M.S.); my sister's son (F.S.); my father's brother's son's son (M.S.); my father's brother's daughter's son (F.S.); my father's sister's son (older or younger than self, male or female speaking); my mother's sister's daughter's son (older or younger male or female speaking); my father's father's brother's son's son (M.S.); my stepson.

She-mé-she-ga, my daughter; my stepdaughter; my father's brother's son's daughter (M.S.).

Be-chose-pa, my grandchild, either sex, and all succeeding generations, lineal or collateral.

Be-zhé-yeh (Mizhi<sup>a</sup>), my elder brother (M.S.); my father's brother's son older than self (M.S.); my mother's brother's daughter's son (M.S.); my mother's sister's son older than self (M.S.); my father's father's brother's son older than self (M.S.); my stepbrother older than self (M. and F. S.); my wife's sister's husband, older than self.

Be-ché-do (Wit'cido), my elder brother; my father's brother's son older than self; my mother's brother's daughter's son; my mother's sister's son older than self (F.S.).

Be-tún-ga (Wita<sup>n</sup>ge), my elder sister; my father's brother's daughter older than self; my mother's brother's daughter's daughter; my mother's sister's daughter older than self; my husband's brother's wife younger than self (?); my elder stepsister (M.S.).

Be-shó-wa (Wi<sup>x</sup>obe), my elder sister; my father's brother's daughter older than self; my mother's brother's daughter's daughter; my mother's sister's daughter older than self; my husband's brother's wife older than self; my elder stepsister (F.S.).

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<sup>1</sup> I suspect that this term means something like "my remote grandmother" and is not a term in general use.

Be-sun'-ga (Wica<sup>n</sup>ga), my younger brother; my father's brother's son; younger than self; my mother's sister's son younger than self; my father's father's brother's son younger than self; my wife's sister's husband younger than self; my younger stepbrother (M. and F.S.).

Be-tun'-gä-zhin'-gä, my younger sister (M.S.); my father's brother's daughter, younger than self (M.S.); my mother's sister's daughter, younger than self (M.S.); my younger stepsister (F.S.).

Ah-sé-zhe-gä, my younger sister (F.S.); my father's brother's daughter, younger than self (F.S.); my mother's sister's daughter, younger than self (F.S.); my younger stepsister (F.S.).

Un-go'-ke-wä-kom, my brothers (M. and F. S.); my sisters (M.S.).

Be-jé-na, my daughter-in-law (M.S. and F.S.); my brother's son's wife (M. and F. S.); my sister's son's wife (M. and F. S.); my father's sister's son's wife (M. and F. S.).

She-mé-she-gä (Wi hu<sup>n</sup> gê), my brother's daughter (M.S.); my sister's daughter (F.S.); my father's brother's daughter's daughter (F.S.); my father's sister's daughter, older than self (F.S.); my mother's sister's son's daughter (M.S.); my mother's sister's daughter's daughter (F.S.).

Be-tö-ja, my son-in-law; my brother's or sister's daughter's husband; my father's sister's daughter's husband (M. and F.S.).

Be-chosé-ka (Witciku), my sister's son, younger or older than self (M.S.); my brother's son (F.S.); my father's brother's son's son (F.S.); my father's daughter's son or daughter (M.S.); my sister's son's daughter's son (M.S.).

Be-ché-zho (Mit'cihu), my sister's daughter (M.S.); my brother's daughter (F.S.); my father's brother's son's daughter (F.S.); my mother's sister's daughter's daughter; my father's sister's daughter, older or younger than self (M.S.).

Be-hä'-gä (Mihunga), my father's brother's son's wife (M.S.); my mother's sister's son's wife (M.S.); my wife's sister; my brother's wife (M.S.).

Be-shé-ka, my brother's wife; my husband's sister's husband; my husband's sister; my father's brother's son's wife or daughter's husband (F.S.); my mother's sister's son's wife or daughter's husband (F. S.); my husband's brother; my sister's husband.

Be-tä'-hä (Mitahan), my father's brother's daughter's husband (M. S.); my father's sister's husband; my mother's sister's daughter's husband (M.S.); my sister's husband (M. and F. S.).

Be-je-me, my father's sister; my mother's brother's wife; my mother's brother's son's wife (M. and F. S.); my father's father's sister's daughter.

Be-já-ga (Mijegi), my mother's brother; my mother's brother's son,

elder than self (M. and F.S.); my mother's brother's son, younger than self (M. and F. S.); my mother's brother's son's son (M. and F.S.); my mother's brother's great grandson's son; my mother's mother's brother's son.

Ne-ká, my husband.

Wä-kó, my wife.

Sáh'-ga (Tsalgê), my wife's father, my wife's grandfather.

Wä-kos'ah'-ga (Wakodna), my wife's mother, my wife's grandmother.

Be-tä'-ba, my wife's brother?

Mi-wí-huh-hä, my wife's brother's wife.

*Mother-in-law Taboo.* Forest Choteau says that no Kansa ever spoke to his mother-in-law if he could help it, but he might do so if absolutely necessary. All conversation with her was carried on through the medium of his wife. Girls, in like manner, durst not address their fathers-in-law.

*Joking-Relationship.* A man might joke with his brothers and sisters-in-law, or his nephews, but not his uncles.

#### DREAM FASTING.

Fasting was commenced by boys when they were about twelve or thirteen. The father painted his son's face with clay and sent him to some lonely spot to pray. The father would say to the boy: "I want you to obtain power so that when I am gone people will be able to say when you do some brave deed, "Oh, it is So-and-so's son who has done that!"

The youth would fast four days if necessary, and the things vouchsafed him were principally war powers. The dreams concerned the future and his coming exploits. The ghosts of those of his ancestors who were warriors would appear to him and prophesy his future. One would say, "Be brave! have courage! When you meet the foe I will give you power to ride right up and strike one." Before setting out on the warpath such a man would tell his dream to the people.

Besides having visions of their ancestors, the Kansa youths often dreamed of animals and supernatural beings such as the bear, the buffalo, and the thunder, who appeared in their own shapes and talked to them. No control was exercised over these dreams. They were accepted without any attempt to obtain some more favorable vision. The thing that appeared became the dreamer's guardian and he continued to dream of it from time to time during his life. If he dreamed of it while very ill he would recover, but when he ceased to see it in his dreams it was a sign that he would shortly die, for his guardian had deserted him. A man's dream would return to him when he was in a predicament.

So nǵ'o<sup>n</sup> maihê knew of a man who was named Pâniwabeta (Owning-the-Pawnee) because he had slain so many of that tribe. On his last expedition against them he rode right into their village and was killed. As he lay there dead a large snake, his guardian, ran out of his body.

Another man, who had dreamed of a bear, painted his sides black to represent that animal. He would allow other Indians to shoot him and kill him, but after lying dead a little while he would get up whole, even though he had had a hole shot through him.

Another, who had the thunder for his guardian had deer killed for him by lightning, and brought them home without a mark on them. He was finally killed by lightning himself.

Girls also underwent the puberty fast, but their dreams were seldom important. They generally dreamed that their brothers would be successful on the warpath. They plastered their hair with mud when they went out.

#### MARRIAGE.

The parents of the youth visit or send for a tattooed warrior who is brought to their lodge, where he is asked to serve as intermediary, or mezhipaha<sup>1</sup>. He learns who is the girl they have selected, and chooses three other men, all accredited braves, to accompany him to the lodge of the girl's parents, where he sets the proposition before them. If the girl's parents are willing, the mezhipaha<sup>1</sup> arises and recites his coups, followed by his assistants. They then return to the youth's parents, stopping at intervals to count their coups. If, however, their errand has been unsuccessful, they go back in silence, by which everyone is made aware of the failure of the negotiations.

When they reach the lodge whence they were sent, they announce their success. Next the groom goes to the bride elect's lodge with a number of horses. He used to ride his best buffalo horse,<sup>1</sup> and it was led by an old woman, bearing an American flag. The old woman was a sort of herald or crier. The horses are then formally presented to the bride elect's father and the wedding date agreed upon. When this is decided the girl is dressed in her best and sent back to the groom's lodge with many presents which she delivers to the groom's parents. They conduct her joyfully into their lodge where they take off her garments, and redress her in a splendid cos-

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<sup>1</sup> Some horses that were strong and swift, were especially trained for the buffalo hunt, for which many horses were unfit. They were of prime value among all prairie tribes.



tume which they have provided for the occasion. The girl is now considered married, and takes up her abode with the groom, in his father's lodge, which is now his property.

From an older authority we learn that:—

The marriage ceremony is somewhat elaborate. The marriage contract is made between the relatives of the bride and groom, who are not consulted in the matter. It is simply a sale and purchase. The relatives of the man go to the relatives of the girl and agree upon the consideration. Often the girl is not more than five or six years of age. When the time for the conferring of the contract arrives, if the families live in villages the family of the groom moves his tent near the family of the girl. On the day fixed for the final ceremony the tent of the groom is vacated by the family. The presents of the groom's relatives are left in the tent, except the ponies, which are tied outside, and four women relatives of the groom remain in the tent. The bride is clothed in all the fine and costly things that her family are able to furnish. She is then placed upon the finest horse possessed by her family, it having been decorated with costly coverings. A gun is then discharged at her tent to notify the four women at the groom's tent that the bride has started for the groom's tent. The four women leave the tent to meet her. She is taken by them from the horse, wrapped in fine clothing and carried by the four women into the tent and seated upon the ground uncovered. The friends of the groom are then notified, and he is brought into the tent and seated near the bride, when they both partake of a wedding feast, seated back to back, 'sight unseen.' After the repast is ended the relatives and friends of both parties are admitted to the tent, a general feast is had, and the delivery of the presents. Thus the ceremony is ended. If the wife is not of mature age she becomes one of the family of the groom until she is old enough to take charge of her own house."<sup>1</sup>

#### DIVORCE.

If the young people fail to agree, the groom usually returns to his parents. In such a case the bride's parents employ the same old woman who led him over to their lodge during the wedding negotiations to go over to his lodge and try to persuade the husband and his parents to be reconciled. If a reconciliation can be effected the husband's parents send presents back to the wife's parents, who accept. The man then returns to his lodge where he is visited and lectured by his parents-in-law. If the man refuses to make up, it is simply a divorce, and the old woman returns and informs the girl's parents. Both parties are free to marry again.

If caught in the act of adultery, the woman might be whipped, or even killed by her spouse. In the latter case, her parents had no redress. Roy Monroe knew of one man who slashed off the fleshy portion of his wife's

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<sup>1</sup> Spencer, 374.

nose, but all agree that nose-cutting was rare. The male delinquent might be killed by the irate husband.

The father of a divorced man might, on the occasion of a tribal buffalo hunt, take back the fine buffalo horse given the wife's parents at the wedding. In such a case the aggrieved father-in-law would appeal to the akida, who would proceed to the lodge of the groom's father and demand the horse. Two courses of procedure were then open to the defendant. He might give up the steed to them, or he might tell them that he needed the horse to hunt with in order that he might support his children. In which case the akida would demand: "Do you mean to keep that horse?" If answered in the affirmative, the reply was, "Well, keep it!" The man was then dragged out, stripped, and beaten. Each akida struck him once with his rod, after counting his coups. This was just the regular "soldier killing."

#### BURIAL AND MOURNING CUSTOMS.

When a man dies he is laid out and his best clothes are put on. His face is then painted by a member of his own gens, no one else being permitted to perform this rite. An old man then talks to the corpse and directs it how to reach the hereafter.

The body is placed in a grave not over three or four feet deep, at full length, head to the east. All the dead man's garments and most of the utensils and implements which were particularly associated with the deceased are also placed in the grave. The body itself is carefully wrapped in a buffalo robe. Then a covering of sticks is laid over the body and the earth thrown in. A pile of stones is finally heaped up over the grave which is generally, like those of the Osage, placed on the summit of a hill.

All the souls of the dead are said to be gathered in one place where the old ways are kept up, and where there is an abundance of buffalo. It is said by some that the souls of the dead return immediately to the locality where the owner was born and linger there for a year before finally departing.

The mourning period, for either sex, is four days, though a person losing husband or wife may mourn from one to six months, the period finally being terminated by a successful war party. Women mourn their husbands for a year. Every morning they rub dirt on their faces and wail. They also cut off the ends of their hair and slash themselves on the arms, legs, and face with knives. Men also cut off their scalplocks and slash themselves.

On the death of a person the mourners invited the people at large and

gave away a number of ponies, blankets, and other goods. Sometimes these presents were given in the form of prizes for races. Ponies especially were given for the first and sometimes second and third places, and often blankets or other prizes for the fourth and fifth. Another method was to toss a bell in the air and let the people scramble for it. Whosoever came out of the *mêlée* with the bell received a horse.

The following data were obtained from older writers: —

“When one dies the female relatives of the deceased take the entire charge of the dead, prepare the body for burial, dig the grave, take the body to the place of interment, and bury it without the presence of any men.” — *Judge Huffaker*.

If the deceased was a brave or a hunter his gun, saddle, bridle, blankets and other articles, supposed to be necessary for his use in the spirit world, were placed in the grave with his body, and his best horse strangled to death over his grave and left lying on it. For three nights succeeding his burial a light was kept burning at the head of his grave to give light to the soul on its passage to the Indian land of plenty and happiness, the happy hunting-ground, and for the same length of time food was placed at the head of the grave, upon which he, in some mysterious way, was supposed to feed until he reached his new and eternal home.

When there was a death in the family the mourning was continued for a month or moon. During this period the females of the family and relatives of the deceased wore cakes of wet ashes on their heads, and the men blackened their faces with mud. These tokens of grief were worn constantly, except when partaking of food. If one offered them food they would remove the black mud or ashes before they began eating. If a man lost his wife he would give away or destroy all of her cooking utensils and other household goods as a mark of respect.

Those who were able hired a mourner who visited the grave regularly for about two weeks, going early in the morning, about the break of day, and wailing for about an hour. I have listened to their wailing and heard the words used on some occasions. They were simply praising the dead, referring to their good deeds in life, etc., as we who are enlightened speak in praise of loved ones when they have left us. This hired mourner leaves his home and lives in the woods alone, eating one meal a day during the period of mourning. He does not communicate with any one during the time. The relatives of those who do not employ a mourner visit the grave for the same period and go through the same ceremony.” — *Judge Huffaker*.<sup>1</sup>

## GAMES.

*Hand Game* (*cagêlokû*). A little bell is taken in one of the hands, which are clenched with the first and second fingers outstretched. Then, with many motions before and behind the body, the bell is shifted from right to left back and forth, while the opponents try to guess where it is. If the

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<sup>1</sup> Spencer, 378.

guesser succeeds it is his turn to hide the bell. Several play at once. In this game, and all those following, stakes are laid.

*Moccasin Game* (man's game, hûmbêlaska; woman's hûmbulûkan, flat moccasins). This game is played with four moccasins, the object being for one side to guess in which one the other has hidden a little bell. In the woman's form of the game, the moccasins are concealed by a robe held over them by a little girl while the bell is being hidden. The hiding is accompanied by singing to the music of a drum. In the man's game the moccasins are doubled up on the ground between the players, and a bullet is used instead of a bell. Moreover, there is no drum accompaniment to the singing.

*Bowl and Dice* (ka<sup>n</sup>sikû). This is said not to be an ancient game with the Kansa, a statement which I doubt. A wooden bowl was used in which to shake the dice which were made of the heads of brass tacks ground down and painted. One was red and one blue, on one side; six others were uncolored. According to the way the two colored dice fell, the count was made.

*Shinney* (dâbêsi). This game was played by either sex. The implements were a single ball of buckskin stuffed with deer hair, and, for each individual player, a stick about a yard long, curved at the end away from the hand. Sides were chosen, and at each end of the field two goal posts were set up. It was the object of the game to drive the ball between the goal posts of the opposing party.

*Hoop and Javelin* (patcagê). This game was played with a plain wooden hoop wrapped with buckskin and a wooden lance or javelin. The hoop was rolled over the ground and the players chased it and tried to throw their javelins through it and pin it down.

Tops (H'oea) were used, but the writer could find no trace of cat's cradle or the cup and pin game. Lacrosse was also absent.

#### SEASONS.

Be<sup>a</sup>da<sup>n</sup>, spring

Dogêda, summer

N'hionabê o<sup>x</sup>pai, autumn (When leaves fall)

Niwatci, winter (cold)

## MONTHS.

January, Miúkoji Miumba	— Alone moon
February, Miukoi <sup>ngé</sup> Miumba	— Changeable moon
March, Hombusjeje Miumba	— Long day moon
April, Wabi Miumba	— Tilling moon
May, Wabékabi Miumba	— Cultivating moon
June, Jémanahabê Miumba	— Buffalo pawing moon
July, Júkiukomf Miumba	— Buffalo rutting moon
August, Tahabu <sup>*hombf</sup>	— Deer antler casting moon <sup>1</sup>
September, Ompakiu <sup>*habi</sup> Miumba	— Elk rutting moon
October, Ptakiu <sup>*habi</sup> Miumba	— Deer rutting moon
November, O <sup>m</sup> padjodabi Miumba	— Elk whistling moon
December, Wasabedjodabi Miumba	— Bear roasting moon

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<sup>1</sup> Probably means the moon when deer scrape the velvet from their antlers.



**PONCA SOCIETIES AND DANCES.**

**BY ALANSON SKINNER.**





## PREFACE.

The Ponca (or, as they call themselves, P'ûnka') are one of the five tribes of the Dhegiha group of the Siouan stock, and are closely related to the Omaha, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw. The history of the Ponca traces their migration from the time of their traditional separation with the Omaha from the Osage and Kansa on the Missouri; whence they ascended a northern tributary to Minnesota, where they resided near the pipestone quarry until attacked by the Sioux and driven back southwest to Lake Andes, South Dakota. There the Omaha and Ponca traditions say they obtained their sacred pipes and their gentes originated. Eventually they settled on the Niobrara River and remained there until removed by the United States Government. In 1906 there were 225 Ponca in Nebraska and 600 in Oklahoma, near White Eagle and Ponca City, where the writer visited them in June and July, 1914. The following data are the result of two days' work with Charles Collins and Big-geese as informants. No claim for the completeness of these notes is suggested, and they are published at this time principally because there is so little known of Ponca culture and the material is needed for comparison.

In material culture the Ponca are of the Plains type with leanings toward the Central Algonkin whom they probably once resembled. Old photographs and daguerreotypes, supplemented by descriptions received from my informants, go to show that at one time the two-piece open skirt woman's garment of Central Algonkin type was used, together with soft-soled moccasins. For many years these have been worn only by women who have been tattooed. The ordinary females use the typical one-piece Plains garment.

The Ponca say that when they resided in Nebraska they lived in earth-lodges like those of the Omaha, but these were given up by that portion of the tribe now in Oklahoma soon after their arrival. One was made there as late as 1880. They declare that they never used the bark wigwam, but had buffalo hide tipis with the three-pole foundation. In all twelve to thirty poles were used in setting up such a lodge. There were sockets in the ear flaps of the lodge to receive the setting poles. Pottery vessels of native make were formerly in vogue.

Little is known of Ponca mythology. Icjñiki is the culture hero, and the widespread tale of adultery through a tent wall occurs.

The literature on the Ponca is meager, the following titles being the most important: *Siouan Sociology* (Fifteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology); *A Study of Siouan Cults* (Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology); *Omaha Sociology* (Third Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology) by J. O. Dorsey; *The Ponca Sun Dance* (Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series) by George A. Dorsey; *The Omaha Tribe* (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), by Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche.

March, 1915.

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## INTRODUCTION.

According to Big-goose, the *hel'ôcka*, *e<sup>x</sup>gahre*, *tokala*, and sun dance are the oldest Ponca "dances." Membership in them was possible to anyone, while the medicine dance (*wácicka*) and buffalo dance societies were *waxobi* (powerful) and hard of admission. These latter he said were all built on the same pattern, had the same number of officers, and the like. A similar distinction was known to the Omaha, for J. O. Dorsey states:—

*The dancing societies* of the Omahas and Ponkas may be divided into the following classes: 1. Those which are "*waqube*," or sacred, including those connected with the practice of medicine. 2. Those that are "*úwacúce-ałáica*," or connected with bravery and war. 3. Those that are "*újawa-łáica*," or merely for social pleasure. They admit of another classification, *i. e.*, 1, Those of native origin; and, 2, such as have been introduced or purchased from other tribes.<sup>1</sup>

Dorsey further speaks of certain *úkikunece* or feasting societies of three kinds, one for men, one for young men, and one for youths in their 'teens. I gained no data on these from the Ponca from my informants, and among the Omaha they were extinct in Dorsey's time.

It was necessary for a person not an hereditary chief who was socially ambitious, and hoped for a chieftaincy, to join most if not all of the societies, preferably as a leader, and thus become known. He must feast them and lavish gifts on every one. He must next become a soldier, or brave (*wá-núcé*), then have his daughter tattooed, his children's ears pierced, and lastly, have received the pipe dance on several occasions from other tribes. After which he was looked upon as a chief, though apparently no one could ever become as high as an hereditary chief. .

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<sup>1</sup> Dorsey, (c), 342.

## MEN'S SOCIETIES.

## HEL'ÔCKA.

According to Charlie Collins, this society originated among the Ponca, and was founded by a woman who dreamed she went to another world where she saw Indians dancing. There was another form of the dance called can hel'ôcka which is said to have been borrowed from the Sioux. The Ponca claim that they took the society to the Kansa.

When the young people wish to get up a hel'ôcka lodge, four youths get together and choose a man to take care of the drum and the hel'ôcka round house in which the dancing is to be done and prepare the feasts. They take a pipe to him, and if he accepts, he is committed to the office. Besides the "drum owner," (nerhe<sup>x</sup>gakogelithere) are the following officers:—

- 8 leaders (nodahûnga)
- 2 tails (sindê)
- 8 drummers (xoka)
- 4 women singers (holázê) to sit behind the men
- 2 judges (wawethihethû<sup>n</sup>) who sell the horses and other gifts made by individuals to the society as a whole and act as treasurers of the proceeds.
- 1 date setter for the dance (oha<sup>n</sup>ithighthû<sup>n</sup>) who also tells what food to cook for the feasts.
- 1 pipe lighter (ninithánê). No one can light a pipe for himself during this ceremony.
- 2 starters, or whip bearers (wa<sup>n</sup>acîs)
- 2 waiters (ohâncigre)
- 2 heralds, or announcers (wa'gra)

Braves only are allowed to wear the feather dance bustles and deer hair roaches during the ceremony. All wore their war honor feathers, etc., while dancing. None wore grass.

During one particular song, the bravest man present is called up to dance in a circle of other dancers who dance "in a stationary position" while he dances in a circle round and round. Suddenly, he falls over as though he were shot and all whoop. This is repeated four times. The dance is called e<sup>x</sup>'gia<sup>n</sup>watcigahre. The brave wears the feather bustle.

There is a certain song during which only a man who has been brave enough to give away a woman can dance. Sometimes during this ceremony a man would rise and say, "I give my wife away and whoever gets her shall

have a horse." Collins knew a woman who stabbed her husband to death during a hel'ôcka performance, because he thus publicly disposed of her.

The hel'ôcka helps people mourn for their dead, and makes collections of gifts for bereaved people to help dry their tears. When other tribes come to visit these people, they entertain them, and also take up collections for outsiders who ask for help. No matter how poor a man is he is not helped unless he asks for it.

J. O. Dorsey (c, 330) gives somewhat similar data for the Omaha.

*The Orphans.* This is a modern society, dating back only thirty years and is really only a lodge of the hel'ôcka. It was originally called "hel'ôcka sinje," or hel'ôcka tails, because all the members were youths, but there was a certain man and his wife who frequently befriended them, and when the woman died the others called them "orphans." Other local lodges of the hel'ôcka had similar names.

*Can Hel'ôcka.* This dance is said to have been just like the ordinary hel'ôcka, save that the members shaved their foreheads and the sides of their heads. When they danced they let their hair hang loose. This is said to be the reason why it was called can hel'ôcka or Sioux hel'ôcka.

#### NOT-AFRAID-TO-DIE.

The e<sup>x</sup>ga'hre or not-afraid-to-die was the first society that Big-goose joined. He was made the bearer of a straight spear, with black and white spiral stripes, and wore a war-bonnet. There was another officer who carried a spear, crooked at one end, and wound with otter fur and bearing pendant white eagle feathers. There were four war-bonnet wearers whose headdresses were adorned with split buffalo horns, and two others who bore buffalo rawhide rattles, adorned with little horns. The society was composed of:—

- 2 straight spear bearers
- 2 crooked spear bearers
- 4 horn bonnet wearers
- 2 rattle bearers
- 4 drummers, each of whom had a little drum
- 4 female singers
- 2 food carriers or waiters
- 1 whip bearer
- 1 herald
- x members

In dancing all stood in a row and danced up and down, remaining "sta-

tionary." The rattle carriers stood at each end of the line. The whip carrier beat those who became tired to make them dance. If he hurt any one badly he would count one of his coups, telling how he had once hurt someone badly in battle.

The spear bearers were supposed never to flee. They struck their lances into the ground and fought beside them. During a fight with the Cheyenne one spearman was severely wounded, but stuck to his place until he was saved. When given the spears, the bearers were told that they were expected to die in defense of the tribe.

J. O. Dorsey (c, 352) records this society among the Omaha under the title of T'é gáxe wátci, the dance of those expecting to die.

#### ISKÁIYUHA.

Big-goose claimed that he "owned" the ískáiyuha society at nineteen. The society was then young, but it afterwards grew stronger, and he was given the drum to keep.

6 leaders (four of whom carried crooked spears and could not flee in war)	
8 drummers	2 waiters
1 drum owner	1 herald
4 female singers	x members
2 tails	

Outsiders made costumes for the members and received ponies for their trouble. The uniform was composed of a heavy cloth shirt covered with lots of little silver brooches, buckskin leggings, beaded moccasins, eagle feathers on the head, and a long leather strip bearing silver buckles of graduated sizes hanging from the scalplock until it touched the ground. Brass bracelets and rings were also worn. The four crooked spears were wrapped with otter fur and hung with eagle feathers.

The drum owner had to care for and feed visitors from other tribes. If there were too many of them he would call on his fellow members to help him out saying that the strangers came to visit all of them and not him alone. Then the society would give a dance and make donations toward the common cause. In fair weather the society would dance in front of rich men's lodges in the hope of receiving presents.

Thadjoke is another name for this society. Dorsey<sup>1</sup> gives Gak'éxe as still another synonym. The name ískáiyuha suggests that this dance came from the Teton-Dakota. He also refers to a distinct dance called the cadúxe, which may be my thadjoke.

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<sup>1</sup> Dorsey, J. O., (c), 355.



## TOKALA.

The officers of the tokala were:—

6 leaders	1 whip bearer
4 drummers, each with a small drum	1 herald
2 women singers	2 tails

The officers wore buckskin shirts fringed down the front and back, and leggings. The others went nearly naked or stripped to the clout. All painted with yellow, shaved the hair except for a roach; about the head they wore a strip of skunkskin to which the upper jaws of these animals were attached. From the forehead on either side strings of bone beads reaching nearly to the waist were attached to the hair. A crowskin was tied to the back of the head, and red feathers were worn in the hair. All bore rattles.

When dancing the "tails" were allowed to perform near the leaders, something which no other society permitted. They danced in a circle, and the whip bearer or "soldier," stripped to the clout and painted yellow, mounted and rode about the outside whipping those who did not dance. The t'ókala were rivals of the m'ówadani, and whenever possible stole their wives or held illicit intercourse with them, and vice versa.

J. O. Dorsey says "*The Tukála dance* was obtained from the Dakotas by the Ponkas who taught it to the Omahas."<sup>1</sup>

## MOWADANI.

The officers of the m'ówadani or Mandan dance were:—

6 leaders	2 tails
8 drummers	1 whip bearer
2 female singers	1 herald
2 waiters	

Instead of the four small drums of the tokala the m'ówadani had one large instrument made from a hollow log with heads of buffalo rawhide. It was supported by four crooked sticks, and was covered with red strouding from which a dozen eagle feathers were hung. The eight drummers were also provided with buffalo hoof rattles.

The leaders dressed in buckskin suits, used buffalo robes painted red inside. All members painted in red as opposed to the yellow of the t'ókala, and wore owl feathers on the head.

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<sup>1</sup> Dorsey, J. O., (c), 354.

They might not pick up anything that they lost, but any bystander might take it. If thrown by a horse they might not touch it, though anyone else could step up and appropriate it. These or similar customs are found among the Iowa. Like the t'ókala, they danced about the camps to receive presents.

The m'ôwadani delighted to steal the wives of the t'ókala, and, if they learned that their own women were intimate with their rivals, they would publicly give them away at the next dance.

J. O. Dorsey says of this dance<sup>1</sup> that the Ponca obtained it from the Dakota and taught it to the Omaha, who had not danced it since 1853.

#### WOMEN CATCHERS.

This was a club of young fellows who gathered to boast over their feminine conquests and adventures. They boasted of their elopements, and also of their success in touching women's genitalia. The Ponca, like the Dakota and Crow, had the custom of crawling up to lodges at night, locating the women's beds, thrusting their arms under the tent, and trying to touch them.

One custom of the society was for a member to catch a joking-relative, a brother-in-law or a nephew, as a rule, even if he was also a member of the society, strip him, and back the victim close to the fire while boasting of his conquests. For instance, the captor might say: "Last winter, I ran off with five women." He would shove his relative closer to the fire, and continue, at each boast further scorching his victim. If the captive or his friends could get no one to come up and boast of a similar or worse deed than any of his captors, the prisoner might be badly scorched. However, he might not take offence, and received a present from his tormentors afterwards.

A similar custom, connected with war exploits, was found among the Plains-Cree.<sup>2</sup> It is said that the Ponca women also got together and boasted of their lovers, but there seemed to be no definite society for so doing.

#### MEDICINE BUNDLE DANCE.

Nothing was learned of this dance (maka<sup>n</sup>watciga<sup>x</sup>ri), save that it was a sacred function held in the spring in honor of the waxobi, or sacred bundles.

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Dorsey, (c), 354.

<sup>2</sup> See this volume, 520.

## SUN DANCE.

No data were obtained on this, the most elaborate and important of Ponca ceremonies (*nedambiwatcigaxre*). J. O. Dorsey declares<sup>1</sup> that the Ponca obtained this ceremony from the Dakota. George A. Dorsey,<sup>2</sup> has given an extended illustrated account of this spectacular dance. The object of the dance, according to my Ponca informants, was to obtain rain for the crops. Although it had not been held for seven years it was decided to revive the dance during the dry summer of 1914, but for some reason this was not done, probably because of white opposition.

## CALUMET DANCE.

No details were gathered as to the calumet dance (*wawa<sup>a</sup> watci*), but from specimens seen and remarks made by the Ponca this is without doubt the regular sacred pipestem dance of the neighboring tribes. Two feathered wands, male and female, a rattle, and a wildcat skin are used. It is taken to wealthy individuals of the same or other tribes to obtain horses and to encourage friendly intercourse. J. O. Dorsey says: "The Ponkas are not fully acquainted with the calumet dance. They use but one pipe; but the Omahas always have two pipes."<sup>3</sup> I think that the Ponca are now fully informed and use two pipes.

## HEYOKA.

Under this name went certain men who, because of some dream which I could not ascertain, danced in companies in the spring. They used backward speech, and took food from boiling kettles. Some even poured boiling water over themselves. On account of the identity of the title of these clowns with the Dakota performers of similar antics, I suspect that the cult is of Teton origin.

## THOSE-WHO-IMITATE-MAD-MEN.

These people (called *thanigratha*) are said to have been entirely distinct from the *heyoka* and the cult is perhaps not of foreign origin. They did ridiculous and foolhardy things, such as crawling up and trying to touch a woman's genitals in broad daylight; coming to a stream they would strip off one legging and moccasin and ford it by hopping on the clad leg and carefully protecting the bare one from moisture. They were looked upon as clowns and fun-makers and their antics are said not to have been significant.

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<sup>1</sup> J. O. Dorsey, (c), 355.

<sup>2</sup> Dorsey, (c),

<sup>3</sup> J. O. Dorsey, (c). 282.

## WOMEN'S DANCES.

## TATTOOED WOMEN'S DANCE.

The tattooed women of the tribe had a society of their own who performed a dance called *hanhe watci*. There were six leaders and drums, bells, and rattles were among their paraphernalia. The chiefs sang for the women, and they gave a feast along with their dance. The tattooed women were privileged to wear certain distinctive clothes, among them soft-soled moccasins with a short front flap on the Winnebago and Omaha style. The prevailing type of Ponca moccasins is the rawhide soled Plains style. J. O. Dorsey says of the Omaha *ha<sup>n</sup>he watci*, that the women danced during the day and the men sang for them.<sup>1</sup> At night the braves danced alone. He does not give it in his list of three Ponca women's societies.

## NODAN.

This was a woman's society. The officers were:—

6 leaders	2 (some say 4) tails
8 singers	2 waiters
8 male singers	1 herald (male)
2 whip bearers (old widows)	x members

The society's name was taken from the "*noda<sup>n</sup>*," or warpath songs, composed by the braves, with which the women used to accompany their dances. The members dressed well and wore many silver brooches. It was a sort of helpful and religious society. They helped out the old and blind with gifts, clothes, etc. They also gave feasts to the whole tribe. My informants said it was like the *hel'ôcka*. J. O. Dorsey does not list this among his Ponca women's societies.

## MEDAL DANCE

Little was learned of this woman's ceremony, which was called *mazi-skanapi*, except that it was like other women's dances, the only difference

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<sup>1</sup> J. O. Dorsey, (c), 351.

being that the women all wore chiefs' medals about their necks. J. O. Dorsey gives the name of this dance, which he translates as "Those who wear silver necklaces," as a Ponca women's dancing society.<sup>1</sup> He adds the names of two others, *pa-cáta*<sup>n</sup> and *gat'ána*, which I did not get, and which may or may not be synonymous with the titles of dances which I noted.

#### SCALP DANCE.

The *pahatoni* (or *pahrigé*) was the scalp dance which was performed by women, the officers were the same as in the *noda*<sup>n</sup>, except that the singers were required to be braves. The women who danced bore the scalps tied to short sticks. The ceremony was held the day after the return of a war party. In this dance as in all other women's organizations, elderly women were taken by preference. According to J. O. Dorsey a similar dance occurred among the Omaha.

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<sup>1</sup> J. O. Dorsey, (c), 355.

## MYSTERY DANCES.

### BEAR DANCE.

The matcogahri, or bear dance, was one of the so-called mystery dances, and had four leaders, two waiters, and a herald. Before performing, a cedar tree was pulled up by the roots and set up in the center of the lodge. During the dance one of the participators would go up and break off a branch and scrape off the bark. Then he would circle the lodge four times, show it to the members, and announce that he would run it down his throat. He would then thrust it in until the tip barely showed. After a moment he would pull it out, and the blood would gush forth. One shaman had the power of thrusting the cedar through his flesh into his abdomen. After he pulled it out he merely rubbed the wound and it was healed. Still another would swallow a pipe, cause it to pass through his body, and then bring it out and lick it.

Big-goose once saw a man, who was performing in the bear dance, take a muzzle-loading rifle and charge it in everyone's presence. Another man circled the tent singing, and on the fourth round he was shot by the Indian with the gun; everyone thought he was killed, but he soon sprang up unhurt. Another performer took a buffalo robe, had a third man re-load the magic gun, and fired it at the robe. There was no hole visible, but the bullet was found in the center of the robe.

J. O. Dorsey notes a bear dance among the Omaha.

### BUFFALO DANCE.

For the buffalo dance, or pte!watci which was devoted to healing wounds, there were four leaders, two waiters, and a herald as officers. This society is now obsolete, as there is little call for the practice of surgery because there is no more war. If a man were wounded the buffalo doctors got together and squirted water on the wound. They would dance in imitation of the buffalo, wearing robes, buffalo horn caps, and tails. They painted only with clay which is the buffalo's pigment. They painted only the upper or lower halves of their faces. The buffalo dancers were very waxobi, or powerful. J. O. Dorsey and Fletcher and La Flesche record this dance among the Omaha.

## THE MEDICINE DANCE.

This society, which resembled the pebble society of the Omaha, has long been obsolete. What little data could be gathered will be published later.

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

## WAR HONORS AND TITLES.

In order to become a wánûcê, or brave, a man had to perform at least one of the following brave acts, here given in the order of their importance.

1. Saving comrade (wágînûzhi). For this a warrior was entitled to carry a little boy behind him on his horse, when he rode in a sham battle or parade.

2. Counting coup, especially between the opposing lines (onbisa<sup>n</sup> c'êwiuothan). The right to wear a vertical eagle feather was granted for this; for second coup (we<sup>x</sup>numba), a slanting feather was worn; for third (we<sup>x</sup>thabthi), two feathers, cut short off; for fourth (we<sup>x</sup>doba), a split feather was the badge.

3. Wounded severely (kiú). Gives the right to paint the wound red, signifying blood, and to wear a red feather.

4. Horse stealing (cangê walizê). The right to wear a white shirt or blanket with horse tracks marked on it, or to carry a rope, unravelled at the end, or both.

5. Most on warpath (noda<sup>n</sup>c'ta). The war-bonnet was one of the badges of such a man provided he had done many deeds. So were the roach and eagle feather bustle. All these insignia were worn principally at dances and the like.

It was considered brave to kill a foe, though this act did not rank with the five acts enumerated, especially the first four. It entitled the brave to carry a gun or bow while dancing. A man who took a scalp was allowed to carry it.

When a man had become a brave by reason of performing one of the above listed deeds he was entitled to appointment as one of the camp police chosen from his society.

Women often went to war and became braves. They were entitled to carry, but not to wear, warrior's insignia in such a case, when in dances. Mr. Collins knew a woman who had rescued her husband, and another who had helped to steal horses. The latter carried a whip when she danced.

## THE BRAVES OR POLICE.

As police (wánûcê) for any occasion the chief would appoint the bravest warriors of some society, but not the whole organization. For another



occasion he would take men from another society. The police, or soldiers, on the buffalo hunt were called *pde!wánûcê*. They had their own lodge, placed near that of the chief and caretaker. In it they kept a bundle of sticks, painted red or yellow, one for each man in the camp. If they wanted anyone to furnish a feast, they sent him a stick, or they could have one of their two heralds call to him, from their tent, even though his lodge were far off, and order him to prepare a meal. Only the wealthy and generous were then summoned.

The soldiers kept order in camp and held back the line so that all charged, at once, when on the buffalo hunt. Those who disobeyed were punished, by a soldier-killing. The man was called out and each *wánûcê* would count a coup, saying: "I once hit a man as hard as this," etc., dealing a blow with whip or gun butt. The culprit's tent might be destroyed and his horses and dogs shot. He might even forfeit his life if he resisted. If he took it in good part, some time within the next four days he would be sent for, and led into the soldier's tent where each one would ask "Where did I hit you?" On being shown the soldier would make him a present.

Another thing that the soldiers saw to, was that no one preceded the main party or scouts when hunting for buffalo. A man might hunt to one side or the rear as much as he chose.

On the buffalo hunt, the chiefs appointed a trustworthy man as leader (*tce! oneithghthû*). As they traveled he gave orders when to camp and when to back up, sent out the scouts, etc. If a scout found buffalo he would make absolutely sure of it and return. He announced the discovery by making a pile of buffalo chips, before the leader's tent, then calling out the leader and kicking them over. This was equivalent to taking oath that he had found buffalo and rendered him liable to a soldier-killing if they were not there when the camp came up. The leader then ordered a herald to announce the discovery through the camp in low tones and all broke up to follow the herd.

#### THE BRAVES AND THE BUFFALO HUNT.

Every year when the squaw corn was about a foot high, the chiefs of the Ponca got together and counseled concerning the buffalo hunt. Two men were selected to be leaders, who took charge of everything. They picked the day that the village was to move, and they selected the camping ground. Strict discipline was maintained, and no matter how hungry the tribe was they stayed where they were camped until they received orders to move.

They usually moved for four days at a stretch, camping every night with

the mouth of the camp circle to the west. The soldiers' tent was erected on the east, opposite the opening. All were made to keep very quiet during the day. In order to secure discipline, the two chiefs took the bravest men as wánúcê. A waxobi pipe was kept in the tent, and when the soldiers and the chiefs were in council the head chief sat in the center of the circle and filled the pipe. The soldiers' herald took a split stick and extracted a coal of fire from the blaze with which he lighted it. The chief drew four puffs and then the pipe was passed, each brave in turn doing likewise. When it was smoked, the pipe was cleaned, and the ashes were piled up very carefully. The council selected about forty youths who were known as good runners, or who possessed swift horses. The herald went about the camp, calling each by name and telling him that he was wanted at the soldiers' tent.

The youths hurried to the spot, and stood in a circle outside the tipi. Their relatives, anxious to know what is up, form a ring about them. The chiefs then brought out the pipe and gave it to them to smoke, telling them that they had been selected as buffalo scouts. They were to go out and remain one or two nights if necessary in an effort to locate the buffalo. The youths would set forth in four bodies, in the directions in which they were facing. That is, those on the south side of the lodge would go north, and so on.

When the buffalo were located, the side or division that found them would return to camp on a run. The herald seeing them come, would go out to meet them. He would make a pile of dry buffalo chips (dung), thrust a spear in the earth behind it, and stand in a stooping posture behind that, grasping the weapon with both hands.

The youth who had found the buffalo would come up, and take oath as to the truth of what he was about to say by kicking over the pile of chips. Then he came forward and whispered in the herald's ear where the herd was located, and even what they were doing when he saw them, lying down, grazing, or moving. This was to show that he had been very close to them and had carefully watched their actions.

He was then conducted into the tent by the herald, and the announcement was made to the chiefs and soldiers. Meanwhile a great throng of men, women, and even naked children had gathered around the lodge, but they durst not touch it. The herald next went out, and in his monotonous singsong announced that buffalo had been found, and ordered that all observe strict silence and none leave the camp until the men were ready for the charge.

If anyone slipped out ahead he was reported to the chiefs who ordered the herald to call the soldiers to bring their weapons. They gathered, and

were sent to the culprit's tent, where they dragged him out and beat him until he fell down, when they desisted. They slew his horses and dogs, and destroyed his tent.

The next day the herald would call the victim to the soldier's tent, saying: "The braves want to tell you a story." The unfortunate might then hobble or be carried over and placed in the center of the lodge, and they all told him who had hit him and gave him presents to make up for his losses: kettles, arrows, robes, horses.

When the buffalo were sighted all the men approached the herd in a body, the police preceding them and keeping them back in line. When quite near the party divided in two, and both, working to windward, surrounded the herd, got them milling and killed all of them.

#### THE WAR PARTY.

The war leader, who carried a sacred waxobi, or war bundle, and went ahead of the party could neither turn back nor go aside. If the party saw the foe, or desired him to turn off, they pulled him back, or turned him in the direction they wanted to go. He slept by himself, and all his cooking was done for him. Buffalo meat was prepared, and an attendant offered it to him in his hands on a bunch of sagebrush. The leader might only take four bites.

Scouts were sent out to all four points of the compass and told to watch, or, at night, to listen for the enemy. They went wrapped in white or gray blankets and acted like wolves, stooping over and trotting and signaling by howling. If they saw anything they came in trotting together, then apart, then coming together. At night, when the leader wanted them to return, generally about midnight, the party would howl like wolves to call them in. The scouts went as far as they could, and the one who went in the direction the party was traveling, left an arrow where he had been to be picked up as the party went by.

If a foe were seen and the war bundle was "opened on him," he must be killed, even if a mistake had been made and he turned out to be another Ponca and a relative.

When an enemy was killed, the Ponca scalped him, then cut off his head and threw it away. The sign for Ponca in the sign language indicates this custom. They also severed a dead enemy's hands from the wrists and threw them away. They also slashed the slain foe's back in checker board style. This was called "making a drum of an enemy's back." All these deeds were considered brave and could be boasted about.

## QUALIFICATIONS OF A CHIEF.

*Tattooing.* A man who was working up to the chieftainship and who had joined many different societies and had been a brave, next had his daughter tattooed. He prepared a large feast, got together 100 awls, 100 knives, 100 black silk scarfs, 20 or 30 blankets, 2 strands of sleigh bells, 100 plates, killed two buffalo and got their grease, prepared two large pipes and two extra ones and provided tobacco and kinnikinnick, set up a large tipi, and ordered two women to cook the feast. They, of course, had to be dressed well and feasted at his expense. He next asked all the chiefs to feast and tattoo his daughter. The wives of the chiefs and other guests sat in a circle outside the lodge, and were also feasted. Each tattooer received a horse with saddle and bridle.

Sometimes several men joined and all had their daughters tattooed at once. Tattooed women (a small blue mark the size of a dime was made on the forehead, between the eyes) formed a sort of a society, and were privileged alone to wear soft-soled moccasins of a certain Central Algonkin type. They were the socially elect of the tribe.

There was great rejoicing, drumming, singing, and dancing at these feasts. After it was over a herald announced that the giver was half a chief.

*Ear Piercing.* The next step towards the chieftaincy after having one's daughter tattooed, was to have her ears pierced. The chiefs were again called in, and those who did the piercing each received a horse. A feast was given and many blankets distributed.

After this, the social aspirant was generally so well known that outsiders would come "to pipe dance him." After this had happened several times he was generally acknowledged to be a chief.

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

## GENTES AND THEIR TABOOS.

The Ponca claim seven exogamous patrilineal gentes.<sup>1</sup> Marriage with a member of the mother's gens was also forbidden. Each gens had its peculiar taboo. The gentes are:—

Gentes	Taboo
1 Thixida (Do not touch blood)	Do not touch blood, if they do, they become old, prematurely
2 Wacazhe (Osage)	Cannot touch snakes
3 Mûkan (Medicine)	?
4 Nokrê (Ice)	Cannot touch head of buffalo bull
5 Nikûp'ûzna (?)	Do not eat blackbirds
6 Hisa'da (Straight Legs)	Cannot touch deer. Cannot wear deerskin moccasins. May not touch deer's grease.
7 Wacabe (Black Bear)	Cannot touch head of buffalo bull. Same as ice gens.

There were hereditary chiefs in each gens. I could learn of no subgentes.

## GENTILE PERSONAL NAMES.

The following names are supposed to be gentile personal names, although the writer was not entirely satisfied that they are not merely the names of gens members now living.

1 Never Touch Blood Gens. Male: Coon, Little-coon, Buck-rabbit, Black-buffalo-bull, Horse-chief, Mixed-cry. Female: First-moon, New-moon, Gray-hawk, Gambles.

2 Osage. Male: Little-snake, Big-snake, Rattle-tail, Fox. Female: Mihunga, A<sup>a</sup>anzhégiti<sup>i</sup>, Na<sup>a</sup>seiti, Two-women.

3 Medicine. Male: Ma<sup>a</sup>ka'ta, Wat'cigazinga, Ptehanga, Manácudê (Dust-maker). Female: Ménupabê, Mebêdimi, Asê'ting<sup>a</sup>, Gredawihanga.

<sup>1</sup> These data are fragmentary and are merely given for what they are worth. Fletcher and La Flesche in the opening chapters of their monograph on the Omaha tribe give an exhaustive treatise on Ponca social organization which should be consulted.

4 Ice (nearly extinct). Male: Sedniha', Na<sup>n</sup>hegazhi, Banazhi, Wa<sup>x</sup>-pazinga (Little-poor). Female: Me<sup>x</sup>sama<sup>i</sup>, others not remembered.

5 Nikûp'ûzna. Male: Antcodahri, Hitcangaska (White-rat), Cange<sup>i</sup>-tsabe (Black-horse?), Tcatciska. Female: Tcenaïä'u, Ma<sup>n</sup>zewázhi.

6 Straight Legs. Male: Gahige (the chief), He<sup>x</sup>agêmazhi, Gahige Wadahinga, Walijasi. Female: Mijahotcan, Nekaihotcan, Hotcan, Cabê-kéwali.

7 Black Bear. Male: Otha'wudje, Vaniwa'hu, Cangehlaha, Petham-behi. Female: Mêghita<sup>n</sup>wi, Pánka'wi.

#### ELDEST SONS' NAMES.

The following names are said to be some of the stereotyped titles for the eldest sons of families in some of the gentes. This suggests a Kansa custom.

Never Touch Blood: Wakandipahambi (Known-by-God), eldest son. Ma<sup>x</sup>tcinoga, name for second (?) son.

Medicine: Na<sup>n</sup>dewa'hi, eldest son. Gahige thabi', second son.

Black Bear: Thé'nogadahi, eldest son. Ma'piyazi (Yellow-cloud), second son. D'ênogadahi, third son.

#### ORDINAL NAMES.

Of ordinal names, only two are now known for each sex, and it is doubtful if any others ever existed.

Male	Female
Eldest son, Ingra'o	Wina'o
Youngest son, Sige <sup>i</sup>	Wihe <sup>i</sup>

#### JOKING-RELATIONSHIP.

This relationship existed between a man or woman and their brothers and sisters-in-law, nephews and uncles. The mother-in-law taboo was in force.

#### PUNISHMENT OF ADULTERY.

A Ponca might kill, scalp, or cut the hair off a man whom he caught holding clandestine intercourse with his wife. A wife could kill another

woman with whom her husband eloped. A husband could cut off the nose and ears of an unfaithful wife. Blood vengeance could not be exacted for these crimes.

#### MOURNING AND BURIAL CUSTOMS.

In mourning the Ponca formerly cut off their hair, slashed the fleshy parts of their bodies, tore out their earring holes, and even hacked off their fingers. They also did the latter at the sun dance. Now the Ponca bury their dead in the ground altogether, but formerly they used scaffolds and trees.





*(Continued from 2d p. of cover.)*

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