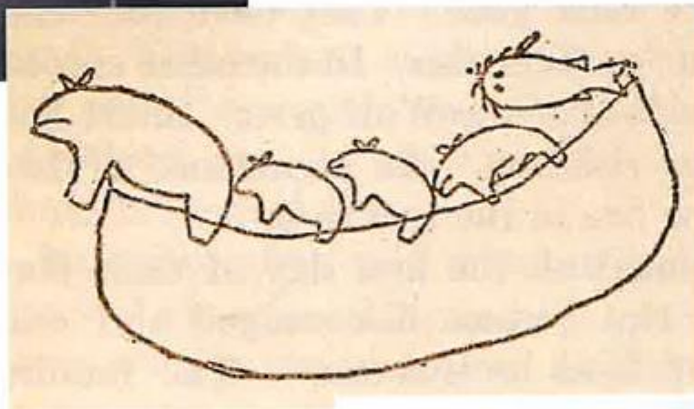
The Rise and Fall of American Ethnology



Reading the Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology

Leif Selstad

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By Leif Selstad

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Don’t wish for the end of something you rely on
-An old truth

Between 1879 and 1965 the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) was a leading research institution investigating Native American life and culture. The background of the institution was ominous. During the time period of its existence the US government, funder of the Bureau, was taking away Indian land and enforcing acculturation through policies such as Termination. The Bureau was to document native cultures before they disappeared. In spite of such sinister agendas the BAE managed to collect material on Native American existence that continues to be of potential value. Not least this concerns information on social organization, totemic clans and native communities. This book takes a closer look at the legacy left behind in BAE publications, and what was lost in the process.

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To the memory of my mother, Margit Selstad (1926-2020)

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Preface

This writing project started by accident, and it started online. During the Corona summer of 2020 I was looking for Shawnee Indian history on the web. Coming across some BAE (Bureau of American Ethnology) Bulletins it dawned on me that they were all available online. An interest was kindled to peruse the whole series. The number of publications was finite, 200. In my free time I went through all of them, using the copy-printer diligently. Then I had to move on to the Annual Reports, and suddenly I had a corpus of some 250 books; a fairly comprehensive and unique material. All the reading took considerable time – helped by the social lock-down.

The motives for writing this treatise are varied. One is my own interest. It has always been frustrating to me that the pre-contact situation of American Indians remains basically unknown. Tremendous and violent changes ripped through Native America as European settlers by force took over their land and homes in a matter of centuries. The general consensus is that a return to what was, or even an understanding of the past, is not possible, except as far as it is documented – by Europeans. My view is that the understanding rests with the Indian peoples themselves. Every scrap of information, every conceptual angle must be perused to come to a better understanding of pre-contact and historical Indian societies. In this frame of mind I discovered that there are nuggets of information hidden in the BAE's publications that one-by-one are uninformative, but which taken as a whole may provide glimpses into another life world.

Another motive is to create interest for a line of research that is no longer possible, or can be done only in retrospect. We need to know more about traditional ways of life that no longer exist. I cannot explain why this is important. I agree with my grandmother who said it is not possible to understand how people lived in the old days. Yet we have to know. If a portion of reality is closed to human knowledge this would threaten the free exploration of our world, a freedom we desperately need.

Without ethnology a certain kind of material would never be collected. This collection was based on an attempt to gain comprehensive knowledge about an aboriginal state of affairs. Two hundred years elapsed between the early dramatic impact on Indian tribes and the efforts to describe their culture. At the same time ethnologists nearly did as much bad as they did good. They had a battery of hang-ups and prejudice about other people, from ideas about 'group marriage' to various degrees of ethnocentrism and racism.

American Indians had been decimated and placed on reservations. Rather than starting at the present and working backwards, or vice versa, the ethnologist would put up a barrier between the imagined past and the irreversible present. A village can be traced back in time, as can totemic names, house clusters, kinship terminologies and other practices. But the prevailing viewpoint was that in the present all of this would be dispensed with; the Indians were to be 'acculturated'. This meant that the historical link was broken, both to the past and the present – not on the ground but in the ethnologist's mind. There was to be no reconstruction of native culture based on present conditions, let alone a revitalization. These views also made it impossible to understand Indian societies at any point in time; ethnology became an impossible project – progressively so, as Indian societies were nearly destroyed.

My task was to examine what bits of information may have lasting value in drawing lines back from the present, and to try to gain a better understanding of pre-contact life. Basically, I wanted to go through everything that had been published. At first the perusal of the BAE publications did not seem like a daunting task; like assessing an extra-large stack of student papers. Then it dawned on me that these works were not meant to be assessed, perhaps not even to be read. The material was opaque and esoteric, intentionally so. Much of it had a personal flair. There would be afternoon tea in British Guiana; armchair musings at Columbia University; and hikes in Canadian mountains. People had hang-ups, like the archeologist who did not like pottery (Schwartz 1967, p. 109).

In the works were stops and starts and endless details. Boas would start describing Tsimshian clans over and over (Ann. Rep. 31, p. 411f). He would start with a definitive view: there were 4 clans; and then he would become less and less definitive for each start, ending up with a myriad of clan totems, ‘crests’ and names. Same with kinship (p. 478f): Boas would make a definitive statement that Tsimshian kinship was based on ‘group’ marriage, and gradually end up with a partial and idiomatic description of kin terms. His descriptions often are more confusing than clarifying.

Amusing afternoon perusals became full-time study. Suddenly I realized I had entered a manic state, studying publications until the university alarm came on, going home to eat and sleep, going back to my office and keep reading where I left off, often starting over with things I had read. By November I was reviewing one publication per day. At this rate it would take me at least 8 months to finish my hoary goal.

At some point the work started progressing easier. Gradually I reached a saturation point where new material added little to the corpus of information. On totemic clans I already had several chapters by the end of November 2020; little new was added for each work. Finally I reached the end of the list. In stops and starts this work came to a conclusion.

To a large degree this work is accidental. Basically what I have been doing is to take notes from the 250 or so publications of the BAE. Each publication has been looked at in turn. Someone else might make a different selection of notes. I have tried to place my summaries in different topics relating to American Indian societies. Some topics are over-represented, others are barely touched on. The vague hope is that the reader will see a connection between the topics. In particular this relates to the connection between villages or communities, totemic clans, and tribal organizations. How could 200,000 or more people be organized into tribal organizations without a writing system, based on a totemic ideology, and with tribal chiefs upholding such an organization? This is not properly a research question. It is an attempt to see through a fragmented material to a past that is almost impossible to grasp.

Among the countless people I need to thank are my colleagues at the Norwegian School of Hotel Management at the University of Stavanger. I also carry lasting gratitude to my contacts in Oklahoma, members of the Shawnee Indian tribal groups, and collegial contacts at the University of Oklahoma. Special thanks go to Jessica Blanchard, who helped me during research. I also need to thank commentators, editors and critics. It is not possible to name all helpful people, so this will be an inadequate thank you to all. Finally I have to thank my mother, always supportive, who sadly passed away during the pandemic.

Some abbreviations

AD Anno Domini, after conventional year zero
aka also known as
Ann. Rep. Annual Report
BAE Bureau of American Ethnology
BC before Christ, before conventional year zero
Br brother
Bull. Bulletin
ca. circa, approximately
Contrib. Contribution
E east
Fa father
ibid. ibidem, the same as preceding citation
Mo mother
N north
op. cit. opus citatum, work referred to in preceding citation
p. page
pl. plate
S south
Si sister
v. volume
W west

Introduction

My first encounter with American Indian cultural studies was through the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE). My youthful naïve view – I was 18 in 1974 – was that the Bureau documented Indian culture. Yet I was frustrated to read the sources. The information came from living individuals and communities, but the texts sounded as if they referred to past events and cultures that no longer existed or were soon to disappear. Gradually it dawned on me that this was the agenda of the BAE. They collected the 'relics' of Indian cultures that were expected to disappear. The reality seemed too dismal to bear, but it was reality.

After its start in 1879, the BAE had a run of 86 years. The Bureau was finally disbanded in 1965. It had fulfilled its function. In the most critical view this would be because Indian culture had disappeared, which was not the case. Closer to the truth was the US government's cynical view of Native Americans, that they no longer were sustained as independent societies, so there was no need to record their culture. In any event the Bureau was closed; merged into the Smithsonian Institution. Looking back at work done in the BAE, it will appear that they left behind a distinctive corpus of material, both published and unpublished, that still is accessible to interested readers and scholars. One bulk of finite material is the 200 'bulletins' and more than 50 'annual reports' published by the BAE. These are the publications that form the basis for the present treatise.

Though I have looked at all the sources available on internet sites, the focus will be on the social science part of the publications, in particular social organization. This is because we know virtually nothing about how people lived in the past, in particular how they lived together in communities. A case in point would be totemism; another is clanship. Scientists could never figure out what these topics meant, and now it is too late to find out. The same could be said for other topics, everything from folklore to religion, but here the 'corpus' is much greater and there is a notion that these subjects are well documented. The reason why social organization is poorly documented, is because it involved relationships between people, something that was difficult to record and was covered only marginally. Most ethnologists did not do 'participant observation', and it is impossible to follow all the people around in a community.

One objection to treating the BAE in isolation is that it did not operate in a vacuum. There were other institutions and other publications that dealt with the same topics. Ethnology was part of a discursive field spanning from language to politics. The academic fields it broached upon included archeology, folklore, religious studies, linguistics, ethnography, anthropology and sociology. The publications of the Bureau will then have to be seen in relation to other serials, such as the American Antiquarian, American Folklore, and American Anthropologist. Yet the BAE had its own agenda that echoed the fate of Indian tribes and the policies of the US government (Woodbury & Woodbury 1999).

In general terms, ethnology was change sensitive, while anthropology is change insensitive. Ethnologists knew that their subject matter was disappearing; they could see it in the death of languages and cultures (Crystal 2002). Anthropologists, by contrast, will always have a subject matter; there will always be minorities, poverty and discrimination. Perhaps it is unfair

to say anthropology is an ‘insensitive’ subject. But anthropologists rarely focus on the loss of cultural expressions. They focus instead on the development of new forms. In many ways this is commendable; looking forward is a necessary attitude in life. But it also is sad, because the voices of the past are not heard. Lessons that once were crucial are forgotten. We do not learn from the past, we forget it. Ethnology at least documents the past, albeit in a dismissive way, as it is unraveling and coming to an end. If there ever was a study of ‘the end of history’, ethnology was it.

In order to understand Indian society as it once was, a virtually impossible task, it is necessary to go back 500 years, when the world was very different from what it is today. North American nature was free from any industrial disturbance, except a few stone quarries (Bull. 21). The continent was free from almost every contagious disease, unlike what would happen later. Indian life was undisturbed. All of this would change dramatically and totally over the subsequent centuries, when Indian societies went through cataclysmic depopulation and social change brought on by European colonization, bordering on genocide.

This is not to say that social change should be avoided. But sometimes change is so dramatic and violent that the past and the present cannot be compared; what Fredrik Barth called a ‘fish and crab’ situation (Barth 1972, p. 27). It is not possible, based on the present situation, to fully understand how Indian society once was.

In the year 1500 the world was unimaginably different from what it is today. Societies were kinship based, and Europeans were in Europe. Today the situation is completely different. Europeans are everywhere, and society is individual based. Of course this is a simplification. There still are places where social life is based on groups, even in Europe. In some ways the contrast is beyond unimaginable. Every corner of the world today is marked by state control; every corner is covered by digital technology, that in 1500 could not be imagined.

Five hundred years ago the American Indians lived in independent societies with populations in the thousands or hundreds of thousands – even millions in today’s Latin America. By the year 1890 North America’s indigenous people had been reduced from ca. 10 million to <500,000; a loss of more than 90%. The Shawnee tribe was reduced from roughly 40,000 people in 1500 AD to 1600 in 1890, of whom ca. 1000 were Shawnee speakers; the rest were mostly white (my estimate). European colonists took everything from the Indians, their lives, property and most of all, land. From the start in 1783 the United States claimed to own all the land that belonged to the Indians. People could live on their native land only as long as the US government let them. This is the case also today. Many Indians live on ‘trust land’ that the government holds. If land is needed for a dam or pipeline, the natives will lose their homes.

The BAE was to document Indian culture in America. For some time their funding was $50,000 per year. With private funding they might have achieved more, but the government apparently wanted to keep the activity at a minimum. Bureau scholars were dedicated, even enthusiastic, but they were starved for funds. This was a clear message, that the government wanted limited research. There was to be no in-depth or extensive studies aimed at supporting Indian culture. Only a limited study to record what was lost or disappearing.

The Bureau made its agenda quite clear. It received government funding for ‘continuing ethnological researches among the American Indians and the natives of Hawaii, including the excavation and preservation of archæological remains, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution’ (Ann. Rep. 34, p. 7). Explorations were conducted because ‘aboriginal manners

and customs are rapidly disappearing', and it was necessary to 'record' the 'survivals before they disappear forever'. This also related to languages, that should be documented before their 'extinction' (Ann. Rep. 41, p. 1). The agenda was to collect and preserve the cultural remains of vanishing or vanished Indian culture. A task the BAE did unquestioningly with strictly limited funds.

The result was a highly composite and contrastive approach. Cultures that to a large extent still were practiced, were treated as if they were already lost. It would be a small miracle if Bureau ethnologists managed to arrive at concerted findings that would represent the lives of the people they described. But in some strange way they still tried. Each report and each bulletin provided a small contribution to the accumulative knowledge of American Indian cultures.

When the Bureau of Ethnology was instituted in 1879 it was thought that the American Indians were 'disappearing'; it was time to collect the 'relics' of their culture. Gradually Indian societies started increasing and becoming more active. By the 1960s there was a growing activism, with claims to native rights and heritage. This was when the government decided to close down the Bureau, thereby closing one avenue to cultural activism. The first losers were the ethnologists, who ironically became a 'dying breed'. The loss to Native Americans was more indirect. The Bureau had not been set up to benefit them, but ultimately a quest for cultural records, heritage and native roots would be affected by the shutdown of ethnology. The ultimate losers are humanity and the cultural diversity we sorely need to maintain a consciousness of our shared world. Every cultural universe lost is another dark corner we look into.

The main argument of this book is that the BAE failed to accomplish what it set out to do. It set out to record Indian cultures before they disappeared, and it failed to accomplish this task. The main reason for the failure was the ethnocentric views of BAE scholars. They were incapable of imagining what native life was like, since they intuitively compared it to white American culture, even willing the two to be the same. The second reason for the failure was the inability to take historical time into account. By 1885 Indian societies were almost destroyed and much of native life and culture had disappeared. Pre-contact cultures only existed in pre-contact times, basically before 1500 AD. Ethnologists tended to ignore all historical developments, because they only operated with a dual contrast, Indians and whites, the past and present condition. This criticism may be too strongly worded, but it is important to point to the restrictions on research.

It has been deemed mandatory while writing this book to transcend the ethnological shortcomings, often in quite crude ways. If Speck said the Catawba had no totemic clans, then it can be assumed that the Catawba had totemic clans. Cultural blind spots have to be transcended even when we cannot see beyond the blind spots. Ethnocentrism has to be met by anti-ethnocentrism, which in this case involves cultural relativism. Whatever ethnologists said, Indian culture was not that. The only clarifying approach is to move beyond the general ethnological findings, to tease out factual pieces of information that may help us look into a lost cultural world.

This is a ruthlessly inductive approach – to find the one black swan among all the descriptions of white chickens. Or to put this in ethnological terms, to find the one salient reference to totemic clans among all the claims of family-based societies. Classificatory kinship, totemic

organizations and political confederacies have to be documented amid claims to the non-existence of these societal forms.

In response, a new look should be taken at BAE materials, one that ignores or circumvents the hang-ups ethnologists had about cultural analysis. An experimental and comprehensive approach is necessary that sifts through every shred of information that provides some insight into other forms of culture. Topics such as village patterns, kinship systems and totemism are worthy of being studied in their own right, without including cluttering theoretical debris.

I have taken some liberties with the material that is presented. My only justification in doing so is that the pre-contact situation of Indian tribes cannot be described in any certain terms. Some extrapolations and hypothetical conjectures have to be made – sometimes very hypothetical. If a work says a tribe only had 2 clans, and that tribe lost all but 2% of its population, it can be assumed that greater complexity once existed. But how that complexity played out on the ground will have to be guesswork, more or less educated. Bear with me. At times I will get beyond myself and write things that cannot be accurate, but the mass of information should somehow help make a more or less recognizable representation fall into place. And that is what it will be – a representation.

The main focus of this work is not the BAE but the legacy of Native American culture they were supposed to document. It is not the publications as such that are the focus of attention, but the subject matter they tried to address. In particular this concerns topics such as kinship, totemism and social organization.

The material is presented in the following manner. First there will be a presentation of the Bureau of Ethnology, its history and progress of works and publications. There will also be a short theoretical chapter on social organization. This will be followed by chapters on ethnologic topics such as villages and camps, hunting and agriculture, and kinship. All of these topics are covered more or less fully in BAE publications. The central part of the treatise will deal with aspects of Native American social organization such as totemic clans, moieties and phratries. These will be traced from the Eskimo (Inuit) to Tierra del Fuego.

Chapters on leadership and religion come next. This leads up to attempts at synthetic views of tribal and intertribal organizations. In the finishing chapters the end of the BAE's work and its potential contribution to understanding Indian societies are summarized. The main finding is that Native American societies have been grossly misconstrued and misrepresented in scholarly and popular works. These were not small, scattered people, but thriving societies that integrated thousands of people living in stable local communities.

The BAE did not report this, but through its publication of detailed accounts the complexities of native social and cultural life shine through. Informants' statements, texts and observations reveal some of the cultural richness that characterized Native America. Even though the BAE ended its mission, such accounts will continue to prove of value in order to gain a better understanding of past and present native life.

Each publication will be presented by type, number and page number; e.g., (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 9), (Bull. 10, p. 204). A few extra ethnological reports, 'Contributions to North American Ethnology', are listed as, e.g., (Contrib. 4, p. 2). There are some exceptions to this general referencing. The 37th Annual Report was later printed separately with a different pagination, and will be cited as (Radin 1923 + page number). The South American Handbook, printed in

7 volumes (Bull. 143, v. 1-7), will be referred to mainly by volume number, e.g., (v. 1, p. 85-86). The recent 'Handbook of North American Indians' will be noted as, e.g., (New Handbook v. 15, p. 370). Additional sources used are listed by author's last name, year of publication and page number.

Some clarifications: I use the word 'chiefly' in reference to chief's affairs, such as 'chiefly clans', the clans and families of chiefs. Whenever native words occur they will be presented in simplified form, simply because it was too daunting to describe all the idiosyncratic signs used by ethnologists. There is no generally recognized term for the original natives of America. Words that are used include Indians, American Indians, Native Americans, Indigenous Americans and more. None of these terms are satisfactory; all references must be read critically and reflectively. Tribal names are taken from BAE publications, with a few corrections. There will be quirks and eccentricities throughout; enjoy!

A timeline of the BAE and its context

The Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) was started in 1879, but it had long antecedents (Woodbury & Woodbury 1999). An interest in people's lives and stories presumably go much farther back than we imagine. Probably humans have always been interested in their past, and how people lived before. By 1780 there was a growing interest in folk tales and folklore in Europe. At the same time Indians were being massacred in America. The new republic, USA, based itself on a policy of taking Indian land for speculative and revenue purposes. In order to do so the Indians had to go, either peacefully or by force. This process was repeated in every country in the Americas. In some cases Indian tribes were exterminated, like the Beothuc in Canada. In very few cases they were able to hold their own, like some Maya groups in Central America. Mainly Indians faced extreme depopulation and displacement, as they were forced from their homes by so-called settlers, driven by private and government land speculators.

By 1820 the myth of the 'vanishing Indians' began to appear. Explaining the displacement and depopulation of Indian tribes by calling them 'weak' or 'inferior' became one of the early surges of racism in America. Blacks were in the same situation, but they were not resisting white colonization and so avoided being attacked as 'savages'. In the period 1825-1845, in particular the 1830s, the USA implemented a policy called 'Indian removal'. All Indians were to be removed from areas coveted by white speculators east of the Mississippi, by using armed force to escort them to the west side of the river; the 'Trail of Tears'. Thousands of Native Americans died in this callous move (Jahoda 1975).

Around this time white people suddenly realized that they knew nothing about the American Indians. Also in the government people started wondering who these unseen subjects were. A kind of drive started to collect information about Indian tribes and their cultures. Around the same time a new subject called ethnology or ethnography started to emerge. It was possible to envision a systematic collection of information about such topics as kinship, leadership and religion from different peoples, as a catalogue of knowledge about human societies. After all, people had studied ancient Rome and Greece, with more or less discernment, but realizing that such study could be extended to living cultures.

Among the early 'pioneers' of ethnology were C. C. Trowbridge and H. R. Schoolcraft, one scavenging off the other. They in turn were followed by a more concentrated scholar, Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), who inaugurated a project of collecting systematic information from every Indian tribe in the USA, and in fact from all peoples of the world. He envisioned a universal catalogue of societies and cultures. Morgan wanted to know everything; whether people slept naked, and whether they had totems. And incidentally, whether they believed in god (White 1959).

Morgan was crucial to American ethnology, not only for what he did, but how he did it. Lists of traits had been made since the 1820s, but Morgan wanted systematic knowledge. He wanted the full complement of totemic clans in a tribe, and he wanted kinship terms for each kin position across five generations. He was a bit manic, like me. But he was no anthropologist, he did not do fieldwork; he sent kinship schedules for missionaries to fill out. In spite of this the significance of Morgan's efforts in anthropology cannot be ignored. Without Morgan we probably would not have known how tribal people reckon kinship. We

also would not have known about the different totemic clans in Native American tribes. American ethnologists would either ignore, distort, deny or oversimplify all such matters, based on their more or less ingrained ethnocentrism; they preferred to see other people as themselves, with a modicum of reflection.

The Civil War 1860-65 was another scary development. Nobody knew why whites fought each other, except that it was about slavery. That Indians got the worst of the Civil War seems to have slipped historians' minds. Native tribes were expelled from Kansas, where the unrest began; known as 'Bleeding Kansas'. The Civil War inaugurated a period of western expansion all the way to the Pacific Coast, where the Indians of California were reduced from pre-contact 500,000 to 15,000 people by 1900 (Bull. 78, p. 891).

Suddenly there was a much more urgent drive to gather cultural information about Indians. The drive also became more scientific. Prehistory, antiquities and folk tales had given way to scientifically established subjects such as archeology, anthropology and linguistics. In between were some hybrid subjects such as folklore, ethnography and ethnology, the topic of this treatise.

A series of ethnologic 'Contributions' served as a kind of precursor to the systematic publication of Native American cultural documents. Their authors included Lewis Henry Morgan, later oddly ignored in ethnologic circles. Works included 'Tribes of the Extreme Northwest' with mixed information on Eskimo 'village-sites' and Salishan languages (Contrib. 1). One work lists Klamath communities and camps, but without giving detailed information on population or layout (Contrib. 2, pt. 1). There also was a Klamath dictionary (pt. 2). A work on the 'Tribes of California' can be seen as a precursor to a later 'Handbook', but with more personal observations and views (Contrib. 3). Next came 'Houses and House-Life', which was not Morgan's best work (Contrib. 4). In a way Morgan contributed to side-tracking American ethnology by focusing on 'houses' rather than settlements and villages. Morgan would also foster the fiction that a clan shared a common ancestor, rather than sharing a totem (p. 12).

In 1879 the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), or Bureau for short, was established, its task being to collect, study and make reports to the US government about Indian tribes and their cultures, peoples and lifeways that were scheduled to disappear. There was an earlier 'Ethnological Society' started in 1860 that was interested in ancient origins, a mix between antiquarian studies and philology, but with no particular regional or time focus. The BAE was more specific, perhaps also less speculative, but at the same time aiming its focus at a vulnerable group of people, American Indians.

The interest in Indian prehistory and culture was growing. In 1880 the American Antiquarian was published. By 1883 the Bureau was in full swing, looking for antiquities and publishing on mounds, such as in 1885 (Bull. 4). This same year Albert S. Gatschet (1832-1907) started intensive and innovative scientific studies of Indian languages. At the same time the dispossession and displacement of Indian tribes continued. In 1890 the Wounded Knee massacre occurred; a community of 300 Sioux people machine-gunned by US troops. The Bureau published a report that was both critical and apologetic; Indians should be treated properly (Ann. Rep. 14, pt. 2).

In a way this inaugurated more intensive research. With limited resources the Bureau did some early research into prehistory and culture between 1880 and 1915. Quaint musings on

antiquities and lost tribes were mixed with fairly intense language studies and a growing knowledge of tribal societies. This may be exemplified by Truman Michelson around 1911; an unassuming puritan-like scholar who filled notebooks with Indian dictates while others mused about mysterious mound-builders.

By 1882 the ethnologic ‘Contributions’ had become parallel publications to the BAE reports. The tone changed, from effusion to details, such as cup-shaped sculptures, trephining and Mayan manuscripts (Contrib. 5). Dorsey appeared with a work on the ‘₵egiha Language’, in an opaque style (Contrib. 6). Its varied contents included totemic animal stories, or clan stories. Then there was ‘A Dakota-English Dictionary’; an early contribution to vocabulary publications (Contrib. 7). Volume 8 never came; instead a Dakota grammar followed (Contrib. 9). It had some myths, including totemic ones. From here on the Contributions gave way to more general BAE publications.

A period of serious activity would follow in the Bureau. More or less competent, but intent and probing scholars worked in the field of ethnology after 1910. Some were errant academics such as Mark Harrington and Ales Hrdlicka, the first looking for sacred artefacts, the second measuring skulls around 1916-17. Cultural sensitivity had not been invented; nor had academic reflection taken hold. By 1920 more decisive scholars, Frank Speck and Paul Radin, would write about Indian culture in largely ethnocentric terms, refuting various ideas of totemic clans or adamantly postulating their own views on how societies were organized. Yet there also were more careful and dedicated voices, Michelson, Swanton, Densmore, and the first Indian ethnologist, Francis La Flesche. Typically their work was somewhat inaccessible and with strictly limited interpretations. Careful historians like Bushnell, and more or less discerning archeologists like Frank Roberts, entered the scene. Ethnology now was in its main period, around 1903-1939, and had considerable authority in how it presented Indian life. Fairly complete ethnographies of people such as the Fox tribe were written (Bull. 125). The apex or high point of activity may have been around 1935, or some years before. By then the Bureau was already wilting.

The Depression had set in around 1930, followed by the New Deal in 1936, and the Second World War 1940-1945. The interest in prehistory and culture was still there, but American society changed pace. Indian culture was still being studied, but at the same time it was pushed aside. Indians were to be assimilated, perhaps couched in benevolent terms, but ruthless none the less. Even as late as 1980 I heard missionaries speak of ‘manifest destiny’; justifying the annihilation of Indian life. One post-war aspect of this was the damming of Indian land; in fact, the damming of any available river. The drive to dam would direct the money, and the BAE became heavily involved in so-called salvage archeology; perfunctory investigations of native village sites that were to be dammed. They also wandered farther afield, to Latin America, not to preserve culture, which they rarely did, but to collect artefacts, cultural objects and texts. This later period would last roughly 1935-1962.

At the end the BAE was a finishing office, logging the artefacts and cultural remains that had been collected. Things were coming to an end. This might seem sad, if the USA had not started its policy of Termination to end an independent Indian existence on reservations, starting in 1954. Thousands of broken Indian families and lives, a real tragedy of the time, was a disaster the Bureau would never look at. The year 1965 marked the end of the road, as the BAE was dissolved, its collections entering the Smithsonian Institution, the national museum. This process would last until 1970; in 1971 the final conclusion would be a bibliography (Bull. 200). For the Indians their troubles would continue, with deregulation

under Reagan and a shaky transfer to self-management, that in some cases may have turned out better than feared. Native America would have to find its own space; the BAE had nothing to do with it. The ethnologists had done their bit. It would be left to anthropologists and other scholars to write about the fate of the American Indians in the 21st century; which is yet another story (Deloria 1969).

In what follows four major periods of activity in the Bureau will be looked at in some detail. This will not be a complete historical survey, but an indication of different topics and issues that BAE scholars worked with over time (cf. Woodbury & Woodbury 1999).

Mounds and ancient tribes
1879-1905

The original plan for this treatise was to deal with the development of the BAE chronologically, starting with its beginning. Then it dawned on me that it was more important to proceed topically, how ethnologists described various areas of human life. So the chronological presentation will have to be sketchy. It still turned out to be comprehensive, simply because of the sheer bulk of published material.

The first 'annual report' 1879-80 dealt with language and mythology, but also such varied areas as burials, tribal culture and land cessions. Tribes studied included Wyandot, Iroquois, Dakota, Ute, Klamath and Wintun. A similar range of topics is in the second report; language, burials, 'fetiches', myths and art; tribes include Iroquois, Navaho, Zuni and Pueblos.

The first major work appears with 'Omaha Sociology' by Dorsey (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 211f). Suddenly a tribal society is cast into focus in a treatise of 160 pages. Yet this work would in no way change the agenda of the BAE. It would have to take its place as one more listing of cultural traits. Also, Dorsey was a missionary before he was an ethnologist. His writings were largely inscrutable except to himself.

Ethnology partly developed from earlier moribund subjects, such as studies of 'antiquities', 'ancient society', 'customs', and mythical 'migrations'. Backward looking publications are found early on; such as 'Perforated Stones from California' (Bull. 2); 'gold' from Latin America (Bull. 3); and fabrics from 'Ancient Peru' (Bull. 7). All of these are works documenting lost antiquities in more or less detail – and not in the auction house sense. Authors in the 1880s still referred to 'antiquarian' investigations (Bull. 2, p. 5).

Of the old school was Cyrus Thomas (1825-1910), who loved digging into old mounds and speculate about ancient people (Bull. 4). His old-time leanings may have kept him alive, since he lived longer than most of his successors. Dead objects were his thing; living culture would only be troubling. He foresaw a 'systematic' study of mounds, locally and universally; while around him prehistoric sites were destroyed at an accelerating pace (Bull. 4, p. 3). What titillated Thomas slightly was that the past was unknown, a mystery. The question: 'Were the mound builders Indians?' was a query that could not be answered, even though only Indians lived in America before 1492 (p. 4). Myths and illusions could be kept alive; questions pondered and musings made without any practical consequences. Thomas was happy to sketch the geometrical outline of mounds, sometimes with carefully drawn skeletons inserted (Bull. 4, p. 7; Bull. 10, p. 29). He tottered along listing mounds (Bull. 12). Mounds could be measured and tabulated. Mounds were everywhere, they were a constant source of happy speculation. Conceivably Thomas felt some urgency about his work, since the mounds were being destroyed; but this must have been a passing sensation. There were always new mounds to look at.

One myth that early ethnologists and others delved into was the existence of prehistoric animals. There were stories of Indian culture heroes killing elephants or mastodons, such as Thunder stories among the Sioux, or elephants uprooting trees among the Chitimacha (Bull. 5, p. 9; Bull. 43, 355). The interest would not so much be in Indian history or mythology, as in

fantasy and speculation. 'The Problem of the Ohio Mounds' followed the same path (Bull. 8). The 'problem' was not how or when the mounds were built, but the 'mysterious people' who built them (p. 30). With no other proof than his own imagination, Thomas fantasized that the builders were Shawnee. This he would reiterate in several publications, at the same time keeping every other option open. Perhaps he comes closer to the truth when he imagines 'that the Cherokees were mound-builders' (p. 30). Inadvertently his musings led to shedding light on the early history of the Shawnee and other tribes.

Breaking completely with current musings was a publication of 'Omaha and Ponka Letters' (Bull. 11). These were native letters collected by a missionary-ethnologist after 1872, that he used for his own language training. What is of interest is that Indians wrote letters in their own language in many parts of North America, without this correspondence ever coming to the attention of white people. The ethnologist also completely ignores the cultural context of the letters; his main interest is his own striving language competence. The question of Native American writing systems and literacy has never been adequately studied.

Another scholar, Thomas, got obsessed with the 'Maya Year', probably because it allowed him to calculate something fixed and ancient (Bull. 18). His boss without much reflection used words such as 'primitive peoples', 'savages' and 'barbarous peoples', in order to extol the 'noble' development of the Maya calendar (p. 5, 9). The topic of Mexican 'Calendar Systems' would be followed up later (Bull. 28).

It seems significant that BAE publications somehow moved from the east to the west, as if following in the footsteps of American expansion. One early work dealt with the 'Pamunkey Indians' in Virginia (Bull. 17). It opened with 'the settlement of Jamestown, in 1607', an eponymous spot for Anglo-American expansion, noting there were 'three great Indian confederacies' in the area (p. 9). The Pamunkeys were described as mostly white, 'neither handsome nor homely' (p. 11). The writer took pride in describing them as southern whites, English-speaking, church-going, in-breeding and race conscious. That their fate was tragic was not an issue.

In the same line was a retrospective work on 'The Siouan Tribes of the East' (Bull. 22). This work also began with 'French and English' colonies, adding that they found 'aboriginal tribes' possessing 'the whole country', who quickly were 'nearly exterminated'. The gist was to reconstruct the tribal distribution in the east coast drainage. This allowed for a plain historical survey of tribal names and locations, with pages of 'synonymy' for each tribe, such as 'Baluxa', 'Beloxi', 'Biloxis', etc. If survivors of tribes were found anywhere, they were described as 'on the verge of extinction' but with 'pride of race' (p. 16). The detested topic of totemic clans could be reduced to a short paragraph or ignored completely. There was lament over failed attempts 'at making the Indian a white man' (p. 44).

Almost as a sequel, a work on Virginia archeology was published (Bull. 23). Some 'holes' were dug and farms visited where artefacts had been found; the prehistorian traveled from county to county looking for remains that might be interesting. No attempt was made to identify dates or tribes. A place called 'Indian camp' was passed by because 'the usual remains' had not been found there. Near Mount Jackson, Virginia, 'a few relics' had been 'plowed out'; cursory mention was made of the 'Senedo Indians' having been massacred there and placed in a mound (p. 59). This was glibly dismissed because there would be no survivors to build the mound! The excavation was a scavenger hunt; with a cursory list of potential tribes added (p. 71).

Antiquities were a safe subject; no Indians would be met with. One work referred to an 'ancient' quarry in present Oklahoma (Bull. 21). It was in the middle of an Indian reservation, but the amateur prehistorian referred only to white miners who thought this was a 'Spanish' silver mine; while the actual mineral was chert. Antiquarians generally would be reluctant to identify prehistoric remains with historical tribes, such as among the Pueblos (Bull. 32). The same applied to 'antiquities' in Missouri (Bull. 37).

From time to time it became mandatory to list the varying publications of the BAE. Bureau bibliographies were printed, starting in 1895 and ending in 1971 (Bull 24; Bull. 31; Bull. 36; Bull. 58; Bull 200). Indexes to earlier publications were also made (Bull. 178). This was a sort of accounting process to justify government funding; at the same time it was a way to swell the number of publications. No attempt was made to systematize knowledge.

The 20th Annual Report (1898-1899) referred to a 'reconnaissance in California' and the 'collection of typical artifacts'; and 'an epidemic of smallpox' among the Hopi that unfortunately prevented the study of a festival and left an intrusive ethnologist in 'grave' danger. Other notes were on Mooney planning an Indian congress; and a search for Indian language speakers in New Brunswick. In other words, business as usual. The government funding was $50,000.

Some reports contained sections on 'sophiology'; this concerned how 'developed' tribes were in terms of religion and esoteric knowledge, such as having few 'tutelaries' (Ann. Rep. 23, p. xxxviii). That this depended on the historical context and each ethnologist's view was not broached.

Language early became a topic in BAE publications. Native American languages were disappearing fast, so it was of some urgency to document them. The first publications on language were reference works, bibliographies of different language families. These included Eskimo (Bull 1); Siouan (Bull. 5); Iroquoian (Bull. 6); Algonquian (Bull. 13); Athapascan (Bull. 14); Salishan (Bull. 16); Wakashan (Bull. 19); and Chinookan (Bull. 20). These reference works documented how little was known about each speech community. Publications on specific languages would appear gradually and piecemeal, mainly in the period 1910-1930. Presumably this was because academic skills in studying languages, linguistics, were developing slowly and had low priority at first. Ethnologists contented themselves with interpreters who spoke English; there was no need to learn an 'alien' speech form.

Philologists came into their own; such as publishing a 'Natick Dictionary' based on old Bible translations and similar sources (Bull. 25). Other dictionaries included: Chickasaw (Bull. 46); Biloxi and Ofo (Bull. 47); Kiowa (Bull. 84); Atakapa (Bull. 108); Osage (Bull. 109); and former languages in southern Texas (Bull. 127). Partial or full dictionaries would also be published in works on tribal texts and myths. One vocabulary was Kutenai, whose word for 'tooth' is akunan, perhaps with a stem -n-; such reduced stems make language comparisons difficult (Bull. 59, p. 383). This is just one example of how difficult it is to access publications on native languages; sources often are eclectic and not systematic.

European scholars were more concerned with linguistic studies as such; studying the structure and grammar of native languages. An ability to transcribe texts also led to the publication of myths and stories. An example is 'Chinook Texts'; it must be added that Boas relied on help

from natives and assistants in producing his material (Bull. 15). Dependence on interpreters applied to further works by Boas and others, such as: ‘Kathlamet Texts’ (Bull. 26); ‘Tsimshian Texts’ (Bull. 27); and ‘Haida Texts and Myths’ (Bull. 29). This kind of work would continue in later years, with considerable enthusiasm. Collecting native myths and textual records came to be considered central ethnologic endeavors.

Among more scientific contributions to language was a comparison of Algonquian grammars, based on pronouns (Ann. Rep. 28, p. 221f). This would be a monument to rapidly disappearing speech communities. Dictionaries of Indian languages increasingly began to be prepared (Ann. Rep. 35, p. 30). As time progressed, the efforts of the BAE gradually shifted from material and textual sources, antiquities and philology, to more informant-based research, leading up to a more active drive for information towards the beginning of the 20th century.

The hey-day of ethnology
1905-1936

At the start of a new century the ethnologists started thinking big. A monumental labor was the ‘Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico’ in two volumes (Bull 30, pt. 1 & 2; 1907 and 1910). Yet the work was strictly encyclopedic, not analytical, with reference to everything from ‘Abrading Implements’ to ‘Apache’. There would still not be any unified study of Indian cultures, let alone an effort at cultural survival.

The Bureau put a lot of effort into producing its ‘Handbook of Indian Tribes’; employees had this as a part of their workload for many years (Ann. Rep. 24, p. xxv). In 1906 the government said it wanted an encyclopedic book that also contained biographies, customs and alphabetical information. The BAE ‘immediately’ geared its resources to the work; many sweating ethnologists gathered in the Bureau’s basement. This work was continued in 1907 (Ann. Rep. 26). The end result, as noted, was encyclopedic, just as the government ordered. As a kind of follow-up, another bibliography was published (Bull. 31).

Almost as an aside a work was published on the ‘Unwritten Literature of Hawaii’, decorated by a hula dancer (Bull. 38). It was as if the BAE, in its new-found energy, discovered that Hawaii had become a part of the USA.

More professional works in linguistics were written, such as a ‘Handbook of American Indian Languages’ (Bull. 40, pt. 1 & 2; 1911 and 1922). Here specific languages were analyzed, such as Fox, and scientific approaches were used, such as phonetics and syntax, though called ‘grammar’. Still the scientific level varied a lot. A virtually unreadable treatise on Chukchee was included, showing that Russian philologists were not better than American ones.

A strange complement was a survey of ‘Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America’ (Bull. 44). This was not a linguistic study, but a list of tribes totteringly put together by Cyrus Thomas ‘assisted by’ Swanton. The main goal of the BAE director was to have a map showing the frustratingly complex language situation, appended at the end. Old Thomas could not do this, but apparently had a young relative who could draw a neatly hand-colored map. From the start it is unclear what the tribes were, what they were called, and what languages they spoke; the list became a series of questions and remarks. Mexico was like another continent; and this was yet another opaque work.

A curious figure was William Henry Holmes (1846-1933) who served as Bureau director and belonged to the old school of ‘antiquities’ collectors. Under his editorship a ‘Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities’, ‘Part 1: Lithic Industries’, was published (Bull. 60). By 1915 the BAE staff included 9 ‘regular’ ethnologists, in addition to 10 part-time ethnologists (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 9). The work force would never grow appreciably, nor would the funding, but activities as well as part-time and outside involvement could still be considerable.

Ethnologists rarely explicated their methods. A single record of ethnologists intimidating native informants concerns a white woman forcing her way into native Sia ceremonies and publishing the material (Bull. 184, p. 5). Her enforced informants would later suffer severe punishment from the community. Needless to say she never would mention any of this in her

work. Ethnologists would mention that they got information, without saying much about how they got it.

Ethnologists had access to an abundance of material before 1930, such as in ethnobotany (Ann. Rep. 30). At the same time they were foreseeing a time when native culture would be lost, and refining their research into texts and cultural details while expanding the geographical scope. By 1910 they started reporting on cultures in Central America and the Caribbean (Ann. Rep. 25). It must have been eerie to observe that island cultures were mostly gone and could be found mainly in prehistoric remains. As many as 200,000 people lived on Puerto Rico in 1492; by 1550 they were 'practically exterminated' by Spanish colonists (p. 23). A massive human tragedy had taken place that almost caused reflection on the fate of American Indians; but not quite, since thousands of prehistoric artefacts could be collected.

In North America textual work continued. Among central mythological collections assembled in this period were those of the Tlingit (Bull. 39). This might be an occasion when ethnology blended into ethnography, as would also be the case with Tsimshian myths (Bull. 27). These were vital and active peoples who would take care of their culture. Yet Swanton was not a social action anthropologist; he merely ended up in this research situation. At the same time he published a fairly random text on Tlingit society (Ann. Rep. 26).

A peculiar work was a description of dozens of decimated tribes in the Lower Mississippi-Gulf region (Bull. 43). Perhaps it was an offshoot of material collected for the handbook a few years before. It echoed a work on the eastern Siouans published 17 years before, in 1894, and contrasted with Swanton's recent work on the Tlingit. Most space is spent on the Natchez tribe, which was almost exterminated by the French (Bull. 43, p. 45-257). Also much space was spent on speculation and referencing poor historical sources. These are truly lost tribes; destroyed one way or another in post-contact times. An example is Tunica, a salt-making tribe below Arkansas River in 1540 (p. 306f). The precarious state of cultural preservation was exemplified by an old manuscript of Chitimacha myths that had been partially eaten 'by mice' (p. 355). Information on these tribes is excruciatingly lacking, and the ethnologists cherished this mystery; was the Koroa tribe the Coligua (p. 327)?

This work was followed by a treatise on Lower Mississippi-Gulf Coast languages (Bull. 68). Here the musings on vanished tribes continued (p. 7f). The 'Atakapan peoples' are described as of 'lower' culture with 'not the slightest evidence' of 'clans or gentes' (p. 9). Apparently one conclusion followed from the other, 'lower' people did not have 'clans'. There was no need for empirical confirmation or disconfirmation.

This in turn was followed up by a massive and obscure history, 'Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors' (Bull. 73). Here roughly 50 tribes were presented, capped off by a treatise on the 'population', which 'can not be determined with exactness' (p. 421). Carefully prepared tribal maps followed at the end, mainly relating to the 18th and early 19th centuries. This was Swanton's definitive attempt to work out the early historical location of Southeastern tribes; his third or fourth working over of the subject, a Sisyphus-like task. Swanton would go on to write works about Creek and Choctaw social and ceremonial life (Ann. Rep. 42; Bull. 103). A sort of culmination would be 'The Indians of the Southeastern United States', a collation of earlier work counting almost 1100 pages (Bull. 137). On his map he would try to locate all southeastern tribes around 1650, being moderately successful. A later work, 'The Indian Tribes of North America', was insignificant (Bull. 145).

A work on ‘Kutenai Tales’ covered a tribe that was otherwise poorly known (Bull. 59). It also related to the Bureau’s ethnographic interest, further seen in works on the Northwest Coast and Mississippi valley. As usual the ‘tales’ or myths were collected from informants with the aid of native translators.

Publications could be fairly specialized, such as ‘Contributions to Fox Ethnology’, with sections on ceremonial runners, clan feasts and sacred bundles (Bull. 85 & 95). Here there was some approximation to anthropology, but with an emphasis on past practices and more or less clandestinely acquired texts and paraphernalia. Also a work on the ‘Owl Sacred Pack’ touched on sacred topics (Bull. 72). Michelson freely published texts on Fox ceremonies (Bull. 87). This included a ‘Fox Miscellany’ (Bull. 114). In spite of being self-obliterating, Michelson was persistent; informants kept saying they would tell him more later when he pressed for information, trying to avoid revealing sacred matters (p. 98, 100-102). It must have been tempting to make stories up, but Michelson would check informants against each other.

The work of an ethnology-trained white Fox was published posthumously, ‘Ethnography of the Fox Indians’ (Bull. 125). This was an accidental publication, in the sense that a lawyer in Oklahoma offered the manuscript to the BAE; supposedly it was published with no ‘liberties’ taken (p. ix). Unfortunately the material is very anecdotal and hearsay, like stuff the author heard when he was a boy. Perhaps what is most remarkable about this work is that an attempt was made to reconstruct Fox people’s clan membership by listing tribal members by name, age and clan, as well as by genealogies, naming 342 Fox on the 1906 tribal roll; the remnant of a tribe that once counted around 10,000 people. This kind of hands-on approach, giving data on personal names and clans, was something that had never been done before. It was a far cry from the mythical mound builders in white ethnologists’ musings. Apparently it was a female secretary at the BAE, asked to edit the work, who decided to publish all the names, something most ethnologists would not do. The secretary probably had no idea that Indian people wanted to keep their names secret.

Francis La Flesche (1857-1932), an Omaha recruited by Dorsey, wrote literal and opaque works in the same style as his teacher, dealing mainly with the Omaha and Osage tribes. A native speaker, his material is valuable; but many words are left untranslated, so the reading is tough. A grandly formulaic work was titled: ‘War Ceremony and Peace Ceremony of the Osage Indians’ (Bull. 101). In my youth I thought these were real events, grand and impressive. Reading the work now they seem more like the imagined past of old men stuck on a beleaguered reservation. But I will let my youth have the benefit of the doubt. Peace ceremonies were impressive, though not practiced for a hundred years. The past was mainly a memory.

Prehistory would gradually take the place of ethnology as living culture bearers passed away; such as studying West India as a ‘prehistoric culture area’, whatever that meant (Ann. Rep. 34, p. 35). There was an unspoken trend of increasing archeological research that culture-oriented ethnologists heroically staved off as long as they could. The prehistoric focus would become even stronger later. The fantastic ruins of ‘Mesa Verde National Park’ were presented in one work, though by an amateurish antiquarian (Bull. 41). As usual the presentation is descriptive, without reference to living cultures. The poor conclusion was that prehistoric people at ‘Spruce-tree House were not highly developed in culture’; more like an anti-conclusion (p. 53). Subsequent topics were on ‘The Navaho National Monument’ (Bull. 50); Mesa Verde (Bull. 51); ‘Southwestern Colorado’ (Bull. 70); and a ‘Basket Maker’ village

(Bull. 91). A related but peripheral work on the ‘physiography’ of the Rio Grande valley was published (Bull. 54).

‘Archeological Explorations in Northeastern Arizona’ looked at cliff-dweller and basket-maker cultures (Bull. 65). One work was on excavations in New Mexico (Bull. 81). This was of a fantastic Tewa pueblo called Po-shu-uinge; but few observations on social life are made. Archeology ‘North of the Rio Colorado’ followed (Bull. 82). Unlike ethnologists, archeologists did not hesitate to call their research ‘field work’, but with objects, not people (p. 4). A work on ‘Early Pueblo Ruins’ followed this trend (Bull. 96). Distinctive prehistoric village sites were mapped and dug, but with little reference to living cultures. One exception is a pottery duck motif, associated with the Zuni people (p. 103). Quite typically there is a description of house types, but not of the villages to which they belong (p. 165). This was also the case with an archeology of ‘Eastern Arizona’, looking at ‘House Types’ (Bull. 121). Mention was made of kachinas and ‘sipapu’, but the focus was on structures, measurements and finds, not living culture.

A contrast was provided by a dig at ‘Kiatuthlanna’ in Arizona (Bull 100). The name was Zuni, ‘Big Water’, and this was said to be an ancestral Zuni village (p. 1). Zuni men took part in the excavation, and their elders approved and took an interest in the work, confirming stories about its provenance. Yet it is not clear if the archeologists paid attention to the natives; they focused more on the different dwellings, regardless if the natives took an interest or not.

Archeologists entered into a curiously mixed role of explorers, researchers, guides and managers. One work on ‘Prehistoric Sites’ near ‘Flagstaff’ recommended which sites should be open to tourists, which trails should ‘be closed’, and where a visitor center and museum could be placed – inside a ruin (Bull. 104, p. 21). Pueblo ruins in the desert became an economic asset for museums and the tourism industry. In many ways this would overshadow any relevance the ruins might have for Indian culture, such as their sacredness. Pueblos were described as curious and ‘unique’ (p. 25). Some ruins are associated with pueblo tribes such as Hopi, but this is scarcely acknowledged (p. 37). Similarly a study in New Mexico noted Zuni workers, but hardly paid attention to their ‘persistent suggestions’ (Bull. 111, p. 1).

In relation to Mexico a work on ‘Maya Hieroglyphs’ appears (Bull. 57). One study on Maya Indians prefaced a short presentation of extant culture to much lengthier mound digs, which was not surprising (Bull. 64). The present is of interest only as a backdrop to antiquities. Interestingly, Maya designs included Indian elephants (from India), called the ‘Long-nosed God’; with no explanation given (plate 24). A non-descript excavation in ‘D. F. Mexico’ was also published (Bull. 74).

The treatment of Central and South American Indian topics would be troublingly different from that of North American peoples. They entered the purview of the BAE at a later date, as exemplified by the South American handbook being published 1946-1959. Writings about Indians in Guiana have a disturbingly colonial ring (Ann. Rep. 38). Statements such as the ‘evidence’ being ‘far from satisfactory’ as to where an Indian would build his house, sound very much like examining specimens in an experiment: where do Indians live (p. 248)? One colonial objected to ‘too much’ work and too few natives in southern Guiana, hurrying his ‘return to civilization’ (Bull. 91, p. v). In parts of South America the situation for natives was horrendous. Indians would be threatened with mass murder through the 20th century. Hrdlicka did not help much in his ‘Early Man in South America’ (Bull. 52). Nor was there

much reflection in a book on ‘revenge’ and ‘war’ among the ‘Jibaro’ or Jivaro (Bull. 79). The Jivaro would appear later in an ‘ethnographical’ treatise (Bull. 117). It described Jivaro organization as ‘at best a very flexible thing’ (p. 38). So much for profound analysis. Other works included a Guaymi dictionary (Bull. 162).

A study was published on the peoples of Tierra del Fuego (Bull. 63). These Indians were facing extermination, but the focus of the work was on their ‘savage’ culture, ‘humanity’s childhood’ (p. v). The reference was to an ancient preconception of people as savage, barbarian or civilized; views that were well alive in 1917. Such preconceptions precluded any real study of Indian culture; the focus would be on ‘primitive traits’ such as nudity and stone tools. Since this was a collated work and bibliography, there would be an attempt to collect available information, including the ‘present condition’ of tribes, which was dismal. To cap the speculations off it was concluded that ‘Fuegians’ were ‘degenerated’; showing that cultural sensitivity was not an issue (p. 223).

A typical approach in ethnology was to deny forms of native organization. A book on the ‘Miskito and Sumu Indians of Honduras and Nicaragua’ found ‘no trace’ of ‘clans or exogamic kinship groups’ (Bull 106, p. 101). Denial was easier than investigation, and it fit ethnocentric Euro-American thought.

In North America, prehistory opened room for historians, such as a documentary survey of ‘village sites’ east of the Mississippi (Bull. 69). This was followed by a work on ‘Native Cemeteries’ (Bull. 71). Here early historical sources and prehistoric finds are mixed, presumably to reach back to a pre-contact state of affairs, but with no link to living cultures. One publication included miscellaneous ‘archeological work’ in Missouri, Hawaii and other areas (Bull. 76). A piece of glass from a Missouri cave was interpreted as ‘dragged to the spot by a ground hog’ (p. 38). That Indians used European-made goods was ‘unreasonable’ (p. 37). ‘Villages’ of tribes ‘West of the Mississippi’ came next (Bull. 77). In spite of the title the work was more about housing or ‘habitations’, as well as transportation and general history. Almost as an aside mention was made of a few villages and their size, but rarely with any details, least of all on local organization. A work on burials ‘West of the Mississippi’ offered a blend of prehistory, ethnology and history (Bull. 83).

Ethnologists were not anthropologists. They would not make social analyses; instead they made inventories or catalogs of cultural traits and collected artefacts. An example would be a treatise on the Pima Indians. The list of Contents covers 7 pages and includes under ‘Personal decoration’: Hair, Nails, Teeth, Painting, Tattooing and Ornaments (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 7). Here also is an interesting case of puritanism: A passage in the creation myth that mentioned copulation, is rendered in Latin: ‘Ubi quod poposcit fecerat, copulare potuit’ (p. 217).

It is depressing to read the repeated statements by ethnologists that Indian people have lost their way of life. An example is: ‘As might be expected, the Kansa have lost much of their social organization’ (Skinner 1915, p. 761). The statements come in all forms, from glib and routine observations to mournful and gleeful confirmations. Only one type of statement is not found, that of activism, that Indian culture is being suppressed and something should be done to redress the situation. Nobody expected Indian lifeways to survive. That the New World was being divested of its heritage was not at stake, except that researchers tried to collect relics for their museum.

The focus of attention of the BAE moved west in time with the rate of US expansion. In 1904 it was noted that 'archeologists and ethnologists' had shifted their attention to the Southwestern Indians during 'the last twenty-five year', roughly when US dominance entered the area (Ann. Rep. 23, p. 13). It was wistfully added that this 'region appears to have been once quite densely populated'; it tacitly followed that native people now were decimated. The ethnologists expected to continue where they left off on the plains, with tribes about to be demolished. To their surprise people held out. Most people lived in fixed villages and were used to invading 'visitors'; and the Athapascan speakers would not give up their land voluntarily. These were people who could hold their own. The west was not like the east.

There was more tragedy to uncover. The 'Handbook of the Indians of California', counting 1000 pages, was a special publication for a number of reasons (Bull. 78). California is one of the most damaged areas in Indian history. As noted, the native population fell from pre-contact 500,000 to 15,000 in 1900. Kroeber in some ways was more anthropologist than ethnologist; he tried to describe local settlements and took an interest in informants, the most tragic of whom were 'Ishi, the Yahi' (Wikipedia). In some ways the California Handbook was a political statement; badly mistreated and ignored people were given some attention and consideration. The usual ethnologic ethnocentrism was lain aside to some extent. At various points actual descriptions of native settlements and societies appear, such as the Yurok Indians. But the shortcomings remain; there is little fieldwork on kin groups and forms of social organization. In the end, the impression is left of a description of lost peoples; perhaps with one or two exceptions.

One indication that Kroeber was an ethnologist at heart was his construction of 'culture areas', imagined geographical regions where cultures were similar (Kroeber 1939). This concept is problematic. In some cases regional divisions are visible, such as north and south of the climatic boundary for growing corn. In most other areas divisions seem imaginative, such as the historic 'Plains Indians', decimated tribes who acquired horses and hunted buffalo. 'Culture areas' basically are ecological and geographic zones, a form of determinism. Interestingly the concept has been transposed to modern North Americans, as if modern humans are formed by their environment and not by their history and social developments. It is a way to get around the issue of race, so painful in national discourse.

As a tangential work in California, John Harrington in 1929 published a curious treatise on 'Karuk' uses of tobacco (Bull. 94). The text apparently was collated with the help of a native woman (p. 2). There was incidental mention of ethnologic topics such as totems. A short collection of 'Karuk' myths also was published (Bull. 107).

Ethnology put a stamp on American anthropology; or the same ethnocentrisms are involved. For instance, anthropologists find it hard not to pose the individual and family as the basic social unit, and to question the existence of larger units such as clans and villages. For the Hupa it was claimed that the 'family formed the fundamental unit'. There was a 'complete absence' of tribal 'leadership' (New Handbook v. 8, p. 168-9). This was in spite of the circumstance that conditions on the ground pointed to patrilineal clans, moieties, phratries and villages.

How much speculation could be tolerated in BAE publications? This seems to have depended on the topic at hand. Strong views on social structure and political organization were rarely published, in particular not activism. While speculation about Aztecs in Arizona or migrations across the continent were acceptable. Yet there seems to have been a limit to precisely how

speculative people could be for material to be published. Native sex practices could be rendered in Latin or not published at all. One man who seems to have stretched the line was Franz Boas, who remained on the fringes of the Bureau. His Kwakiutl ethnology was published, but not his ethnography (Ann. Rep. 35; Boas 1966). In some ways this was a boon, since Boas would leave extensive material that eventually would reach a publisher. He had strong views. At one point Boas wrote some 'Critical Remarks'; these were not critical to himself, but to the man who wrote all the texts. In some cases Boas would make corrections without any 'clear memory' of the language (p. 1467). He corrected a language he did not speak.

In the 1920s there was an effort to report ongoing research administratively. There might be a sense of urgency over disappearing cultures, as well as funding resources being scarce and spread thin on the ground (Ann. Rep. 41, p. 1-116). This was also an attempt to catch up with lagging reports, a sort of renewed spirit in 1924. The focus was still erratic, the bureau's diffusionist 'chief' being interested in Florida; his whims would decide (p. 101f).

After 1933 the annual reports went from huge volumes to short briefings. The first briefing has an index for reports 1-48 appended (Ann. Rep. 49, p. 25f). Over the next years the reports would have short annual accounts listing work that was being done; the miserly allowance of $72,640 in 1932 was noted (Ann. Rep. 49-55, passim). In 1931 money was spent on a 'Latin American expedition' for the 'chief'. Oldtimers such as Swanton and Michelson were noted. John Harrington was in California trying to find survivors of coastal tribes. Otherwise much work was spent on archeology. The only part-time associate or 'collaborator' was Densmore writing music (Ann. Rep. 49, p. 6).

Frances Theresa Densmore (1867-1957), a musical anthropologist, labored hard and thanklessly to record music for the Bureau, from tribes such as: Chippewa (Bull. 45 & 53); Teton Sioux (Bull. 61); Northern Ute (Bull. 75); Mandan and Hidatsa (Bull. 80); Papago (Bull. 90); Pawnee (Bull. 93); Yuman and Yaqui (Bull. 110); Nootka and Quileute (Bull. 124); Seminole (Bull. 161); and Pueblos (Bull. 165). As a side-product she produced a work on 'Chippewa Customs' (Bull. 86). Most works also had ethnologic observations.

Frances Densmore and her recording instrument (Wikipedia)

The works of Densmore produced much that was not directly related to music. In good ethnologic tradition she would collect material on customs and cultural traits covering native societies in a fairly random fashion. A work on ‘Menominee Music’ included sections on ‘Games’, ‘war bundles’, and ‘The medicine lodge’ (Bull. 102, p. vii). Densmore was not a brilliant academic, but she was persistent.

Another layer-by was J. N. B. Hewitt, trying to ‘date’ the formation of the Iroquois tribe, decided to be 1559-1570 (Ann. Rep. 50, p. 4-5). By 1937 John Harrington was in Arizona, trying to study languages (Ann. Rep. 51, p. 4-5). A visiting ethnologist left a report on ‘Great Basin-Plateau’ tribes (Ann. Rep. 55, p. 6). The BAE was changing; there was less all-out research on tribes, more collecting and archiving; more archeology and less cultural recording.

A kind of classical ethnology, based on research at ‘Sia Pueblo’ in 1928, was belatedly published in 1962 (Bull. 184). It had a full compendium of sections, ranging from ‘Climate’ and ‘Dress’ to ‘Livestock’ and ‘Pregnancy’. Perhaps where it diverted from the ethnological ideal, is when it included modern developments in the presentation, such as ‘Average income per family’ (p. 95). Yet a focus on traits remained.

A sort of summing-up work for this period could be ‘The Iroquois Eagle Dance: An Offshoot of the Calumet Dance’ (Bull. 156). Based on a dissertation from 1936, it was eventually published by the Bureau in 1953. It contained descriptions of dance performances, along with ethnographic and comparative notes. But the dance, held in a private home, was only a shadow of what it once was. In ethnologic descriptions culture became presented as timeless and original, but descriptions were restricted by current conditions and methodical limitations, mostly textual ones. The ethnologist made a literal and personal record, barely noting the problems of ethnocentrism and change. This was both a strength and a fundamental weakness of BAE publications; both the research situation and the material presented must be gauged by the reader.

The idea of salvage research
1936-1960

After 1933 the BAE became something like a registration office; a few old ethnologists were kept in pay; relics documenting relics, one might say. By the 1940s the focus was on ‘archeological excavations’ in Latin America, which happened to be the chief’s hang-up (Ann. Rep. 56, p. 1). Swanton was still around; and John Harrington was trying to study the Navaho (op. cit., p. 2). A year later things were the same; Harrington was driving around Oklahoma and other places, probably collecting artefacts (Ann. Rep. 57, p. 2-3). Errant Harrington made ‘fun’ reports, such as claiming that Sitka meant ‘On the oceanward side of Baranov Island’ (Ann. Rep. 58, p. 2). One die-hard ethnologist did ethnologic research among the Carrier Indians, incidentally collecting 100 artefacts.

Otherwise the focus was on getting work published as bulletins; among them was the chief’s pet project, a ‘Handbook of South American Indians’ (op. cit., p. 6). This would be the situation into the 1950s; by 1954 the chief, now called ‘Director’, was still into diffusionism and Latin America; he was enthusiastic that the lands of the Choco Indians had been ‘opened for settlement only 2 years ago’, allowing first-hand ‘study’ of ‘acculturation’ or annihilation (Ann. Rep. 70, p. 1). Now the focus was on ‘dead’ cultures; in particular an archeological ‘Salvage Program’ as US rivers were being dammed (op. cit., p. 2-3). Works such as ‘Ancient Caves of the Great Salt Lake Region’ would signal the new period; it was fully focused on artefacts (Bull. 116). Similar incidental work was continued ‘at Macon’, Georgia (Bull. 119, p. 1f).

This also was the time to publish more curious work, such as a German diary from Iowa (Bull. 115). It contained drawings that to puritans must seem pornographic. Perhaps there was some desperation in the Bureau about filling bulletins with new material. A collection of ‘Anthropological Papers’ included ‘Mining of Gems’, ‘Iroquois Suicide’, Iroquois longhouse ceremonies, Quechua anthropometrics, birchbark art, and an archeological ‘Reconnaissance’ in Utah (Bull. 128).

Prehistoric research would gradually change from massive but unsystematic excavations of mounds and village sites, to more scientific but less extensive archeological investigations. Somewhere in between would be explorations in the 1920s and ’30s, such as makeshift investigations of a California mound (Ann. Rep. 44). By 1950, salvage archeology would become the breadbasket, related to massive dam projects in the USA.

Not all research was in dam areas. The Southwest remained a rich field that drew interest from collectors and others. ‘Archeological Remains’ in eastern Arizona were studied (Bull. 126). The exhibits included ‘deformed skulls’ (pl. 52-55). There was a ‘Civil Works Administration’ excavation at ‘Buena Vista Lake’ in California (Bull. 130). Digs at the ‘Peachtree’ site, North Carolina, failed to uncover house or village patterns (Bull. 131). There also was a work on ‘Virginia Archeology’ (Bull. 160).

Dam project research started with ‘An Archaeological Survey of the Norris Basin’ in Tennessee (Bull. 118). This was a work under ‘the Civil Works Administration’; a public work program during the Depression (p. 1). Post mold patterns of buildings were found, often

12-18 feet wide and 18-25 feet long. No attempts were made to describe village patterns. Skulls were collected and depicted. A young archeologist, James B. Griffin, studied the pottery remains (p. 253f). He would later write an influential book about the Fort Ancient culture (Griffin 1943). Ancient villages of tribes such as Yuchi and Cherokee were peremptorily excavated. The surveys could exploit cheap labor costs after the Depression.

'An Archaeological Survey of Wheeler Basin', Alabama, followed (Bull. 122). Trenches were dug in mounds and village sites, without attempts to study village layouts or social organization. The archeologist, Webb, loved 'flint' and detested 'pots'; soft issues such as social relations were not for him – and he called the shots (e.g., p. 43). Of 237 sites about to be dammed, only 19 were examined (p. 91).

Another survey was in the 'Pickwick Basin' of the Tennessee River (Bull. 129). Historically this was an interesting region, since tribes from the north and south would settle in this intermediate area; Shawnee, Kaskinampo, Koasati, Yuchi, Chickasaw and others. But archeologists were reluctant to draw any historical or least of all tribal conclusions from their material. The excavation focused on mounds, burials and finds, not village sites.

As a kind of companion to the salvage research, a 'Journal' of a trip to the upper Missouri in 1850 was published (Bull. 147). Some 'River Basin' papers included minor excavations in Texas, South Carolina and elsewhere (Bull. 154). More 'River Basin Surveys Papers' were brief excavations at the 'Oahe Dam' in South Dakota (Bull. 158). Numerous well-kept village sites were charted and a few test trenches were dug; artefacts were collected. This was the fate of one of the archeological landmark areas in the USA, the upper Missouri native villages. Apparently the task was so huge that only a couple of sites were extensively examined.

Giant dam projects in the beautiful Columbia River valley attracted 'River Basin' surveys (Bull. 166). The archeologist made it clear that he saw 'ethnography' as secondary to archeology. Because 'ethnography and archeology' near the river did 'not separate readily', he had to include a cultural 'sketch', complaining that ethnographers 'have little concerned themselves in the Plateau' with 'detailed studies of material culture' (p. 122). One might say touché; archeologists have not concerned themselves much with societal culture. Nor were archeologists given much room to operate; in one place they had to dodge 'flying rocks from' dam 'blasting' when trying to examine an old 'village' (p. 187).

One volume of 'River Basin Surveys' looked at projected dam sites in the Missouri drainage as well as in Georgia and Florida (Bull. 169). The focus was on individual dwellings, burials and artefacts, not settlement patterns. A work called 'An Introduction to Kansas Archeology' was remarkably nondescript (Bull. 174). There were a few drawings of house-rings, but little to show the rich aboriginal culture of the state. Further 'Papers' focused on Euro-American forts and trading posts (Bull. 176). One 'River Basin' volume reported from dams in Texas, Iowa and Oregon; much of the work was superficial (Bull. 179). Next in these 'Surveys Papers' was an archeological examination of the Roanoke River (Bull. 182).

Mandan villages are mostly known from archeological surveys. The same applies to the closely related Hidatsa tribe. One volume of 'River Basin Surveys Papers' refers to excavated village sites (Bull. 185). These include 'Star Village', attributed to the 'Arikara' tribe; and 'Crow-Flies-High', 'a historic Hidatsa village' (p. 57f, 133f). 'Star Village' had 81+ houses around a plaza, while the Hidatsa site was a historic remnant of 11-12 houses dated 1870-1890 (p. 70, 139-40). A later work on 'Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization' provided

maps of several sites (Bull. 194). The sites were: Rock Village, 32+ houses; Knife River, 82 houses; Old Awatixa Village, 46 houses; and New Awatixa Village, 49 houses; not all houses need be contemporaneous. A 'River Basin' publication looked at Mandan village sites and tried to speculate about Mandan culture (Bull. 198). Sites outlined included Huff, Thomas Riggs, Heart River and 'Historic Mandan'. At least one of these, Huff, had become a state park. Yet what is known about Mandan life is a shadow of what once was. It was noted that 'clans extended through all the villages', which at least is reasonable (p. 12).

Also research in Latin America had little to do with living cultures. An attempt was made to document the 'Caribs of Dominica' (Bull. 119, p. 103f). It mainly focused on archeological work. A few times recent conditions were noted, such as a 'contemporary' study of Mayo-Yaqui Indians in Mexico (Bull. 142). But archeology predominated. A series of volumes on Mexican excavation findings were printed (Bull. 138-141). Olmec archeology was represented (Bull. 152). There was also a study of 'Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Virú Valley, Perú' (Bull. 155). Precisely what the 'patterns' were is unclear, since houses were described as 'arranged at random'; instead the focus was on mounds and ceremonial structures, an ancient topic (p. 49). A curious archeological investigation 'at the Mouth of the Amazon' was published (Bull. 167). It looked at artefacts such as pottery from numerous pilfered grave sites near the Amazon. A fairly typical entry would be a 'habitation site, A-9', where 'we found only sherds' (p. 107). Digs at La Venta in Tabasco were carried out (Bull. 170). 'Archeological Investigations in British Guiana' were published (Bull. 177). The fair size of many sites indicates that villages once existed there, usually near a waterway (p. 69).

A 7-volume 'Handbook of South American Indians' was eventually published (Bull. 143, v. 1-7). This was a mixed effort in every sense. It was instigated by a Swedish baron in 1932, sparsely funded by various institutions, such as the State Department, inspired by the 'internationalism' of World War II, and leaning on a motley group of missionaries, Latino scholars and American ethnologists (v. 1, p. 1f). Making sense of the diffuse contributions is nearly impossible. Most of all the 'handbook' throws a light on the horrendous situation of South American natives, from Tierra del Fuego to Mato Grosso. From the start the tone is depreciative. Chono 'huts' 'were of sticks'; 'of Chono culture' only 'fragments of information were found' (v. 1, p. 51-52). Similar comments would appear for most tribes and peoples. Typical ethnologic hang-ups were rampant, such as insisting that the nuclear family 'was the basic social unit'. This was an ethnocentric mantra, one of many (v. 1, p. 116). All in all the handbook was to show that South America was a different continent; a world lost and destroyed.

Some incidental papers of 'classical' ethnology were written, such as a note on a Sauk sacred bundle (Bull. 119, p. 163f). Other papers dealt with 'Shoshoni Physical Therapy' and a Paiute biography (Bull. 119, p. 177f, 183f). This was followed by a substantial study of 'Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups', unfortunately plagued by environmental determinism (Bull. 120). A random collection of papers included antiquities in Honduras, Cree-Montagnais language studies, a 1746 mission visit to the Pima Indians, Creek notes, a visit to the Yaruro in Venezuela, and Venezuela archeology (Bull. 123).

Dear old Swanton published some Creek 'Notes' by an even older antiquarian (Bull. 123, p. 119f). The ethnologists were fascinated by the Creek 'square grounds', but did not know how to describe them – so they printed notes. They loved the space and the symmetry. They classified 'white' and 'red' towns, tried to list villages, and mused about clans (p. 125-129). Hewitt, the antiquarian, did not bother to identify or explain his charts of square grounds, nor

to locate people and houses around it. He focused on the square, marked by a cross, and 4 arbors symmetrically around it, geometric and nice. Poor Swanton tried to guess what was meant. Interestingly, officials were called 'Aspergers'; not to be confused with the diagnosis.

Swanton did contribute a fairly significant work on Caddo 'Source Material' (Bull. 132). The Caddo occupied large parts of Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma, but fared ill at the hands of white intruders; traumatically reduced from 90,000 to 500 people. The source material helps uncover some of their lost history as a grand tribal confederacy.

After 1935 most of the old ethnologists were gone; antiquities and philology were no longer a composite field of study, at least not in an extensive form. By this time cultural research was divided into scientific subjects such as linguistics, archeology and anthropology. Perhaps anthropology was closest to ethnology, but lacked the drive to preserve or reconstruct a native pre-contact past. Science is forward-looking, or conceived as such.

Amid all the river dam archeology, ethnological publications became quirky, such as the printing of highly mixed 'papers'. There would be a 'Search' for Chitimacha songs; archeology on the Northwest Coast and in South Carolina; notes on the 'Eastern Cherokees'; Aleutian whaling; notes on Carrier Indians; and Peruvian quipu artefacts (Bull. 133). This was followed by a curious work on the Indians of 'Western Matto Grosso' (Bull. 134). In this an attempt was made to sort out the dozens of small tribes and tribal names found in the border regions of Brazil and Bolivia. There also was a summary of descriptions by travelers, such as of a village with 3 large houses (p. 47). This would lead to many curious assumptions: 'Nobody dared leave the village without the chief's permission' (p. 129). Presented with a plethora of random information on diverse tribes, the information given is hard to work out. The author complains that Catholic priests had a 'distorted' view of native religion; not very surprising (p. 129). A sort of emergency work was 'Origin Myth of Acoma', based on interviews with a delegation of 'Pueblo Indians' visiting Washington, D.C. (Bull. 135, p. vii).

More 'Anthropological Papers' followed. These referred to music, Yucatan plants and towns, 'Shoshoni' myths and Acoma notes (Bull. 136). A fairly extensive study of the Nootka tribe was published in 1951, somewhat ethnocentrically focusing on 'class' (Bull. 144). A work on 'Chippewa Child Life' was published the same year (Bull. 146). This was accompanied by a paper on 'Arapaho Child Life' (Bull. 148). There was a 'Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture' in 1950 (Bull. 149). The symposium looked at 'landownership', or Indians' 'primitive' feeling for the land; obviously not in any land-rights sense or context. A peculiar study of Tuscarora 'personality' came in 1952 (Bull. 150). Diverse 'Anthropological Papers' on the Crow, Maya, Seminole, music, song, fish poisons, boats, mounds, and a Shoshone 'Sun Dance' appeared (Bull. 151). A little helpful Schoolcraft 'Index' was put out (Bull. 152). Another group of 'Anthropological Papers' touched on archeology, a Powhatan vocabulary, the Ute sun dance, and prehistoric Mexican art (Bull. 157). John Harrington feigned 'surprise' that the Powhatan manuscript had 'lain' in Oxford and 'never been published' (p. 193). Here the origin of the word opossum was found, 'Aposoum' (p. 200). What remained of the language was what English had borrowed. A 400-page work on Blackfoot horses barely mentioned the horse as a totem (Bull. 159, p. 254). Perhaps this prominent animal did not fit the ethnologist's idea of a totem. The impression of all these late publications is one of almost random material.

A work on the Navaho, alive and kicking, was belatedly published by the BAE in 1956, dealing with their 'Origin Myths' (Bull. 163). Precisely why this Indian nation was so long

neglected is hard to imagine. It may be that their active and independent existence made them unfit for ethnologists looking for vanishing cultures. The work tended to indicate the complexity of tribal relations and history in the Southwest. One publication dealt with 'Isleta Paintings', representing ceremonial life in the 1930s (Bull. 181).

Continued 'Anthropological Papers' kept up the fragmented image of BAE publications into the 1950s. One set included a Florida mound, Plains ornaments, upper Missouri pottery, vanished Virginia tribes, Mexican archeology, Maya numbers, a Ghost Dance prophet, and Taos factionalism (Bull. 164). There even was a map of a 'Wampum Factory' in New Jersey (pl. 14). A work on the Alaska Native Brotherhood as an example of 'Modern Intertribal Organizations' had some relevance, though dealing with the modern period (Bull. 168). It pointed to the continued importance of intertribal organizations. It also indicated that clan affiliation remained important in the Northwest even after 1952 (p. 61f). Some more 'Papers' dealt with archeology in Virginia, the Plains, Mexico and Montana, in addition to notes on a Pacific script and 'Dakota Winter Counts' (Bull. 173).

One publication dealt with the 'North Alaskan Eskimo' (Bull. 171). It pointed to local ceremonial houses as social centers, but said little about settlement patterns. Instead, predictably, the 'nuclear family' was posited as a basic unit (p. 43-44). An attempt was made to reconstruct a traditional Tlingit village based on data from a modern settlement, archeology and historical sources (Bull. 172). The attempt basically ended as a list of traits and sources. The modern social structure has been transformed. Each community is made up of remnants of former villages, and the clan system is reduced to a few quasi-totemic units (p. 27).

At the Bureau, John Harrington was a kind of fly-in-the-ointment in the prevailing archeology focus. In 1953-54 he traveled around Maine, California and elsewhere trying to study terminal tribal survivors (Ann. Rep. 70, p. 3). At the same time, Densmore, Swanton and another man hung around as 'collaborators' (op. cit., p. 33).

A 'Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture' got in print (Bull. 180). This was a truly mixed work, with notes on everything from language to psychology. Speculation was rife, such as 'Effects of Environment' on native 'Ceremonialism, Music, and Dance' (p. 173f). Determinism is apt to appear when native practices are gone. One scholar complained that there was no collation of 'data' between 'ethnohistory, ethnology, linguistics, physical anthropology, and archeology' (p. 27). Perhaps it would be more apposite to say that the 'data' were disappearing. As the scholars sat discussing Iroquoian culture, linguistic and cultural practices were disappearing one by one. Of the 20 or so Iroquoian languages 4 or 5 were spoken in 1960; 60 years later 1 or 2 would remain with a few speakers. Scholars were left with a sort of nit-picking debates, such as what language was spoken by 'Point Peninsula' people (p. 47). A work on 'Seneca Thanksgiving Rituals' may refer to ceremonies that used to accompany tribal councils; now they were held in private or accompanied yearly dances (Bull. 183).

By focusing on 'disappearing' cultures the BAE ethnologists got caught in a dilemma. How 'dead' must a tribe be before it can be studied? There has to be people one can talk to who have a recollection of the culture in some way. Pure reliance on documentary sources was not a favorite approach in ethnology. This left BAE researchers with many shortcomings when about to study tribal cultures. Often this boiled down to statements of what people did or did not remember. A more bold but also more defensive approach was to claim that people were modern now, good Christians, so that is the culture one should describe. Most scholars ended

in the middle, describing what was and what had been. In all events, the BAE was changing its focus from ethnology to reservoir ‘Salvage’ funding.

An early quasi-tribal archeology was ‘An Introduction to Pawnee Archeology’ (Bull. 112). This combined archeological excavations with historical documents and maps. But there was nothing on native communities and social organization. Subsequent archeological investigations included a study of the ‘Troyville Mounds’ in Louisiana (Bull. 113). This was a magnificent Mississippian center destroyed by an American town.

As noted, USA embarked on a massive project of damming the big rivers after World War Two. By 1954 ‘reservoir projects’ had led to hundreds of archeological surveys administered by the BAE, such as 20 in California, 24 in Colorado, 28 in Nebraska, and 21 in Wyoming (Ann. Rep. 70, p. 7). Living tribes were supplanted by dammed valleys, both literally and in the BAE’s agenda. No objections were voiced; instead the BAE praised the ‘enthusiastic cooperation’ of federal agencies (ibid.). Hundreds of native village sites were cursorily examined and drowned. Anything found was put in boxes and shipped for storage. This, in a way, indicated that the Bureau of Ethnology was reaching its end.

Ethnology and Termination
the 1960s

In 1954 the USA started a policy called Termination towards American Indians. In some ways this may also have augured the termination of American ethnology. By the 1960s an archeologist was in charge of the BAE. He spoke of 'anthropology', but the focus was on prehistory (Ann. Rep. 80, p. 1). At the same time new people showed up at the Smithsonian; people interested in still-living Arctic cultures, South American languages, and tribes in Oklahoma and New York that had somehow survived their ethnologically predicated demise (op. cit., p. 3). Yet 'River Basin Surveys' took most attention and nearly all resources; thousands of 'sites' were peremptorily excavated (p. 4-27). By 1963 'the Missouri Basin Project had cataloged 1,391,219 specimens'; a handful of ethnologists were no contest (p. 27). Who would have known that this flurry of activity was to be the end of the BAE? It should be added that archeological research is valuable, but it could not supplant ethnographic studies.

A few works continued to be put out after 1960. One, a book on Mohave suicide, tried to 'psychologize' native culture and modern problems (Bull. 175). Presented with the view that their culture was a 'psychiatric' ailment, people tried to avoid the insane scholar as much as possible. Asked if dead babies could cause mental issues, the defensive answer was: 'We do not know – we are not shamans' (p. 169). The scholar did not respond to people's discomfort; he caused it.

Highly mixed 'Anthropological Papers' were still published. One volume had notes on Ecuador archeology, Blackfoot pipes, Mexican ethnography and Chippewa mats (Bull. 186). Ethnologists reportedly had a 'rediscovery' of a Mexican tribe, Warihio, in 1930, and tried 'sifting Spanish elements from the aboriginal' (p. 69). This would be a classical ethnologic approach, trying to reconstruct the 'aboriginal' state of a tribe without a clear analysis.

The study of native music was continued. A retrospective study of 'Iroquois Music and Dance' had material from 1933 to 1960 (Bull. 187, p. xi-xiii). It documented the still varied repertoire of songs and dances in this tribe. Next came a belated work on the Navaho people that focused on a 'Trading Post' and modern conditions (Bull. 188, p. x).

An up-to-date survey of Huron ethnology was based on 17th century French and Jesuit sources (Bull. 190). Interestingly it was shadowed by an anthropological treatise using the same documents (Trigger 1969). In brief, two scholars tried to sift through information from the stuck minds of Catholic clergy, who caused the destruction of the Huron by inundating them with diseases. The modern authors took an uncritical view of the French sources, perhaps because they are the only sources. Matters the Jesuits would not discuss or mention were left out as if they did not exist. For instance, the Jesuits avoided 'referring to clans', somewhat like ethnologists (Bull. 190, p. 44). In reality little of what the French wrote can be accepted as reliable.

Another retrospective work was on 'Ancient Tribes' in Virginia and neighboring states (Bull. 191). This tried to speculate on the identity of tribes by comparing a scant number of English references, such as 'Massawomeck' (p. 195). The only relevance would be if the names had a reference to known tribes, which is hard to prove and largely academic. Other 'Papers'

included Panama prehistory, a Pueblo language study, and 'Iroquois Masks' (Bull. 191). One work dealt with historic archeology in Alaska (Bull. 192). More was written on Panama prehistory (Bull. 193). Still later 'Anthropological Papers' were on Cherokee documents, Apache rituals and Navaho notes (Bull. 196). This was followed by a documentary study of the Navaho population (Bull. 197). Estimating the population even as recently as 1930 was difficult. The Navaho nation may have gone from 100,000+ in pre-contact times to 10,000 in 1868, rising to 40,000 by 1930 (p. 127-139). Today (2020) there are 180,000+ Navaho; a tremendous recovery.

One anthropologist tried to work retrospectively on 'The Ponca Tribe' with native assistance (Bull. 195). This included aggression from Euro-Americans or 'Long-Knives' and the subsequent 'Trail of Tears', with forced removal to present Oklahoma (p. 23-39). The painful experience of 'acculturation' also was outlined (p. 156-165). The outline was more 'activist' than earlier publications, but also less reconstructive, ending with a forced but seemingly unavoidable Americanization.

Some of the last works continued to be 'River Basin Surveys Papers'; one volume was published in 1964 (Bull. 189). Here fantastic villages and camp sites in North and South Dakota were looked at but barely examined. A huge area in Kansas was being dammed, so a confused anthropologist was sent to do 'salvage archeology', like digging a well with a toothpick. His assistants would visit many sites, dig a few holes, and leave (Bull. 189, p. 319-370). One of the last 'Surveys Papers' concerned the Mandan, noted elsewhere (Bull. 198).

'The Ethnoarcheology of Crow Village, Alaska' marked the end of BAE scholarly publications (Bull. 199). As stated it dealt with archeology, and not surprisingly it was not very revealing. Apparently this was an Eskimo village with 6 houses; each house log was carefully drawn, but little was learned of native social organization. The main conclusion was that 'Russian and American debris' was found in contact; not surprising, perhaps, since Alaska was 'bought' from Russia in 1867.

In a sense the fate of the BAE shadowed US Indian policies. Mindless politicians wanted an end to Indian reservations, enclaves, and native societies in general. While Native American leaders would fight the Termination policy to the end, and finally managed to stave it off, the Bureau of Ethnology disappeared. If tribes were not 'terminated', the ethnologists would be. They went without a murmur. No-one was there to protest as the doors of the Bureau closed, or rather, were integrated with the Smithsonian. That ethnology was something more than archeology, folklore, linguistics and anthropology would become a mysterious dream as secret as the sacred bundles molding on Smithsonian shelves.

The final publication of the BAE was a bibliography (Bull. 200). While it is not particularly big, it is impressive. Titles and subjects spanning North and South America are found in its pages; information that can scarcely be found elsewhere. It is as if every Native American people leapt onto the Bureau's rickety shelves. And there they remain. The BAE is closed forever – unless someone uses the key to unlock its secrets.

A quick overview of the native peoples represented in BAE publications

To facilitate a summary of the sources, societies mentioned have been placed in a general order from north to south and east to west. This order generally follows language families, starting at the Bering Strait: Eskimo, Athapascan, Algonquian, Iroquoian, Siouan, Yuchi, Catawba, Muskogean, Tunica, and Caddo in one series. Followed by a more irregular sequence: Kiowa, Northwest Coast, Salish, California, Basin-Plateau, Apache, Pueblo, Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, northern, eastern, western and southern South America; and ending at Tierra del Fuego.

The bulk of the material relates to North American peoples in some general areas, such as the upper Mississippi-Missouri drainage area, a few Southeastern tribes, the Southwest and the Pueblos, and the Northwest Coast. At the same time most, perhaps all, tribal peoples have been mentioned at least once in BAE pages. Yet the mention can be limited to a few words, perhaps just a name. Only a few tribes got the full ethnologic treatment. To a large extent the tribes presented, such as Iroquois, Cherokee and Omaha, depended on the personal interest and involvement of people describing them.

Tribes or peoples that are fairly extensively presented in BAE publications include: Eskimo-Inuit (Ann. Rep. 6; Ann. Rep. 9; Ann. Rep. 11; Ann. Rep. 18; Bull. 171; Bull. 199; Contrib. 1); Northern Athapascans (Ann. Rep. 46; Bull. 133); Chippewa (Ann. Rep. 7; Ann. Rep. 19; Ann. Rep. 44; Bull. 45; Bull. 53; Bull. 86; Bull. 146; Bull. 186); Menomini (Ann. Rep. 14; Bull. 102); Fox (Ann. Rep. 40; Bull. 72; Bull. 85; Bull. 87; Bull. 89; Bull. 95; Bull. 105; Bull. 114; Bull. 119; Bull. 125); Wyandot-Huron (Ann. Rep. 1; Bull. 190); Iroquois (Ann. Rep. 2; Ann. Rep. 21; Ann. Rep. 32; Ann. Rep. 43; Bull. 128; Bull. 149; Bull. 156; Bull. 180; Bull. 183; Bull. 187; Bull. 191); Hidatsa (Bull. 30; Bull. 80; Bull. 169; Bull. 176; Bull. 185; Bull. 194); Dakota (Ann. Rep. 11; Ann. Rep. 14; Ann. Rep. 15; Bull. 30; Bull. 61; Bull. 173); Winnebago (Ann. Rep. 37; Radin 1923); Ponca (Bull. 11; Bull. 195); Omaha (Ann. Rep. 3; Ann. Rep. 11; Ann. Rep. 27; Bull. 11); Osage (Ann. Rep. 6; Ann. Rep. 13; Ann. Rep. 36; Ann. Rep. 39; Ann. Rep. 43; Ann. Rep. 45; Bull. 101; Bull. 109); Cherokee (Ann. Rep. 5; Ann. Rep. 7; Ann. Rep. 19; Bull. 99; Bull. 133; Bull. 180; Bull. 195); Seminole (Ann. Rep. 5; Bull. 151; Bull. 161); Creek (Ann. Rep. 41; Bull. 73; Bull. 88; Bull. 123; Bull. 137); Choctaw (Bull. 46; Bull. 48; Bull. 103; Bull. 136; Bull. 137); Caddo (Bull. 132); Pawnee (Ann. Rep. 22; Bull. 93; Bull. 112).

And further: Tlingit (Ann. Rep. 26; Bull. 39; Bull. 133; Bull. 168; Bull. 172); Tsimshian (Ann. Rep. 31; Bull. 27; Contrib. 1); Kwakiutl (Ann. Rep. 35); Nootka (Bull. 124; Bull. 144); Klamath (Contrib. 2); Karuk (Bull. 78; Bull. 94; Bull. 107); Desert and Plateau tribes (Bull. 92; Bull. 119; Bull. 120; Bull. 136; Bull. 151; Bull. 164; Bull. 175); Navaho (Ann. Rep. 3; Ann. Rep. 5; Ann. Rep. 8; Ann. Rep. 17; Bull. 163; Bull. 188; Bull. 196; Bull. 197); Hopi (Ann. Rep. 8; Ann. Rep. 15; Ann. Rep. 16; Ann. Rep. 19; Ann. Rep. 21; Ann. Rep. 33); Pueblo Indians (Ann. Rep. 29; Ann. Rep. 43; Ann. Rep. 47; Bull. 55; Bull. 56; Bull. 98; Bull. 164; Bull. 165; Bull. 181); Sia (Ann. Rep. 11; Bull. 184); Acoma (Ann. Rep. 47; Bull. 135; Bull. 136; Bull. 165); Zuni (Ann. Rep. 2; Ann. Rep. 4; Ann. Rep. 5; Ann. Rep. 13; Ann. Rep. 23; Ann. Rep. 30; Ann. Rep. 47; Bull. 111; Bull. 165); Seri (Ann. Rep. 17); Pima (Ann. Rep.

26); Yaqui (Bull. 110; Bull. 142; Bull. 186); Guiana Indians (Ann. Rep. 30; Ann. Rep. 38; Bull. 91). It must be added that the depth and extent of the material varies considerably.

The peoples who are not included in the publications pose a question of some concern. The Shawnee, for a start, did not receive a separate publication, though heavily studied between 1885 and 1940, also by ethnologists. Perhaps it could be said that ‘difficult’ tribes were not included; people that had a voice and tried to make their interests heard. The Fox in Iowa, engulfed by white people, are heavily represented; kindred tribes in Oklahoma and Mexico, Sac & Fox, Kickapoo and Shawnee, still working to keep their tribal domains, are less represented. Then again major tribes such as Cherokee, Creek and Sioux or Dakota are represented, perhaps because they could hardly be ignored. Yet what is written about these tribes is highly circumspect and ‘historistic’. Traits that are not politically controversial such as house types and tribal names were included; while issues such as land rights and leadership are played down or ignored. The strong Navaho nation is noticeably neglected, except for a few late works.

There were ‘black spots’ on the ethnological map, areas that few people researched or wrote about. The Chippewa have an intricate and inscrutable clan system, but ethnologists never got into examining it; nor the closely related Ottawa and Potawatomi tribes. A seeming exception is a work on ‘Chippewa Customs’, that briefly mentioned ‘Totems’, but with no analysis (Bull. 86, p. 9-10). Other regional groups, such as the northern Athapascans, are poorly documented in the publications.

The richness in detail of some publications is puzzling. There was a report on basketry in British Columbia; Salishan tribes such as Thompson and Lillooet (Ann. Rep. 41, p. 119f). These tribes were otherwise little reported on, perhaps overshadowed by Northwest Coast peoples. One ulterior motive for publishing detailed basketry designs, might be to keep this up as a future commercial activity in the area.

Perhaps it is good that the BAE in some cases focused on small, marginal and neglected people. Many small peoples were desperately in need of being heard at this time. Even though the BAE was not doing action research, every documentation of social and cultural conditions might be useful. Something as basic as linguistic research would be a resource for people in later years when questions of recognition and revival arose.

The BAE ethnologists rarely saw their research topics as those of living cultures. It is frightening to read the reports using words like ‘extinct’ or ‘exterminated’, as if they were talking of strange species of nature. These were living human beings, but apparently describing them as ‘moribund’ is acceptable, at least when the word refers to culture. Needless to say such destructive words should be used with caution, since they are self-fulfilling. As a Shawnee informant said, ‘Indians don’t die. They just vanish in a way’. The word is ‘hashenwa’, lost from sight; people are there even if we cannot see them.

Ethnologists – a dying breed

American ethnologists were by and large run-of-the-mill academics. But they had an exciting job, one that no other people could perform. They, as they thought, were to record the native culture of the American continent before it disappeared. They were like physicists visiting a distant planet, or paleontologists examining a retreat for living dinosaurs before it was bulldozed over to make a strip-mall.

The situation was absurd. American Indians had no citizenship rights and few human rights. The US Army was still in the process of killing ‘kickers’ in 1890. And the government policy was to make the Indians ‘disappear’ by keeping them isolated on reservations that were gradually taken over by whites, with diminishing resources and scarce livelihood (Gearing 1972, p. 23). In this situation the BAE came in to ‘record’ Indian culture, and began to form its agenda.

Early ethnologists, such as Morgan, were totally confident and generally wrong. They had a confidence that now is inconceivable, except on the internet. They had a fixed view of existence, and were happy to go back to a time when everything was original and ordered. In the process they would inspire later deterministic views on culture – as they still may do today. But ethnologists knew nothing about this at the time; they did not need to believe what they wrote. Their views were theoretical, about a former time that may have been and that now was gone forever. Their certainty was based on the knowledge that the past could never be recreated or even imagined. They might as well have been constructing computer games. Morgan loved the notion that the Iroquois basically were the same as the Romans, and that he alone had witnessed this. His views on totemic clans became authoritative. John Wesley Powell (1834-1902) echoed Morgan’s views in relation to the Huron or Wyandot tribe.

There is another aspect to recording a passing culture. Ethnologists desperately wanted to record what they saw. They coached and pleaded with informants, went over details to get the picture right. The frustration at not getting the full picture, at only seeing pieces of what was, is evident in many BAE reports. The frustration is echoed also today; if there had been technological equipment such as film cameras and tape recorders, not to mention digital equipment, so much more could be recorded. The last man who knew an important ritual may have passed away only weeks before an ethnologist came to interview him. In 1979 I shared this feeling when a Shawnee man recorded all the raccoon dance songs, but before anybody could hear them his niece’s grandchildren taped them over with rock music; not the same thing, whatever constructivists may claim. Perhaps the ethnologists were not to blame for the impossible position they placed themselves in for recording a culture that was ‘lost’. But they knew what they were getting into. They could not later claim that their inadequate acts were none of their fault.

James Owen Dorsey (1848-1895) belonged to an intimidating tradition of American missionaries who pretended to take an interest in Indian culture while condemning native life. Dorsey had a huge problem. On the one hand he was a missionary, on the other he wanted to learn about Indian culture. The two sides were in direct conflict, like a fit of schizophrenia. He would write about cultural beliefs as if they had no existence. One solution was to be

inscrutable. Since ethnologists were recording mordant cultures they could elaborate and expostulate endlessly; Dorsey used 74 symbols (letters) to write the ‘Ȼhegiha’ language.

Alice Cunningham Fletcher (1838-1923) was ‘an American ethnologist, anthropologist, and social scientist who studied and documented American Indian culture’ (Wikipedia). Fletcher used anthropological methods. She used connections and friendship to build rapport with informants not just in one tribe, Omaha, but intertribally (Ann. Rep. 22, pt. 2, p. 13). This allowed her to study events and translate texts such as in a Pawnee ceremony, otherwise held secret. Her maternal appearance made her a perfect spy.

Together with an Omaha, Francis La Flesche, Fletcher would write cultural ‘cook-book’ type works, text-dependent and reified. All interpretation is lain aside in favor of the sacredness of texts. In some ways this is an admirable approach; few scholars bother to document all their claims empirically. The problem is that the presentation becomes opaque; you have to be in the culture to know what is going on. La Flesche tries to recreate a culture, but only he knows what it is. That his is a static view of culture goes without saying. This is culture ‘as told’. What is nice is that La Flesche seems to master a few Indian languages, Omaha and Osage. At the same time his language use is idiosyncratic. The way he meticulously would write the language, is not necessarily how a linguist would do it. When he starts to write a list of Osage names he runs into trouble. It was meant to be a simple list, but some names cannot be understood, and he suddenly realizes that he has to indicate who the person is, who the parents are, and other details. He almost starts to write an ethnography of the tribal composition, but convulsively manages to stick with the intention of making a list. Appropriately the list ends with Wa-shi^n-wi^n, Fat-woman; idiosyncratic to the end (Ann. Rep. 43, p. 164).

One fairly simple scholar was William John McGee (1853-1912), strongly deterministic and ethnocentric. Among other things he claimed that Indian tribes were ‘endogamous’, and that ‘marriage by capture’ was a cultural advancement over marriage by consent (Ann. Rep. 19, p. xxiv). At the same time he did some crucial research in uncovering the situation of exposed people such as the Seri Indians; without knowing how to present the atrocities he witnessed. In spite of his shortcomings he had some power. ‘McGee was ethnologist in charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology from 1893 to 1903’ (Wikipedia).

John Reed Swanton (1873-1958) was a fixture of the Bureau for many years. He wrote mostly harmless and referential historical summaries, but contributed some significant source materials on the Creek, Caddo and other Indians. His memory is mostly contained in the books he wrote.

James Mooney (1861-1921) showed the conflicting involvement of American ethnologists. He ‘lived for several years among the Cherokee’, became known as ‘The Indian Man’, and studied ‘Southeastern Indians’ and ‘those on the Great Plains’ (Wikipedia). Perhaps he should also be known as ‘The Anti-Indian Man’; a white man pretending to speak for the Indians. His project was to relate Indians to Anglo-American life; to minimize the cultural distance by declaring them similar and soon-to-be the same. He was an enemy of Morgan and others ‘colored’ by a love for Indian culture (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 227). Yet Mooney was to become an early proponent for Indian rights, or rather their rights as Americans.

Perhaps the most remarkable publication of the BAE was ‘The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890’ (Ann. Rep. 14, pt. 2). Here was not only activism, but direct

criticism of the USA and its treatment of Indians. Only two years after the US Army massacred 300 Indian men, women and children at Wounded Knee, the Bureau published a report criticizing the conduct. This had never been done before. The report became a classic, published as a book in later editions. Why would the BAE bite the hand that fed it? The answer may be that Mooney wanted to show the closeness of Indians to American life in general. Yes they had clans and dances, but they also had voice and humanity. That this humanity somehow differed from Anglo-Americans may have been a double blind-spot for Mooney; he was ethnocentric in thinking people were like himself, but he also was 'reverse-ethnocentric' thinking white people saw Indians the same way. His closeness to native people made him blind to the cultural distance; brought painfully home in 1890. Probably the government saw it the same way; he was a concerned white man, not a rebel or activist.

'The Ghost-Dance Religion' also brings out two contrasting but related ethnocentric approaches: romanticism and drama. The first chapter is called 'Paradise Lost'. Then there is a history of Indian spirituality from 1760 to 1890. This is compared to Christianity, Islam, 'Joan of Arc' and Protestantism. Religious movements are a way to come to terms with people's needs. Then follows the ethnologies: Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, Paiute, Washo, Pit River Indians, Sioux, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Caddo, Wichita, Kichai and Delaware. The gist no doubt is that Indians are like white people, they want to follow their interests and protect their culture. But the clou is placed as an 'Appendix' in the middle: 'The Indian story of Wounded Knee'; a candid account of the 1890 massacre. No conclusion is drawn, except that the massacre was something that should not happen between brother people, whites and Indians. Perhaps there is some activism in this; but it is more an appeal for leniency, that whites should stop killing Indians.

A posthumous esoteric work by Mooney was 'The Swimmer Manuscript' (Bull. 99). It contained ritual formulas on everything from 'Prophylaxis' to prayers 'For long life' (p. vi). The work is extra esoteric because the manuscript it was based on was 'lost' (p. 1). These were the religious musings of a partly white Cherokee man. The formulas and medicines could probably be recognized by healers in most societies. Mooney organized the formulas 'in a logical order' from 'the white man's point of view'. There is little on social organization, though formulas mention animals, mostly in relation to disease and witchcraft (p. 30).

Another oddball publication was by Charles C. Royce (1845-1923), who wrote a potentially explosive treatise on 'Indian Land Cessions in the United States'; how American Indians were robbed of nearly all their land between 1783 and 1899 (Ann. Rep. 18, pt. 2). But the content was defused; the presentation was mainly to show what land each tribe surrendered and where they lived before the cession. There was no attempt to uncover unconscionable conduct on the part of US authorities. The publication was mainly known for its colored maps, indicating the location of Indian villages and reservations before they were 'ceded'. The intent was ethnological, to keep track of tribes before and after removals.

Paul Radin (1883-1959), 'American cultural anthropologist and folklorist', wrote a noted study of the Winnebago tribe (Wikipedia). He did research on the tribe 'during 1908-1913', employed by the BAE 'on private expeditions'. He had some hang-ups: that the Winnebago were 'French', that they once made effigy mounds, that they were destroyed – basically a myth, and that the patrilineal system had become 'very lax' (Radin 1923, p. 144). His material diverges; chapters on archeology, such as effigy mounds, and on ethnography, such as clans, become truly distinct (p. 28, 133). Probably this was intentional, the past and present do not connect; what once was is not related to the present situation of the Winnebago. One

exception is peyote, that Radin characteristically sees as external, a ‘new feature’ ‘from without’, and hence somewhat expected in view of the present situation (p. 426). That peyote also preserves native elements such as Trickster beliefs, is rapidly passed over. Much of the presentation is personalized, such as in quoting religious experiences (p. 243-262), or in general when quoting individual informants on any subject. No attempt is made to describe Winnebago society as such.

Another ethnocentrically biased scholar was Frank G. Speck (1881-1950). His approach was anti-totemic, anti-clan, anti-community; he wanted Indians to follow the ‘Yankee’ system, based on the nuclear family and its individuals. He was fascinated by nearly extinct tribes, such as ‘Wawenock’ and Catawba, both because he could squirm out his own information, and because they were nearly American like himself. His favorite was the singular informant, such as the last speaker of an Indian language. Then he could ‘lament’ the passing of the Indian, but also present an unopposed individual view (Ann. Rep. 43, p. 169). He happily collected ‘the last morsel’ of ‘ethnological material’ from extinct tribes (p. 205).

Ethnocentric approaches included using the notion of ‘family’ as a basic unit. There were no native villages, only families living close together. Some scholars do not even operate with families, but consider every society to be individual based; e.g., Speck. They are more concerned with details, such as how parts of a roof are tied together, rather than with how many people lived in the house. The focus is on esthetics: The furniture is not very decorative (Ann. Rep. 38, p. 270).

Ethnocentrism had a constant impact on ethnologic research. Because totems are a foreign thought, moderns do not think about it. Just like we would not call our MoBrSoSo an ‘uncle’. Precisely for this reason it is necessary to elicit what other people say without influencing their thoughts. But ethnologists construed things their own way. If the premise is that people cannot be animals, or a cousin’s son cannot be an uncle, then this is what they will hear, or the informant will modify his or her answer to suit the preconceived prejudice.

Over time the views tended to grow more ethnocentric and contrived, even person-centric. Each scholar had his or her own view of what Indians were like, without necessarily using sources to support their view. Bureau ethnologists seemed to detest totemism, and tried to disparage it as much as possible, without describing totemism in detail. They knew they did not like it, though they had never studied it. Whenever the topic of totemism turned up, it would be passed over as quickly as possible in a dismissive way.

This would contrast with other practices such as polygyny. The practice of having more than one wife had to be explained in detail, in a non-dismissive way. There was wealth and power involved, as with rich Americans. So the subject could not be dealt with in an off-hand manner. It touched the core of puritan American views.

The handling of residence is intriguing. The basic premise was to avoid all references to communities and focus on individuals. So a village would be described as a certain kind of house. There would be several houses in a village, to be sure, but the approach was to describe one or a few houses, which was seen as sufficient. How different houses related to each other in a village, such as through totemism, or how many houses there were, was of no interest. When American ethnologists took photos of a village, they would take pictures of one house, or the front of a house, as if this represented the community. Reading such descriptions is excruciatingly frustrating; what did the community look like?

James A. Teit (1864-1922) was ‘an anthropologist, photographer and guide’ who worked with Franz Boas studying ‘Interior Salish’ people (Wikipedia). Teit’s contribution would have sections on houses and housing, but not on villages; though communities somehow were subsumed under housing, such as noting that a village had more than one house. There was no relation between housing and social organization, since houses were seen as material culture, and analyzed together with clothing, basketry and so on. Social organization was a different matter. Describing how people were organized in each case became defensive, since this transcended the view of people as individuals. A section on clothing could cover 20 pages, while social organization got 2 pages towards the end (Ann. Rep. 45).

Every event involving more than one individual was problematical in Bureau terms. For instance, it was all right for a chief’s position to be hereditary, as long as personal merit was involved. No matter how strict hereditary rules were, a person’s individual qualities were emphasized, in keeping with Anglo-American values.

Needless to say ideology lay at the bottom of how ethnologists described Indians. The aim was to present the Indians as much as possible like white Americans, for better or worse, e.g., polygyny. Things that did not fit the picture, such as totemism, were dismissed or disparaged, as aberrant behavior. This may be pushing the point a bit, but later examples will show what is meant.

It is important to realize that very little ethnographic source material was ever published. Of the more than 200 tribal peoples in the USA only a part would be represented in BAE publications. What was published to some extent depended more on who was writing and what their agenda was than on the relevance of ethnographic material. Also some core geographical areas, as noted, would be represented. There was no accumulative or aggregative knowledge involved, except in a few cases and for a few topics. Trying to give an overview of American Indian culture was not part of the project. For instance, the Bureau collected synonyms of past and present tribal designations, but as a listing of terms rather than a comprehensive overview. The exceptions to this off-hand approach, such as polygyny, the tradition of having more than one wife, to a large degree resonated with Anglo-American cultural hang-ups.

The extent to which bureau scientists were ethnocentric at times is overwhelming. They could be called Americanists. Men such as Speck and Mooney wanted to show that Indians shared an American ethos, such as individualism and family values. Others would do the opposite, portraying Indians as aberrant or inferior, men such as Mark Harrington and Hrdlicka. All these errant scholars would play down the significance of Indians and their culture. Mooney was notorious for minimizing the size of pre-contact Indian populations, to make it seem like they had not lost many people after contact with European colonists. He set the Shawnee population at 2000, which could be 5% of the original number (Bull 30, pt. 2, p. 536).

John P. Harrington (1884-1961) was something of a cynic; a flamboyant academic. It is not surprising that Harrington presented Picuris Pueblo mythology as ‘children’s stories’ (Ann. Rep. 43, p. 289). His focus was eclectic; he spent time looking for Indian relics, but also published obscure texts on Karuk tobacco use (Bull. 94). His namesake, Mark R. Harrington (1882-1971), was even more notorious, pilfering sacred bundles, but he rarely entered BAE works.

The racist research of Ales Hrdlicka (1869-1943) was deeply disturbing. An early work was on 'Skeletal Remains' (Bull. 33). His consuming interest was race, as recorded from human bones, particularly skulls. The BAE condoned this as 'researches relating to the antiquity of man in America' (p. 3). For this reason they sent the Czech race scholar all over the US to examine supposed finds of ancient bones. Hrdlicka did not hesitate to identify ancient skulls with recent ones, even attributing them to the same tribe (p. 26). Apparently he did not want amateurs to intrude on his domain, so he made strong claims. In other cases he was intrigued by skulls with low foreheads, and assigned them to mound builders or artificial head flattening (p. 95). A related work was on 'Early Man in America', also comparing skull shapes (Bull. 66).

Hrdlicka was a persistent monomaniac, always ready to measure body parts. He wrote a work on 'Physiological and Medical Observations' in the Southwest (Bull. 34). Here he studied sterility among women and the height of children, among other things. One basic finding was that Indians were similar; perhaps not surprising (p. 2). In other ways Hrdlicka fit the ethnology mold; he strongly emphasized that Indian houses were 'isolated', and took photos of individual houses to prove his claim (p. 15; pl. 3). Like most ethnologists Hrdlicka loved having his preconceptions confirmed; anything else would be intolerable. One area where Hrdlicka broke American taboos was in writing about abortion and infanticide (p. 163-6). He dutifully labeled this as 'social abnormalities' (p. 163).

Perhaps as an atonement for his racist leanings Hrdlicka wrote about a real and damaging issue, tuberculosis on Indian reservations (Bull. 42). Most likely he wrote the paper because he got money from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. But the work had an actional effect – it brought attention to the terrible health problems and poor health services provided for Indians by the government. In a 'modern' tribe such as the Shawnee 0.3% had TB in 1904; at Hupa Valley Agency 6 % had TB (p. 4).

Hrdlicka's physical anthropology became more hardcore as time progressed. He dug up an eastern cemetery to study the skulls of Delaware Indians (Bull. 62). He determined Algonquian and Iroquoian people to be long-skulled and Siouan and Southeastern people to be short-skulled, which happened to be a north-south division in the hey-day of US racism (plate 1). Up into the 1930s racist research would be comme-il-faut.

Alfred L. Kroeber (1876-1960) came and went. He was 'an American cultural anthropologist' (Wikipedia). His main contribution was the 'Handbook of the Indians of California' (Bull. 78). His work was not without wearisome statements and hang-ups. Kroeber contributed to ethnocentric constructions such as Yurok towns being descended from 'one man' (Waterman & Kroeber 1934, p. 5). He tried to contest ideas such as totemic 'clans' and 'exogamy' (p. 6-7). In many ways Kroeber's ethnocentrism was constant. He used Yankee terms to describe Yurok kinship, 'Father', 'Brother', 'Uncle' and 'Cousins', and then claimed that kin terms were used 'as in English'. Cases that did not fit this scheme were called 'secondary' deviations or 'errors' (Kroeber 1917, p. 374-5). Along the same lines ethnologists would engage in a violent debate whether Yurok had 'individual' or 'descent-group' ownership, of interest mainly to themselves (New Handbook v. 8, p. 146).

It was important for BAE people to distance themselves from Lewis Henry Morgan. This was partly because Morgan leaned towards nostalgia and romanticism, but most of all because he was a communalist or worse, a communist thinker. He sympathized with Indians at a time when they were being destroyed or 'pacified', and idealized their social organization as an

original societal form. Many serious scholars sympathized with Morgan's agenda, but took care not to show it, such as Gatschet, Michelson and others.

Truman Michelson (1879-1938) was a careful, almost timid scholar; writing down texts as informants told them while hesitating to comment. He 'was a linguist and anthropologist who worked from 1910 until his death' for the BAE 'at the Smithsonian Institution' (Wikipedia). His materials were native written texts translated for him, as if he was not present; unless he was eliciting linguistic notes directly from an informant. Yet he was the writer. This is particularly noticeable for ceremonial material; Michelson seems not to be present, only to repeat native texts. Then it is odd to read that 'at the death of one of Wanatie's sons', 'a ceremonial attendant … gave me tobacco and told me to go to Wanatie's' (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 356). Michelson became directly involved in a whole-night ceremony. At first it seems hard to believe that 'I' meant him, but he adds 'I could not take this down at the time', meaning his notes. This becomes very peculiar in relation to clan feasts, where Michelson presents the material as 'mythical' texts even if a feast took place in 1924. At best he was trying to avoid influencing the event; but most of all this seems like good old puritanical squeamishness; ethnologists do not carry sacred tobacco. Probably it was both. Behind looms the specter of ethnology: Indian culture must be presented as a thing of the (irrevocable) past.

The distance to European anthropology is noticeable. Scholars ranging from Weber and Durkheim to Lévi-Strauss and Radcliffe-Brown were avoided by the BAE, not to mention Marx. The antidote was fierce empiricism coupled with eclecticism. Reproducing an original text was far better than interpretation or social criticism.

The outsider in this scenario was Franz Boas; and the 'Chicago school' represented by scholars such as Sol Tax and Fred Eggan, the latter taught by English anthropologist Radcliffe-Brown. It should be added that Boas and Lévi-Strauss did publish in the BAE, but they did not set the tone. The tone was set by American Ethnology itself, its rise and fall; the march of empire.

As with every ideologically individualist organization, there were people who would go their own ways, in particular on the margins of the Bureau. Leslie White (1900-1975) had no problem putting the topic of social structure in focus, starting with modern society and clans, something other ethnologists would never do. Yet he would end appropriately with fairytales. White was no clanship man, no scholar of totemism. He noted people without clans, questioned the existence of moieties, and problematized the idea of exogamy. His interest was in social life, and clans were just one aspect of this which had to be dealt with (Ann. Rep. 47).

One problem with ethnologists' writings is that they rarely used anthropological fieldwork as a method. By this is meant a long-term stay in a local community to observe, describe and interpret local life; so-called participant observation. One exception may be Frank Cushing, but he more resembled a hang-around at Zuni than an anthropologist (Ann. Rep. 2).

Instead the ethnologists used text as a method, collecting what people said about their cultures. Their information depended on what informants chose to tell. Often the text went through several persons, informant, interpreter, translator and assistant, before it reached the ethnologist, who then would edit or 'correct' it, to use Boas' condescending term.

Yet textual records are what remains, added by artefacts, photos and charts. Sometimes there are tidbits of real observations in between. People will tell about their actual clan relations.

Two Isleta women were asked about their use of kin terms, with confusing results (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 219f). Ethnologists were on the ground, they just did not report what they saw. Most annoying of all is the lack of local descriptions. Hopi house totems were collected almost by chance (Ann. Rep. 19). Otherwise villages were seen just as houses. In Alaska, Hrdlicka took snapshots from the river, noting his meals, but not bothering to record the size and composition of villages (Ann. Rep. 46). In history, countless visits to Shawnee villages are on record, but not one visitor bothered to describe a village layout or appearance. Not even ethnologists would do this, particularly not they. Speck would visit a Shawnee dance ground, and brag that he got a Shawnee name, but paying no attention to the camps around the ground. Ethnologists had no need to describe the streets in their hometown, so why should they describe an Indian village. Cultural blindness met ethnocentrism. Yet they would with great authority pronounce the number of clans in a tribe. Presumably people with other clans than those listed would be disqualified from the tribe, since Mooney had spoken. Describing Indian societies as living social systems was not a part of the ethnologists' agenda.

The purpose here is not to belittle ethnologists as scholars, though reading the reports can be frustrating. It is to show the limitations and possibilities they had in reporting Native American cultures; possibilities only they had. And this is what we try to relate to when describing Indian societies.

The inscrutability of social organization as a concept

This chapter provides a theoretical description of social organization that mostly relates to modern life, used as an example. While this may seem irrelevant to Native American culture, it covers the same topics that will be used in presenting ethnologic material. The reader can skip this chapter, or lumber through.

When an archeologist excavates a prehistoric settlement he or she is mystified by what is found. The Shawnee Indians used to number 40,000 people in more than 150 villages; by 1890 roughly 1000 speakers remained (my estimate). Trying to reconstruct the pre-European culture would be like reconstructing a 500-piece jigsaw puzzle from 10 random pieces. On top of this, distortion sets in. Prehistoric culture is not real. It is like an internet game or fantasy role play. In a scientific treatise it will not do to create a lost fantasy world, like Atlantis. Even if Atlantis could be found it would have to be reconstructed in strictly scientific terms, based on concrete and physical evidence, so that fiction will not replace knowledge. Yet we know so little about how people lived, indeed, how people live, that fiction and fantasy is unavoidable when describing social life. Not to mention ideological views and belief systems.

What follows is an attempt to outline scientific aspects of social life. At the outset a social organization may seem eminently describable. There are five areas of life or 'substantive part systems' that embrace most human relations: economy, kinship, differentiation, politics and religion (see e.g., Keesing 1981, pt. iii-iv). Adding culture, such as folklore and art, and ethos, such as individual life stages and outlook on life, almost every human experience can be placed in a compact and well-ordered system. Yet what comes out of this system, what society looks like, is totally unpredictable and inscrutable. Why do some people reckon descent through women, while others reckon descent through men? The non-committal answer is that this is an accidental difference, one of two genders happens to be chosen. In other words, we do not know why societies are patrilineal or matrilineal.

In other areas of life, such as differentiation aka stratification, any of a number of systems can appear seemingly without any possibility of explanation. All that is known is that societies based on hunting and gathering have a more simple hierarchy than Medieval feudalism. Some societies have castes, others have classes; some scholars say these are the same or similar systems with different names, others maintain that every example of stratification has to be clearly distinguished from every other. No two forms of integration or differentiation are the same. Comparing classes in England, France and Germany would be like comparing apples, oranges and bananas; a random example.

So why study social organization at all? The answer of the American ethnologists was that this is a call of duty; a challenging but necessary task that had to be done if an ethnography was to be complete. Named groups and kinship terms should be listed, and that would pretty much finish the job. Why kinship terms varied across cultures, or why some peoples had similar named groups, totemic clans, while others did not, was something that could be noted but hardly discussed and least of all explained. Or the explanation would be very simple; that most people are like us and base their communities on individuals and nuclear families. Everything beyond that is artificial and circumstantial, like the number of suburbs in a city.

The end result is that we do not understand society; probably we never did. As a car driver would say: I'm not a mechanic, I'm just driving the thing. And yet we are so close to getting a grasp of the wider workings of society. Such a grasp is crucial if our knowledge is to advance in any meaningful way. There is a need to know what is going on when dramatic change occurs in the social world around us. A look at different 'part systems' may be a place to start.

Economy is described in terms of historical stages and forms of exchange. The stages can be loosely named hunting & gathering, early domestication, intensive agriculture, handcraft manufacture, mechanical production and machine or industrial production. Forms of exchange include reciprocity, redistribution, produce exchange, comprehensive market exchange, monetary market exchange and financial exchange systems, the 'global market'. Limitless complexity is contained in these two sentences; yet every system is based on the production and exchange of scarce resources. Hence economy is a crucial component of social life, and should be a part of every comprehensive description.

Kinship is the least understood social part system; it is also the one that is considered to be least significant. Scholars have tried to describe how kinship terms change during a historical development. Yet hunter-gatherer people have basically the same system as modern Americans, while agricultural people use kinship terms that cannot even be compared. To top this some scientists have insisted that kinship does not exist. It is a symbolic construction based on people's subjective views of how children are born and reared.

For such reasons kinship is probably the most important part system of all. If we cannot understand how people in a family relate to each other, we cannot expect to figure out how the world economy develops. And yet the intuitive feeling is that kinship is a very simple system; that scholars who describe it as complicated are muddling the topic. Children are born into families, and such families have relations with other people that together make up a realm of kin. Probably what confused scholars most is the extent of kinship. Shawnee people will refer to everybody as kin, including animals and plants. Similarly in Japan, everybody is called big brother, big sister, uncle and aunt, grandpa and grandma. Frustrated, scholars will say this is not 'real' kinship, this is using kin terms to refer to others that you cannot possibly be related to; so-called fictive kinship. They are missing the point. Kinship is like an onion. At the center is a parent and child. Beyond are relatives, other people and the world beyond, all of which people may feel they are related to in different ways. All that is needed is to identify the layers of kinship.

The third part system, differentiation or stratification, becomes almost an anticlimax, since there are only so many layers of difference people can imagine or cope with. Usually that number is three; sometimes two. In rural Norway the distinction is between 'big' people, common people and 'small' people. Other terms are not so delicate. Those on top are 'snobs', but also 'fine' people. The middle group may be called the 'uncouth' or 'ordinary' masses. Those at the bottom end up with the worst epithets, such as 'rascals' and 'scum', words that should never be used. Socialists use the terms 'upper' and 'lower' class; also an uncomfortable fit. More acceptable is 'proprietary' and 'labor' classes; though most people are neither.

Why is it so difficult to identify a simple system of stratification? People will avoid speaking of a 'lower' and 'upper' status at all costs, in particular in personal relations. Hierarchies are dehumanizing. One approach that may be more amenable is to look at social positions or occupations. Modern societies include a so-called 'elite' of politicians, top bureaucrats and

executives. There also is a lower tier of bureaucrats and managers. Other class-like labels include farmers, 'white-collar' employees, 'blue-collar' workers and poor or 'classless' people. Even such 'empirical' class designations may seem problematic, but perhaps convey a sense of reality. Finding words is a part of the game.

A simple definition of politics is that it is a 'game of power'. Modern politics to a large extent is an issue of different ideologies battling each other. In such a power-game, different impulses balance each other. If one faction gets too strong it can wreck the balance and cause societies to collapse. Some scholars point out that there always must be three factions in a political system (Barth 1965). Then if one faction gets too strong the other two can line up and defeat it. And if one of those two gets dominant in turn, the weaker part can switch sides to the remaining faction and restore the balance. A good example is Norway where there typically are three factions, 'left', 'right' and 'middle'. The middle faction, consisting of several small parties, can easily switch sides if either the left or the right gets too strong, leading to an indeterminate but predictable politics of least agreement. Nothing drastic or significant will be done.

The fifth and final part system, religion, in many ways is another anti-climax. The seeming irrationality and inhumanity that casts a shadow on class relations and politics, combines with the irrationality that is called human belief systems. This is 'belief' in a constricted sense. People have many thoughts and beliefs, both rational and irrational, but religion is something else, often called a system of thought control. For this reason scholars devised a different designation of this part system, 'value and code', or just 'values', which sounds less constrictive (Keesing 1981, p. 365). People have many values and beliefs that they adhere to, not all of them religious. Modern society is believed to be secular. For the first time in history people can go through life without believing anything. People also did this before, but at the risk of being prosecuted as non-believers. Yet 'values' remain a part of everybody's life.

For various reasons this presentation of substantive part systems has focused on modern societies. Modernity is the culmination of a million years of human and social development. Modern societies are totally distinct from and in many ways unrelated to societies that existed before. Even medieval society is beyond the pale of modern comprehension. But modern social forms carry in them practices that go far back in time. For instance reciprocity, the direct exchange of goods such as gifts, very much remains a part of modern economies. Just look at the Christmas offers in October. People still go hunting; they call each other brother and sister; they claim to be all equal; and they dream about a great leader who can solve all problems, hopefully without the cost of lives and mayhem. They even imagine that a god in the sky is watching them. People are the same now as they were forty thousand years ago; society is not. And because society is different, people in some ways have to be different also. Relations that once may have seemed simple, have become part of complex and massive networks. The easy solution is a dream that can never happen; a nightmare would take the form of a social crisis. People somehow have to handle the complexity around them.

Culture is the home ground of ethnology. This is where the ethnologist can describe different artefacts and practices without getting into the unpleasant quandary of social structure. The designs on a fabric can be the same across millennia, and still provide meaning to people. There are universal forms of human existence that never change, such as taking off one's clothes to go to sleep; with some exceptions. Lewis Henry Morgan loved to ask people if they sleep naked, because this brought him close to a culturally universal human practice (White 1959). That the question could feel abusive seems to have slipped his mind. In one BAE

publication it was noted that Chippewa women sleep ‘barefoot’; which is much more acceptable in puritan terms (Bull. 86, p. 120).

Yet culture is not universal. It is as disparate and distinctive as social forms. There is no connection between modernity and stone age culture, though some artists seem to think so; or urban shamans. Not too long ago social scientists made crude distinctions between cultural ‘stages’. They started with lower and upper savagery, lower and upper barbarism, and ended with lower and upper civilization. Examples, in no way politically correct, would be Bushmen, North American Indians, Vikings, ancient Greeks, feudal states and the British Empire. Depending on the cultural stage, every part of culture, its expressions and practices, would be distinct. To take one example, the understanding of logics, mathematics and physics would be completely different among hunters and gatherers and at a modern university, such as in chemistry and biology. Eskimos have hundred words for snow; scientists have spectrometers. Which knowledge is ‘best’ is not an issue; the cultural contexts are totally unrelated. Shawnee winter stories and Norwegian fairytales can be similar, such as about the rabbit fooling the wildcat or the fox fooling the bear. Yet a rabbit man would have difficulty understanding the context of fairytales, read to a child at bedtime, since he is defending his totem by making fun of others. It would be like telling a child to be a good fox and go to sleep. The manner of thought differs.

Big topics like forms of knowledge, medicine, language, history and art figure prominently in ethnologic publications, not to mention morality, laws and worldview. The temptation to distinguish ‘primitive’ and ‘advanced’ is impossible to ignore. That the world was flat was a carefully developed view 500 years ago; now it is far out, though some folks still believe it. If any sense is to be made of this at all it is necessary to uncover as much as possible of the conceptual world in which people lived at any time and place. Even though it is impossible, it is necessary to find out what old-time Shawnee people thought and said if we are to catch even a glimmer of their world. The same goes for any and every other society and social group; we desperately need knowledge about people’s lives. Societies cannot go unexplored.

There is more. A society consists of individual human beings. In postmodern thought this is all that society, or any kind of knowledge, consists of; individuals and their minds. What I am writing down right now is only in my mind and can have no relation to what any other individual has written before, except in so far as I want it to. And my mind tells me that societies do not consist of individuals. Discussing the relationship between individuals and societies is crucial and painful. In one view individuals totally depend on societies. Everything we do from cradle to grave is controlled by institutions around us, even our thoughts. This view is impossible because it is dehumanizing. In the opposite view individuals are completely free to act as they want in society. Whatever may be of rules and institutions is there to help them fulfill their dreams. This view is impossible because it is unreal. The gist of the matter is somewhere in between, that humans and societies are interdependent constructs, like molecules and substances. Yet discussing the relationship between an individual human being and his or her societal surroundings is inherently conflictual. Any attempt to expose the relationship may end in determinism.

Ethnologists solved this problem through chronology. Birth, puberty, marriage and burial defines a human in societal terms. If need be some observations on socialization, personality and attitudes can be included, also suitable biographies of members in a society, either prominent or convenient. This leads on to a description of what people do. Usually this is quite concrete, such as describing what someone does during a day, or typical activities they

get engaged in, e.g., making baskets. The serious issue, how and if people's activities have an impact on the society around them, is not an issue for ethnologists. This is left to anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and often, psychologists.

Anthropologists have a battery of concepts to describe people's activities in society. The main ones include the term opportunity situation: what resources, relations and opportunities that a person has available in order to perform his or her tasks. Next follows choices, transactions and interaction, how resources are deployed to reach whatever goals a person might have. Somehow inserted in this situation is a person's identity, including self-perception and reactions by others. The person uses any resources at hand, both verbal and material, to achieve goals in interaction with others; referred to as acts of transaction and signification (Grønhaug 1975). So far so good; by using one's resource in interaction it is possible to achieve goals; individual one, society nil.

But it's a jungle out there. A person cannot know what goes on in society, at least not to any great extent. This includes social scientists; the frustrating experience every student must go through is how little we know about the world around us, and still stick with the study. Those brave enough will try to explicate the wider societal forces and influences that work on an individual. There are (at least) two approaches to this daunting task; one is called 'social discourse' (Foucault 1972), the other 'social field' (Grønhaug 1978). Social discourse is the emergence of all human exchanges, negotiations, conflicts and practices that will work on an area of social life as it unfolds. Psychiatry may be a science, but it is also a discursive outcome of a number of exchanges and negotiations that work on its emergence at any point in time. Perhaps the mass dependence on opioids is an example of this. A social field, on the other hand, is the impact that a number of transactional and significational choices have on a societal area or region at any point in time. A somewhat contrived example is an irrigation system where large parts of the system are inoperative because the water flow is inconstant. If water decreases people higher up will spend the water before it reaches lower areas. There are transactional and significational constraints on the system. People below are too distant to have their problems heard or to force a change. If people talked about the problem and reached an agreement the whole irrigation system could be operative. The field could change, but its 'proper dynamics', the transactional and significational conditions, prevent it from operating fully (Grønhaug 1978).

Clear similarities can be found between the concepts of social field and social discourse. Social science and humanities meet in a shared view of social forces, that human actions work together in unforeseen ways to influence areas of social life. Yet the two approaches have never been combined (perhaps they were seen as competitors), nor are they in much use separately.

The explanation why this is the case may seem simple, perhaps overly so. Social field and emergent discourse can be read as 'mechanistic' concepts. Areas of social life are analyzed as the predetermined and unintended outcome of people's actions. The conundrum of individual vs. society returns. Aggregate forces influence and direct the way social life is shaped.

To get around this problem of social determinism it is necessary to look at every field and discourse in detail. Grønhaug, my anthropology lecturer, spoke of describing society as 'a total social system'. Barring this, it can be worthwhile to look at parts of social life more in-depth and penetrating; basically to describe as much as we can of social life. Of course this is

something textbooks try to do. But textbooks rarely move beyond the basics of part systems and a few societal issues. Research must go deeper.

For example, it can be claimed that the simplest societies have only one social field. Everybody takes part in all social arenas constantly. There are no separate arenas for politics and religion where only certain people have access. This statement has to be restricted in at least two ways. Everybody cannot be together all the time. And people will seek to create spaces for themselves where they can have privacy and do their own thing. Even so the society does not exclude people from activities and events. Everybody goes everywhere. The contrast to modern life is extreme. Almost every modern arena is exclusive, be it an office, a bedroom or a cabin in the mountains. If someone unwelcomed comes in and makes themself at home, the response is to deny access or call the police.

Entering a society with totally open social arenas is a frightening and shocking experience for Westerners. First encounters with hunters in the jungle are often spoken of as harrowing. Somehow people are portrayed as threatening, even when they are not. It is more the shock of having contact with people who always are face-to-face that is uncomforting. When I first visited a Shawnee dance ground in 1979, I was asked 'what animal' I was; what my totem was. This was a reminder of how crucial it is to know people's position in local social life, and how direct encounters may be. (On the spot I said 'wolf' and was allowed access.)

Of course even in the most basic society people make distinctions. They can even make very elaborate rules and signs to show that one arena is set off as special. Yet misunderstandings are likely. What has to be clarified at once is the fallacious notion of communal sex. Everybody has sex, but not with everybody else. In fact people in simple societies can be monogamous and rather prudish. Sexual abstinence may be practiced more strictly than in the Catholic church. Notions such as 'primitive communism' and 'group marriage' stem from a misunderstanding of the openness of social arenas. As will be shown, what is known as classificatory kinship has been misinterpreted as group relations, while it instead helps place a person in a series of relationships with kin-based categories such as totemic clans.

Instead of social fields there are 'sub-fields' in simple societies, areas that are not completely distinct but can be differentiated in terms of proper dynamics. The two most distinctive sub-fields relate to leadership and the quest for food. Interestingly these two areas are sometimes spoken of as 'separate worlds' (Henriksen 1973). The seriousness and solemnity of leadership issues, often accompanied by communicative skills, speeches and metaphors, contrast with the persistent and mundane hunt for food and the time, effort and sweat spent to find animals and plants.

But the two areas of activity are closely connected. The chosen leader or chief will be directly involved in the food quest with everybody else. And all others can comment directly what they think about their leader, without fear of the riot police. Leadership and the food quest together form one overarching field, what Grønhaug called a 'super-field', a field that encompasses the totality of social life as a whole; in short, a society.

Modern society by contrast has many fields – but not an indeterminate number. There is a restricted number of social fields even in a complex society such as the USA. People do not have an endless number of areas of life in which to engage. There is no make-believe area of life where new arenas can be constructed at will. In postmodern terms this may be changing

with the development of the internet, where such invention is possible in ‘cyber-reality’. In actual life the range of involvements is finite.

For instance, modern farming can be described as a social field. Farmers complain about having trouble making ends meet. They face a curious dilemma. Farmers control large areas of land and resources, perhaps the major part of landed resources in North America. At the same time they struggle to get adequate pay for their resources. This creates two sub-fields in which farmers are involved. One is their activities on the land, which of course are highly diverse. Another is the market mechanisms for buying farm produce, that also are complex, with relations to banks, states and the federal government. What the subsidies will be. Farmers have to be paid to own land, and end up in a curious double-bind between what they do and how they acquire economic security.

Another field or ‘super-field’ is the government as such, a mammoth construction of branches spanning the federal, state and local levels. Needless to say this is a field with many sub-fields or branches, which cannot be described here. The ‘proper dynamics’ of the government field includes the massive brokerage of power from the president down, and a perplexing discourse about opposition to and support of the government.

At the ‘bottom’ of society there is a mixed field of people who somehow fall outside the workings of the ‘main’ society. Homeless people, drug addicts and prostitutes contrast with ethnic and racial minorities. In some ways they share a situation of deprivation and discrimination, but at the same time their existence may seem totally unrelated. They belong to different societies, sometimes called ‘subcultures’, ‘enclaves’ or ‘parallel societies’. These are some examples of the complexities of social fields in modern life.

One final step remains. How does all the fields of modern society come together, if at all. Grønhaug uses three related concepts somewhat loosely, ‘macro-field’, ‘super-field’ and ‘total field’ (e.g., Grønhaug 1974, 1978). The idea that is conveyed is that it is conceivable to construct an overarching conceptual framework of different fields in society and how they may relate to or are configured in relation to each other. This has never been done in any study of any society as far as I know. So it will not be attempted here.

To take only the case of political integration as an example. I am sure many people held their breath when Trump said he would not abide by election results (2020). He would remain as president no matter the outcome of the election. This was a discourse that was new even in the context of the president’s Twitter usage. To understand what takes place in US politics, it is not enough to look at the election system, the Constitution, the political parties or the establishment. A total analysis of the social system would be needed, society as ‘a total system’. Such an analysis would not only be almost inconceivable, but deeply disconcerting and scary. The critical question is, if modern society collapsed, how would it be reconstituted? This should finish my loose musings for now; only adding that the same composite approach can be used in studying every society.

The contrast presented in this work is the peaceful and natural life of American Indians; and the fascination of a few ethnologists who tried to unravel their secrets. How could Indian societies exist for thousands of years and then be destroyed in a matter of centuries? And why did Indians appear to be complete masters of their domain, unchallenged by their surroundings? The only way to examine these almost impossible questions is to go straight to the nitty-gritty details of ethnological descriptions.

Camps and villages – a place to start

If we are to learn about other societies, we need to know everything – which is basically impossible. We need to know all individuals' names, where they live, what groups they belong to and how they interact. The ethnologic approach was to talk to a few people, ask them to tell about their society and way of life, and write down their stories. By doing so, ethnologists scratched at the surface of what societies are like. In the process, almost inadvertently, they learned a lot about Native American societies, such as the local communities people belonged to.

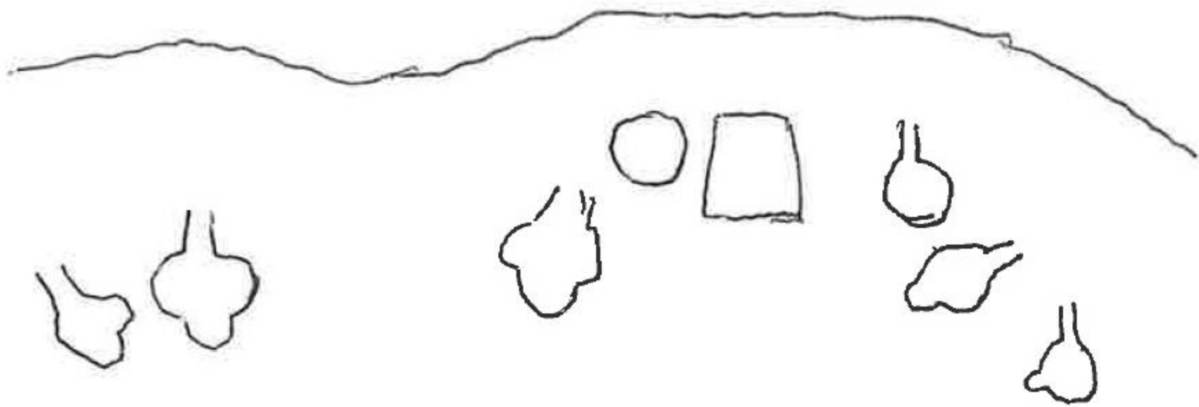
American Indians lived in villages or local settlements. But American ethnologists would be very eager to claim that they lived scattered in individual households. By taking an ethnocentric viewpoint based on modern American society, they turned the local reality upside-down. Yes, households could be scattered, but there still would be a community center that they related to, and often this was a compact village.

Archeologists and prehistorians have dug up hundreds, if not thousands, of Native American village sites. Yet they rarely if ever attempt to describe a settlement in detail. The usual approach is to outline an area thought to be a village, note features such as mounds, and describe any round depressions found as 'hut rings', thought to be dwellings (Ann. Rep. 12, p. 282). What followed was to describe any large mounds and finds such as pottery, arrowheads and bones. The possible layout or structure of a village was rarely discussed. Early prehistorians would have few finds and many speculations.

In ethnologic studies, correspondingly, the focus is on dwellings, not villages. A work may note that a dwelling stood in a village, but the local distribution of dwellings is rarely discussed. It was as if a village consisted of one dwelling: the predominant dwelling type found in that village. That dwellings were distributed into clusters such as clans was generally ignored.

As a start, the local organization of Eskimo or Inuit people will be considered. This may seem an odd starting point, since often Inuit are not described as living in villages. The choice of where to begin is partly geographical. For various reasons this description will move from north to south, mainly for convenience in keeping track of the many peoples involved. Yet the social and economic life of Eskimo people render their local settlements or villages a basic object of study; a point of departure for considering other, more composite local arrangements.

Eskimo villages are fascinating but poorly known. In arctic and subarctic environments prehistoric remains can last a long time, as seen in some ethnologic surveys. Yet many sites remain to be described.



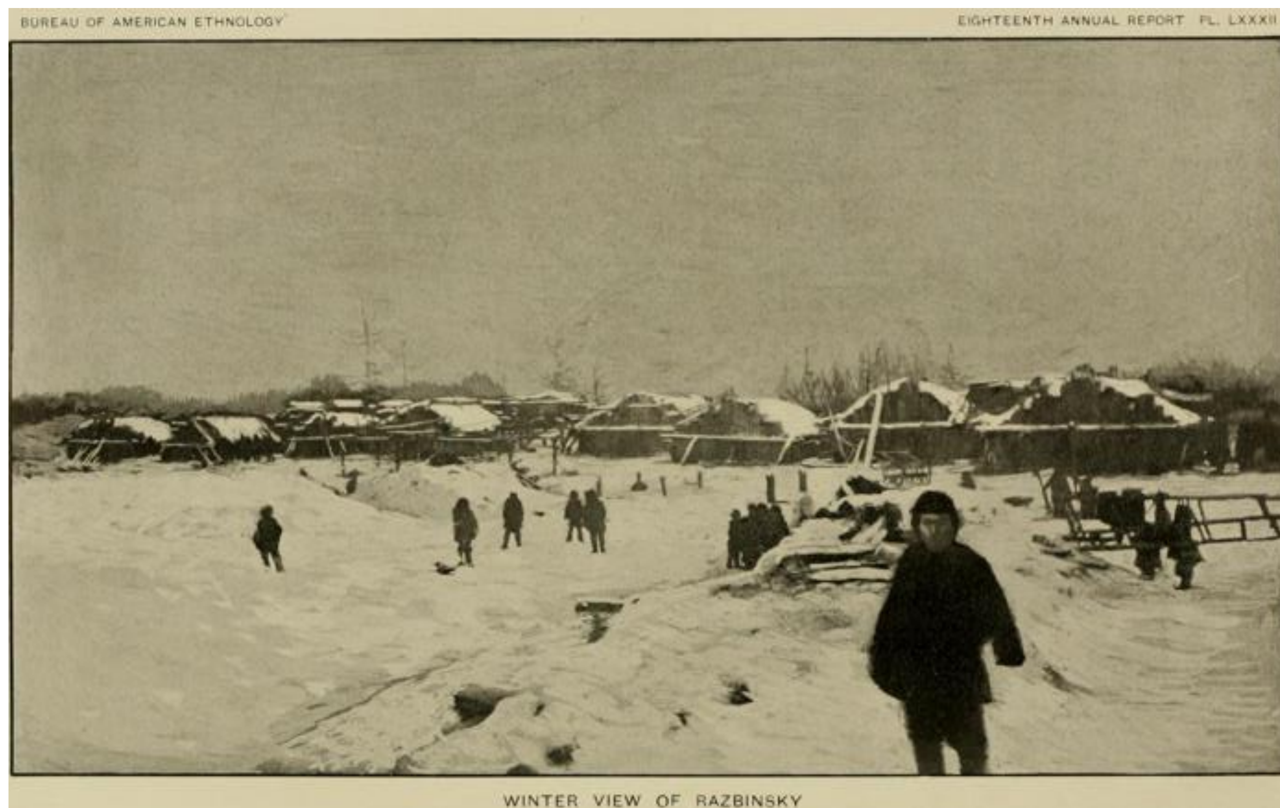
Pangnirtung, Cumberland Sound

At Pangnirtung there are 6 dwelling houses, 3 on each side of 2 communal houses, one round and one square, perhaps representing winter and summer uses (Ann. Rep. 6, p. 550). Probably there would be several of these villages in the area, each with 6 kin groups – or clans if you like. The structure suggests a pattern of 6 clans, with possible totems such as: seal, whale, gull, cormorant, wolf, and polar-bear. In addition there would be 3 'phratries', represented by the 3 houses on either side of the village, and 2 moieties, represented by the two sides of the village. The communal houses would represent the unity of the local group, summer and winter. The Pangnirtung village can be seen today on Google maps, both past and present; but the present one has several hundred houses. An Eskimo village at Hudson Strait seemed to have a similar structure, two rectangular tents facing the beach surrounded by 5-6 tipis in a semicircle (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 226).

Northern Alaska Eskimo villages in the inland averaged 30 hunters, but could reach 50-100 men, for a population of between 120 and 350 people (Bull. 171, p. 48). The central village consisted of 10-50+ houses 'and a karigi' or communal house, aka kashim. Coastal villages in the same area could be larger, with up to 3-4 communal houses. One village at Point Barrow in 1853, Nuwuk, had 309 people in 54 houses; by 1882 the population was down to 150 (p. 15). Neighboring Utkeaaɣvik village had 40 houses and 250 people in 1853, reduced to 130 in 1882. White colonization and diseases would reduce the Eskimo population dramatically, as it did to the population of most native peoples. As the population declined neighboring 'village units' would be 'combined into one' at Barrow to maintain a larger population number; a sort of village 'fusion' (p. 16; cf. Chagnon 1968). A sketch map would indicate that Utkeaaɣvik village in 1895 had at least 13-14 houses, perhaps representing 2 moieties and 3 phratries with 4 clans each. There was a communal house and 3 outdoor ceremonial areas for dances, games and feasting (Bull. 171, p. 50). This may have been around the time that a 'fusion' occurred with another village due to population loss.

One ethnologist described well-organized Eskimo 'villages' in western Alaska. They consisted of a number of summer and winter dwelling houses, along with storage houses. Dwellings were built 'about' one or more community houses. These structures, called 'kashim', 'a large central building', served as community buildings or centers, 'the central points of the village social life' (Ann. Rep. 18, p. 242). A kashim was large enough 'to contain all the villagers' as well as 'guests' during festivals and dances. In large villages there could be two or more community houses. One mythical village had 35 kashim; a whole tribe.

Dwelling houses had sleeping platforms on three sides and a fire in the middle; each platform had an oil lamp for a 'family'; probably referring to extended family members in the household. No doubt a teenage daughter would want her own lamp. A kashim, by contrast, had narrow benches around its four sides to accommodate as many people as possible.

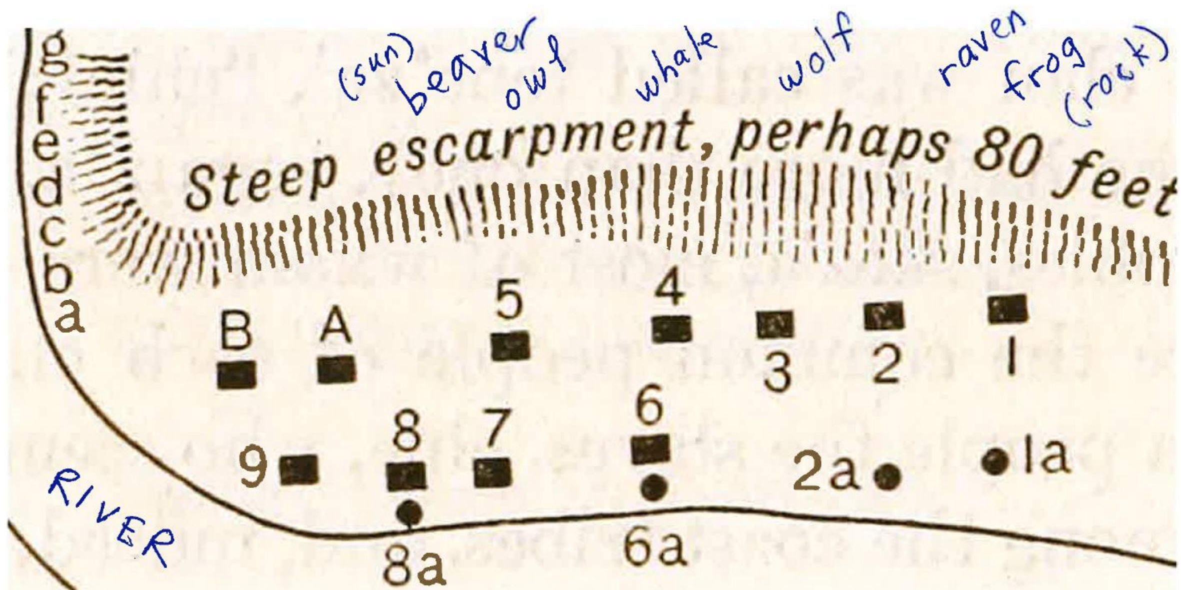


WINTER VIEW OF RAZBINSKY

One such village, Razbinsky, with 25 houses and 2 kashims, apparently had a totemic clan structure. It is not clear if store houses and winter houses were included in the house count. Apparently there were roughly 12 summer houses and a similar number of winter houses, but the busy ethnologist did not specify this. The 2 kashims were built back of the summer houses at the side of the winter houses with the graveyard behind (Ann. Rep. 18, p. 247). In other places summer and winter villages were built in separate locations; which probably was the older and more common arrangement. Unfortunately the ethnologist would not describe the layout or number of houses in each village; only what kinds of houses they had (p. 242f).

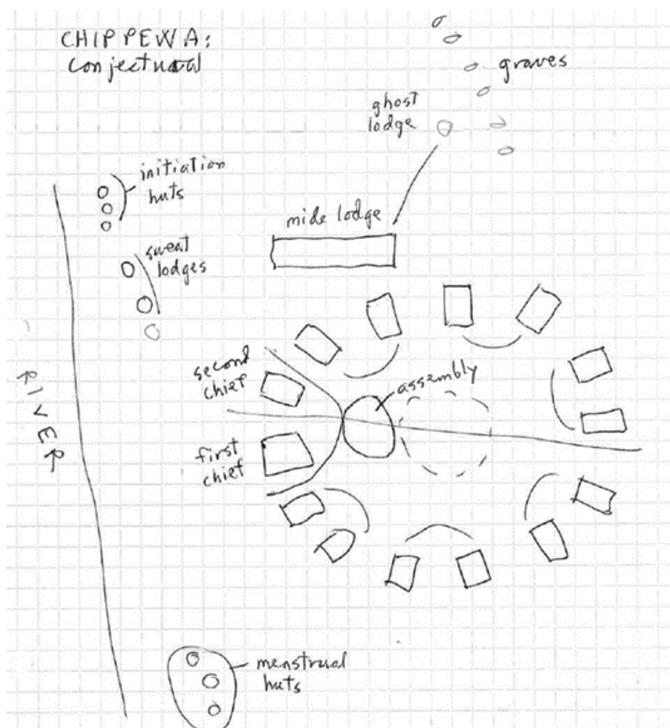
In pre-contact times villages were built 'on high points' or plateaus above a shore or river. Such locations were ideal for establishing well-structured village layouts in which the social organization was reflected in the way houses were positioned around the plateau. With this note on Eskimo villages, we move on to other tribal groups.

Hrdlicka made a trip to Alaska in 1926 (Ann. Rep. 46). This was the first time Athapascan tribes became the focus of BAE publications. Passing by on the rivers, photos would be made of villages. Unfortunately none of the native villages are described; not even their size.



Above is a conceptual representation of a Carrier village reduced by smallpox in 1862 (Bull. 133, p. 486). It is the only approximation to a Northern Athapascan village layout found in the BAE publications. A hypothetical distribution of totemic groups or clans has been added.

Among the Chippewa settlements are sometimes described. A residual village at Mille Lacs around 1840 consisted of 6 houses around a plaza (Bull. 86, p. 122). Local bands had a central location where they met during part of the year. The central place could have 6-60+ houses. In addition it would have a 'dance house' or assembly house, and a midewiwin or medicine lodge capable of housing up to 150-200 people (Bull. 86, pl. 5). 'A permanent village had its burial ground' (Bull. 86, p. 76). Villages often were located near rivers and were associated with drainage areas.



Conjectural Chippewa village

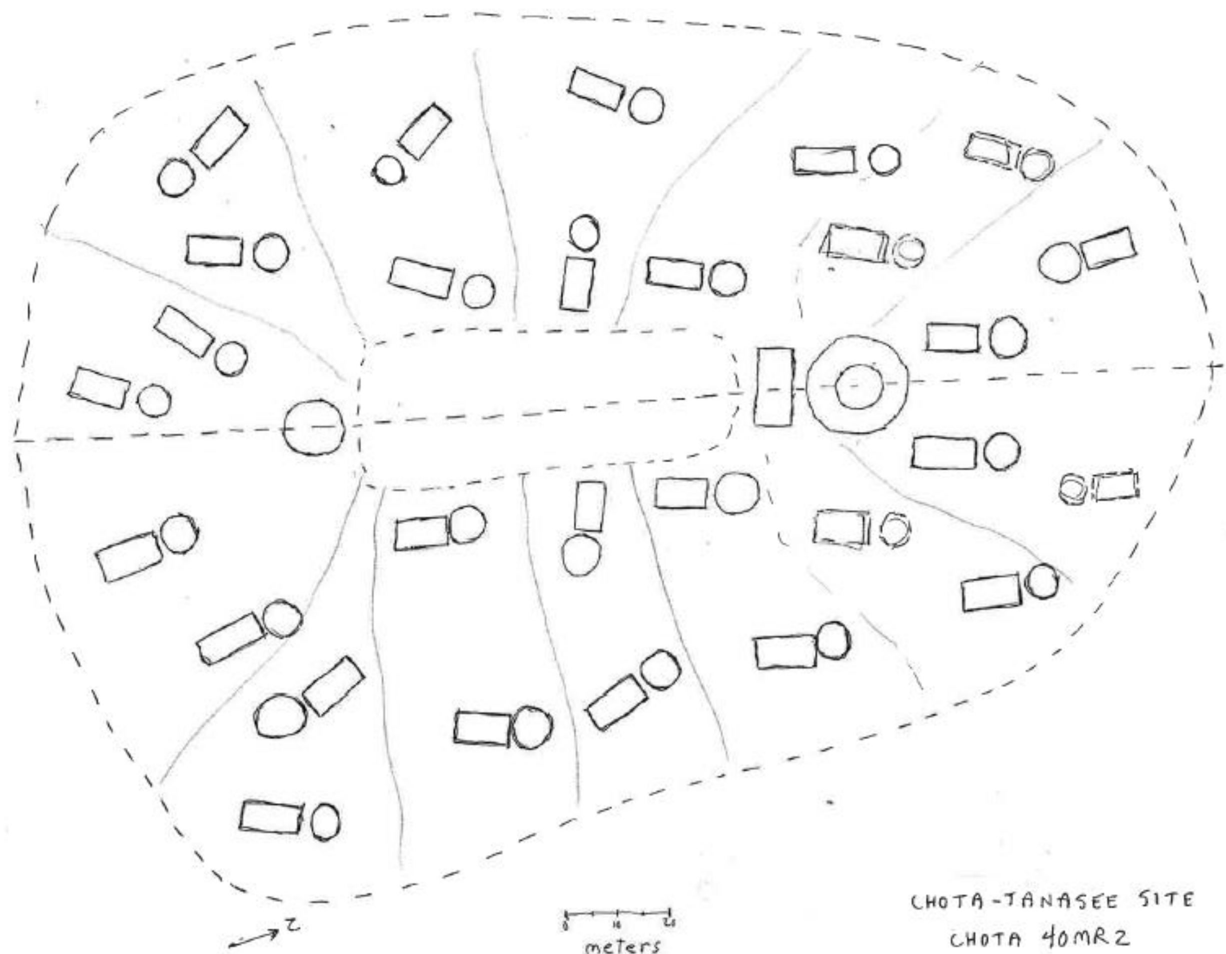
Delaware or Lenape villages had a basic pattern of 2 moieties or sides and 3 phratries. Such villages are sometimes depicted on old maps. A minimal village would have 6 houses plus a big-house; a large one might have 24+ houses and 1 big-house. This pattern for a long time was preserved at the Copan ceremonial grounds in Oklahoma; yet it does not figure in ethnologic writings.

In the American heartland village structures are surprisingly poorly known. Incidental mention was made of historic Sauk villages that only gave their size. In 1817 a Sauk village of 100 cabins was noted, each cabin having 2 or more fires; exaggeration may be involved (Bull. 77, p. 38). Occasional mention of Fox villages also appears. In 1817 one village had 30 cabins of 2 fires (ibid.). In 1820 a deserted Fox village of 12 'large lodges' was noted, opposite present Cassville, Wisconsin (p. 39). A Fox village of 35 'permanent lodges' was found near Rock Island in 1820. At the same time a Sauk village of 5-6 lodges was at the mouth of Des Moines River, and a Fox village of about 20 lodges was 100 miles away (p. 40). Nothing on social organization is revealed in these sources. Among bits known is that outside a village were sweat lodges; hidden away there also were menstrual lodges (Bull. 125, p. 62). That each village was structured around a complement of totemic clans can be surmised.

A related tribe, Shawnee, had villages in many eastern locations. The curious fact is that no prehistoric Shawnee villages have been excavated, at least not in any complete sense. The depiction of one site, Buffalo, was an approximation based on a plethora of post molds (Hanson 1975). And the better known Incinerator Site was exploited by grave robbers for several decades before it became an archeological location with the beautified name SunWatch (Wikipedia). The constructions that have been made at the site cannot be trusted. According to tradition a Shawnee village consisted of 12 clans plus a peace and war chief positioned around a central plaza or dance ground (Selstad 1986).

Turning to the Iroquoian tribes, the Huron people were well-known as village dwellers. 'Large villages were made up of a number of clan segments' (New Handbook v. 15, p. 371). The 'chief town' had 200 houses, roughly 3000 people; other villages had 800-1500 residents (Bull. 190, p. 40). Beyond the large size, the organization of such villages is poorly known, though they were based on a complement of totemic clans. It can be assumed that every totem clan had its own longhouse in the village, with matrilineal descent.

Prehistoric villages can have a fascinating structure such as among the Cherokee. It would appear that the town, under, has a plaza, a ceremonial mound, summer and winter communal houses, and two pairs of summer and winter houses in each clan.



Conjectural Cherokee town

Cherokee villages in 1715 averaged ca. 200-250 people (Bull. 180, p. 89-90). Probably this was down from 300 or more hundred years before; villages sizes might range from 80 to 300+ people. A large town may well have counted 1000 people. A village might consist of 12-14 distinct clans.

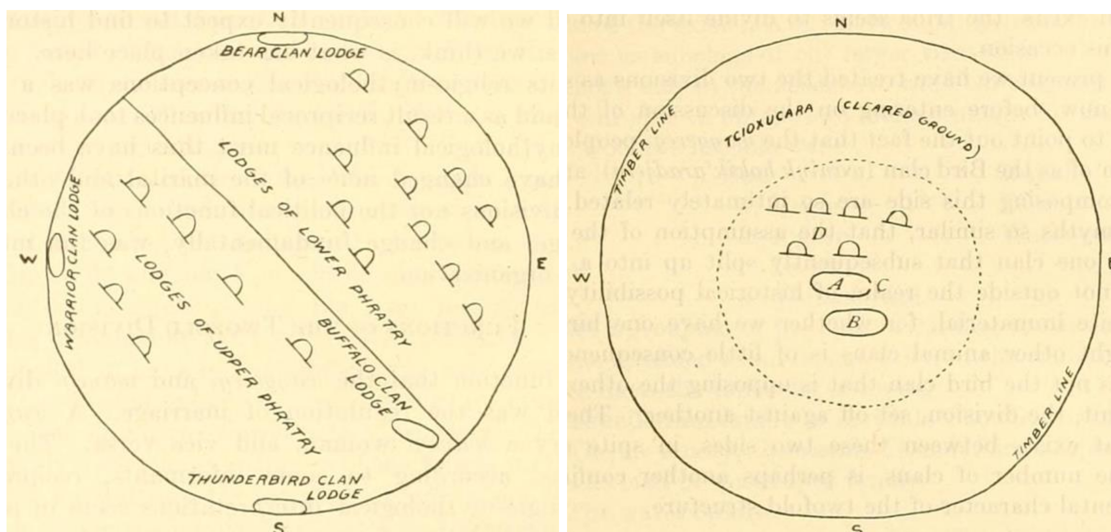
Among the Siouans, Mandan and Hidatsa villages were spectacular, but only available through archeological excavations after smallpox and other diseases devastated the tribes in the 1830s (Bull. 194). They could have 30-80+ houses, in the earliest cases placed around a plaza. In the village circle each cluster of 3-6 houses could represent a matrilineal clan.

The well-organized villages of the Sioux or Dakota tribes are not well known. Santee villages were characteristic, but are poorly documented. The village of Little Crow in 1820 had 12 'lodges' and 200 'souls'. The chief's cabin was 60 x 30 feet (Bull. 77, p. 49). In 1823 there was a Wahpeton village of 30 'skin lodges' (p. 53). A Dakota village apparently had a council house, later reduced to a 'soldiers' lodge'. What seems certain is that the Santee Sioux had an eastern woodland adaptation; that they lived in round villages with bark or mat covered houses. Sioux in Minnesota lived in earth lodges around 1760 (Bull. 86, p. 133). A prehistoric 'Cheyenne' village of 70 'earth-lodge sites' most likely was Siouan, perhaps Teton, as it was located near Lisbon in North Dakota (Bull. 77, p. 23). An Oglala 'village' of 10 'lodges' was noted in 1849; they had been decimated by cholera (Bull. 77, p. 64). In a village or camp, houses were identified with women. 'The Dakota woman owns the tipi' or house (Ann. Rep.

15, p. 222). That early villages were composed of several totemic clans is not well documented; yet that is how they were organized.

Radin imagined that Winnebago people lived ‘scattered’, like white folk (Radin 1923, p. 136). Yet he identifies modern villages in Nebraska, Kohanchira, Niwahachira and Big Bear’s village, without description. In a personal twist he thinks that each ‘band’ was a ‘clan’, and that each village was a representative of such a band ‘clan’ (p. 137). This was in spite of informants saying that a village consisted of ‘different clans’ (p. 67). He simply decided that clans were corporate groups while villages and larger units were not. All information indicates that totemic clans were part of larger, composite groups such as villages, that held on to land and resources in common, as a community.

As with most ethnologists Radin does not describe villages but houses. He lists a ‘round lodge’, ‘long lodge’, ‘tipi’, ‘grass lodge’, ‘gable’, ‘platform’, ‘ceremonial’ and ‘sweat’ lodges, with many ‘varieties’ (1923, p. 56f). That these belonged in larger settings of villages and camps is not noted. He is reluctant to consider bark houses to be Siouan, based on a simple tipi-wigwam contrast, the latter seen as Algonquian. Needless to say house types do not follow language boundaries. Dwelling houses had sleeping platforms on 3 sides, and an ante-room of ‘boughs’. Large houses, perhaps clan houses, had two doors.



Radin’s representation of 20th century informants’ ideas of ancient Winnebago villages; A-B-C-D: Thunderbird, Bear, Warrior, Buffalo (Radin 1923, p. 140-141).

Almost inadvertently Radin mentions the appearance of Winnebago communities. A village ‘consisted entirely of gable lodges’; uniform dwellings (Radin 1923, p. 57). It was made up of ‘a group of families belonging to different clans’ (p. 67).

In a village there would be some special houses. These included a ‘council lodge’ with room for all clans in the village, mostly men. Each clan had its own seating in the council house. The council house was thought to be oriented east-west, but perhaps was north-south. The question is if there also were special moiety and phratry houses in a village. Informants seemed to think so; in the figure, bear and thunderbird could be sky and earth moiety lodges; warrior, wolf and buffalo could represent phratry lodges. Four such lodges were remembered; together with the council and medicine lodges there might be 6. Radin also mentions a communal house, a ‘ten-fire gable lodge’. This may have been a version of the medicine lodge (p. 57). This would be located outside and nearby the village. Each village had its own

territory, with corn fields and hunting areas. Corn fields were communally owned, but each family planted and harvested its own plot (p. 67).

At one point Radin tries to link the Winnebago with prehistoric settlement areas. This concerns specifically a place called Aztalan, a Mississippian-style settlement with platform mounds, dated 900-1300 AD and covering roughly 200 x 400 meters (1923, p. 40-42). Perhaps this was a confederative village and council ground, where the Winnebago could entertain visitors from allied tribes such as Menomini, Iowa and Peoria. Inside the town walls a northwest platform mound measured 18 x 19 meters, and a southwest mound 16 x 16 meters, perhaps representing the sky and earth moieties.

Small tribes such as Oto and Missouri may have sought together in large villages for protection in the difficult 19th century. One Oto village in 1852 had 60 'huts'. A Missouri village in 1804 had 30 'families' (Bull. 77, p. 120-1). These may be combinations of former villages that had been decimated, and united or 'fusioned' for protection.

A paper on Omaha dwellings notes summer and winter houses; 'lodges' of earth, bark or mats, and 'skin' tents (Ann. Rep. 13, p. 269f). It is immediately stated that lodges did not form a village or 'tribal circle', but were 'built near one another'; begging the question of what is a village. The description instead turns to individual houses, that there were 'two series of vertical posts' to support the roof, and so on. One lodge had 12 posts 'placed in a circle'; a symbolic number. Some houses had one fireplace, others two; no explanation is given. Three Omaha villages in 1855 were Pikote, Winchake and Chanthate; these were not described. Sweat lodges were in small houses, later tents, outside a village, presumably near a river. As in other ethnologies the clan composition of villages was not indicated.

In 1811 there supposedly was an Omaha 'town' of 80 tipi 'lodges' at the mouth of Maha Creek; probably this was a composite village, made up of decimated settlements; the size may have been for protection. Earlier one town had 300 'cabins', but was decimated by smallpox and burned in 1800 (Bull. 77, p. 78). One observation shows how people managed to camp in a circle. A 'kanse'-clan woman who saw an elk woman set up a tent, knew roughly the distance her tent must be to fit in the circle; if the distance did not fit, people would tell each other to move 'a little closer' or 'further away' (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 220). No doubt the layout of an old-time village was much more meticulous.

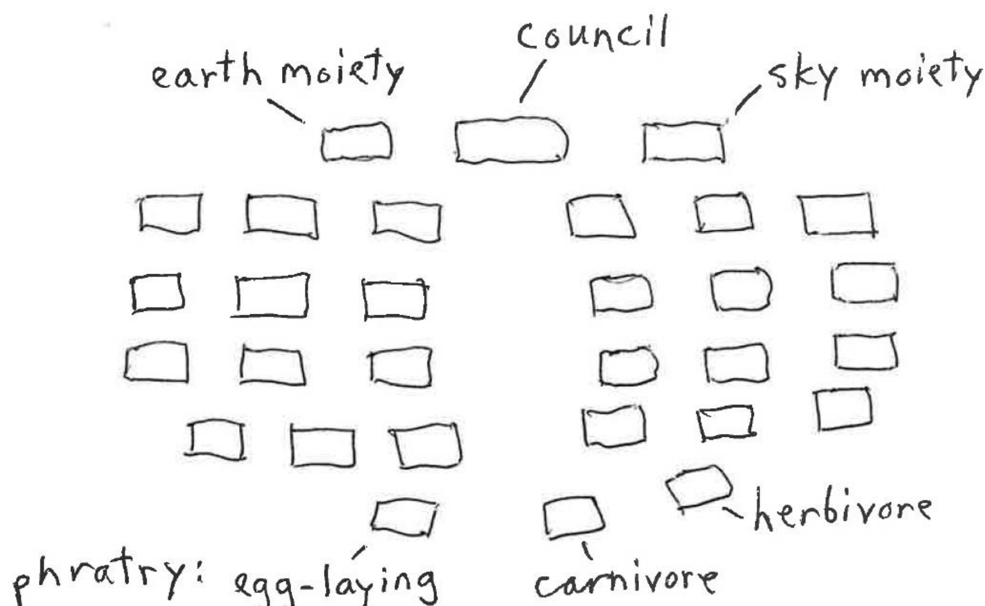
There were special houses in an Omaha village, or special tents in temporary camps; called 'war tent' near the elk clan, and 'pole' and 'buffalo' tents near the 'hanka' clan. Probably the three tents represented a former phratry arrangement, as among the Osage.

Kansa village, 1841 (Bull. 77, pl. 30).

As with the Omaha, Kansa people may have sought together in large villages for protection in historic times. One Kansa town in 1811 had 128 'houses', no doubt a combination of formerly distinct but decimated villages (Bull. 77, p. 90). A basic pattern may have been of 10 houses in a circle around a plaza, with a communal house or council house in the center. Each house represented a totemic clan.

Historical Osage villages were large and compact. One Osage village had 100 'lodges', a Little Osage one had 60 houses (Bull. 77, p. 100). In addition to clan housing there were other houses in an Osage village. On a drawing from 1884 there were 3 mourning tents or war tents which seem to represent earlier phratry lodges in villages, placed near the west or south margin of the village or camp circumference. The entrance to the village faces outwards to the west. The largest of the war tents could seat 150 people; implying a length of 90+ feet. This may hint at the former existence of a council house in the middle of the village. There may also have been separate moiety houses on the north or opposite side from the phratry buildings, though perhaps found on either side of the village, north and south. There is a curious description of a foot race between members of the two village moieties, running in opposite directions around a war tent, but originally perhaps running around the village, starting and ending in the west. Very few descriptions of traditional foot races exist, though these must have been common. The race is followed by 'a dance around the village' (Dorsey 1884, p. 121).

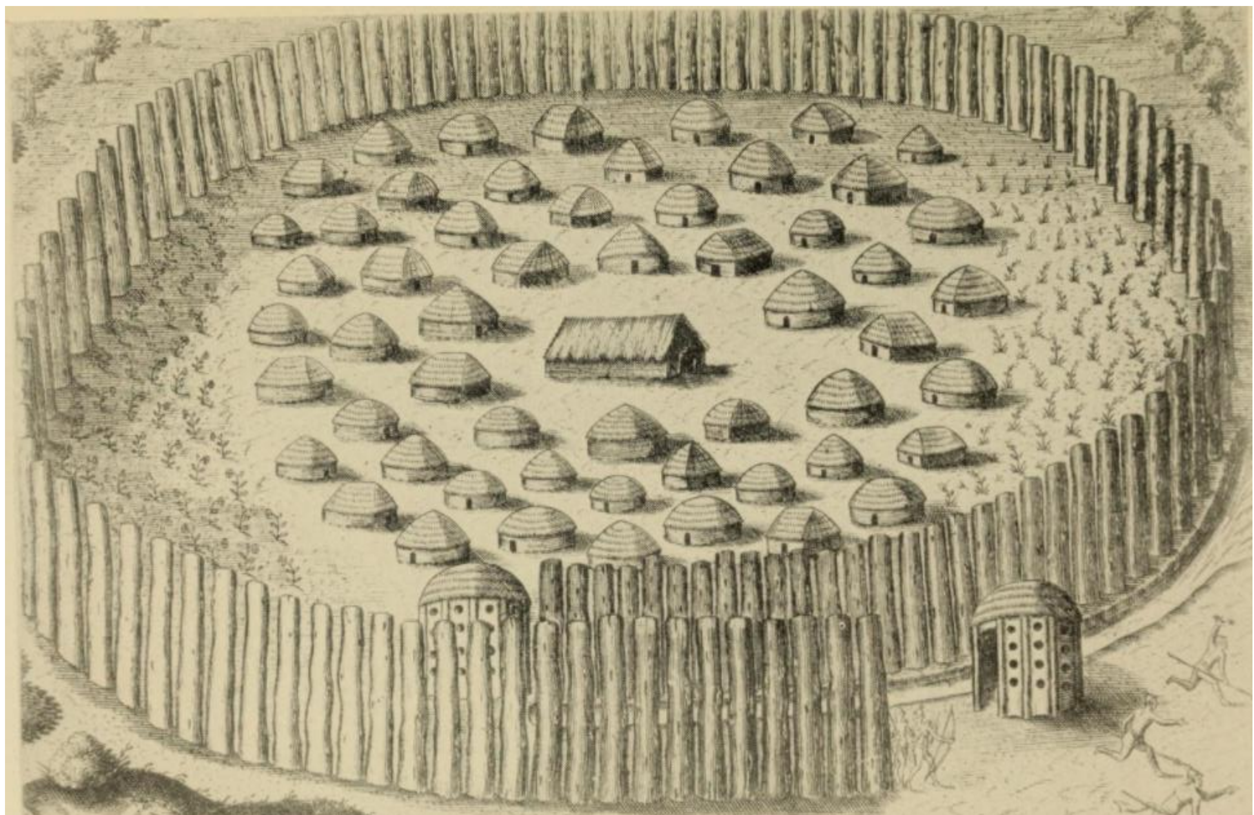
In 'The Osage Tribe' there is an idealized diagram of a tribal village (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 69). It consists of rows of 14 houses, 7 on each side and 7 deep, with moiety houses in the middle. The diagram is obviously based on a conception of the tribe as a whole, with 3-4 bands and series of 7 clans, but in some odd way it may reflect what an ancient village looked like. The moiety houses may have been on the north or west side of the village, facing each other and with doors at either end. In addition there may have been a council house for the village as a whole, referred to as a 'place of gathering' (Bull. 101, p. 3). This would have seats for all the clans, with the peace chief in the middle. In addition there might also be phratry houses, meeting places for groups of related clans, and other special houses as well, like a tattooing shop.



Conceivable layout of a pre-contact Osage village

In post-contact times some tribes would scatter while others would keep their village structure at all costs in order to survive as a people. A rare description mentions a Tutelo village in 1810 at Brantford, Ontario, with cabins around a ‘long house’ where councils were held; the village was said to number 200 people (Bull. 22, p. 52). An ‘abandoned’ Biloxi village described in 1700 had 15-40 houses ‘built long’ surrounded by ‘palings’ 8 feet high; the French sources cannot be fully trusted (Bull. 47, p. 6). The pattern hinted at is that of a totemic clan-based social structure.

One investigation of ‘prehistoric villages’ may relate to the Yuchi tribe, though not identified (Ann. Rep. 41, p. 493f). There is a mystifying map of the ‘Gordon Town Site’ with many ‘house circles’ (pl. 95; p. 496). It may seem as though the village grew over time, that it started with ca. 10-14 families and grew to 100+ families in 1430, when it was abandoned, perhaps through resource depletion. However, it is equally likely that the 100+ houses represented different occupancy stages of the village, so that it never exceeded ca. 45 houses. Resources would then remain stable, and removal was based on convenience.



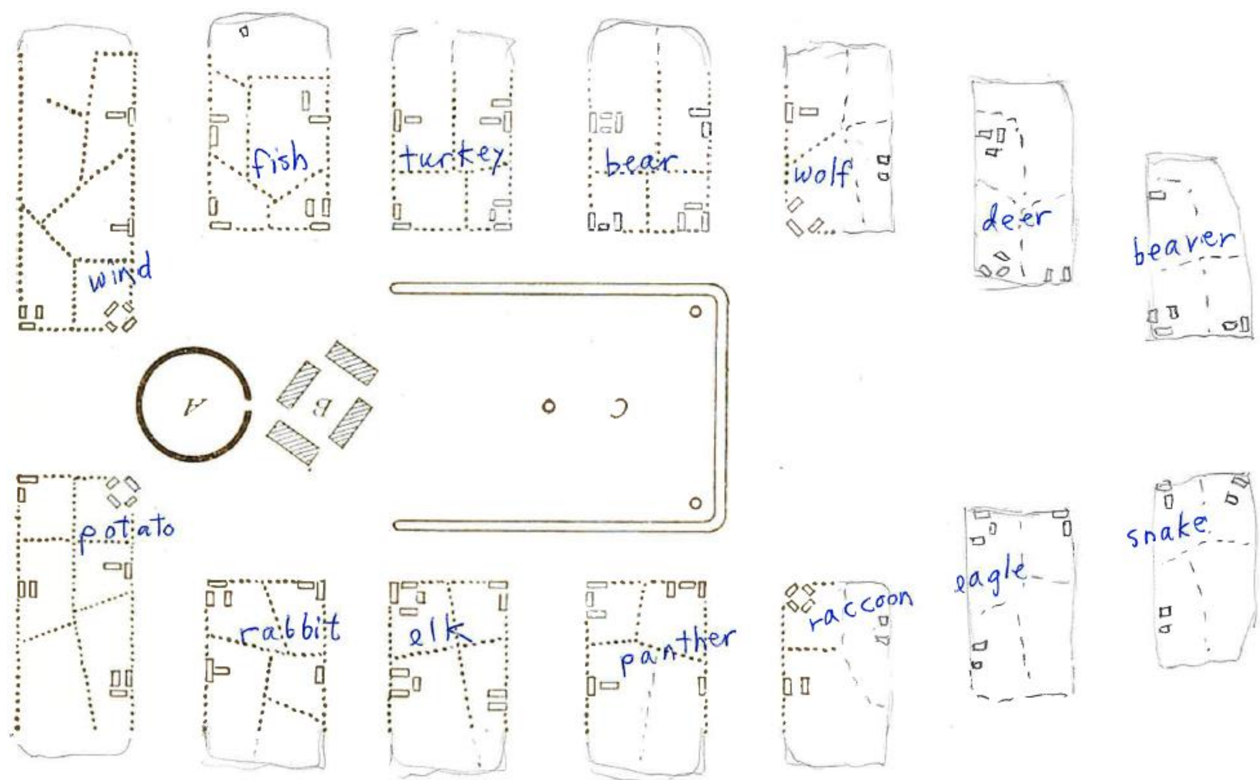
Timucua town in 1565 (Bull. 137, pl. 57)

The Timucua apparently lived in large and well-organized villages, with 10-12 totemic clans around a plaza with round and oblong communal houses. As with many Southeastern tribes this nation was virtually destroyed in post-contact times.

Swanton manages to describe Creek villages and towns without referring to any quantities such as house counts or population. This he does by focusing on one attribute of villages, the central square aka square ground, ‘ceremonial or busk ground’, ‘Public Square, ‘Chunk-Yard’, plaza, etc. The square ground was ‘the religious and social center of every Creek community’ (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 170). For the town itself he had no idea. Swanton fantasizes

that each and all local clans 'once lived in separate towns', which never happened (p. 170). Clans always were mixed in a complementary and reduplicated system in each town. Put simply, a village was made up of a set number of totemic clans.

The nearest Swanton comes to a description is that a 'town consisted of a group of houses owned by women', or rather, many house groups with different clans (p. 170). The word 'home' (hûti) was only used for the houses of women in a clan (p. 170). Surprisingly few sources describe Creek villages in any succinct way. One repeat reference is Bartram who claimed houses were placed 'in streets or ranges' (p. 171). Unfortunately, all further descriptions are of houses, not of the village as such. Houses were in clusters of one to four around a courtyard. The chief's house was on a mound (p. 174).



Conjectural and hypothetical layout of a Creek town (cf. Ann. Rep. 42, p. 172)

As noted, Swanton focused his attention on the square grounds, where he also gathered limited information on clans. The four buildings at the square represented social and ceremonial positions in the village. In the center of the plaza stood a central pole or post (marked C). On top it could have the skull of a cow or horse, a wooden fish or bird, said to be a town or 'national' emblem (p. 190). Other carvings on posts included snake, eagle and human. Swanton thought these had no meaning; it did not occur to him that totems could apply to other units than clans, such as villages, bands and tribes.

Around the Creek village were its fields. The agricultural land was held in common, 'the town plantation' (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 336). This is a significant observation, since American views almost automatically would see land as private property.

Choctaw villages are poorly known (Bull. 103). In pre-contact times the Choctaw may have numbered 100,000 people if counted together with the Houma. By 1750 there were ca. 8000 people in 40 villages, with a tribal center near the huge 'Nanih Waiya' mound (pl. 2). The

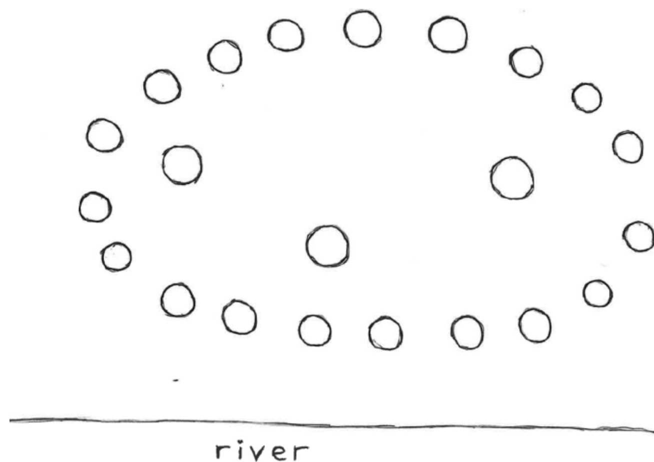
tribe consisted of many territorial divisions; by 1750 reduced to 4, each including 7-15 villages. A village consisted of a plaza or 'square' surrounded by many houses (p. 221). This pattern was disrupted in historic times, due to depopulation and displacement.

Central Mississippi valley tribes may have had layouts of houses around a plaza. Natchez villages had a plaza with mounds on the west side supporting houses for the chief and sacred bundles, and houses in 14 clans around the plaza. The Tunica tribe may have had villages with a similar layout; from 3000+ people they were reduced to '7 hamlets' and 50-60 cabins in 1700, but still apparently attempting to maintain a village structure (Bull. 43, p. 309). In 1721 a Tunica village near the mouth of Red River is described as 'built in a circle, round a very large open space' of 100 paces, 'without any enclosure, and moderately peopled' (p. 312-313). Here too the houses would be arranged according to totemic clans; here too information is not given.

Caddoan tribes suffered disastrous population losses in historic times. After 1687, when the tribal population had been decimated by 90%, Caddo villages were described as 'hamlets' of 10-12 houses (Bull. 132, p. 16). Probably such hamlets were reassembled from earlier desolated villages. A village that once had 500 people might now have 25; in order to survive as social units, several villages had to unite or 'fusion' in order to re-establish their social organization. This may account for the strange cluster-like appearance of historic Caddo villages.

Caddo village in Texas ca. 1691; or remnants of 10-20+ villages

Yet people would try to maintain their social organization and the structure of villages. Later Caddo villages in Oklahoma could appear as houses organized around a plaza or dance ground, reconstituted from a number of bands, but preserving the original pattern of totemic clans. A traditional village would have a plaza surrounded by ca. 12 clan houses, smaller family houses, an 'assembly' house and other structures (Bull. 132, p. 149).



Arikara village 1833, Missouri River (Bull. 77, pl. 53)

Like most western tribes Arikara villages may have increased for protection in the 1800s. Villages in 1802 were described as having 40-50-60 'huts' (Bull. 77, p. 168). Villages could have 100-200 men or more, 350-700+ people. Yet the pre-contact village may have been smaller and had a clan layout. Understanding village layouts east of the Rockies would depend on combining information from large scale excavations with ethnological information on the complementary grouping of totemic clans in each town.

Across the continent on the Pacific coast ethnologic descriptions reveal local settlement patterns, at least to some extent. Villages on narrow coast lines may have houses in a linear formation, sometimes in several rows. Indian villages on the Northwest Coast are represented as highly distinctive; impressive rows of large houses built along a shore or coastline. Unfortunately the villages were never fully described by the ethnologists. In typical fashion they might photograph one or a few houses as if they represented the whole, so that the full layout of a town is not given.

Tlingit villages consisted of 'great' houses belonging to a clan or 'house group', together with other clans. One village would consist of the houses of ca. 14 totemic clans. In addition to town houses each clan had camps and smaller houses in other places to harvest nature, such as a 'salmon creek' camp and smokehouses used in spring-summer (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 425). Other temporary camps would be in mountain valleys for hunting and trapping, and fishing camps near the shore; possibly also other temporary shelters, such as for picking berries and harvesting plants. The ethnologist thought places were 'owned' by families, but this would depend on interpretation.

Sometimes a cultural description can obscure a tribe's adaptation. The Tsimshian are described as having a 'North Pacific coast' culture; more particularly they lived in a setting of narrow coasts and valleys and high mountains (Ann. Rep. 31, p. 43). Alongside the main Skeena River mountains tower up to 5000 feet and more. This led to a distinctive adaptation of coast-river fishing and valley-mountain hunting; cod, halibut, salmon, seal, sea-lion, whale, olachen, clam, mountain-goat, deer and bear were caught at different times during the year. Olachen, a small fish, is caught early in spring on Nass River, and 'all' people assemble there. Women and 'slaves' would collect and dry clams. The narrow valleys and coastline would impact settlement patterns. At the 'end of winter' there was 'famine'; snow prevented hunting and ice prevented fishing (Ann. Rep. 31, p. 45). 'Part of the year the Indians live in permanent villages' (p. 46). Presumably this was a complex situation in which groups of people went

fishing or hunting. Yet villages were large and followed a regional pattern: 'large wooden houses' set 'in a row' with a 'street' in front; canoes placed on the beach below. 'Tradition tells of villages of several rows of houses'; in 'olden times' houses were small, 'thirty feet square'. In myths, 'large villages' could have 'four rows of houses, one over another'. The chief's house was in the middle of the front. 'Slaves' and 'poor people' stayed 'in the corners of the chief's house'; hangers-on (p. 395).

The picture that Boas paints of Tsimshian society probably is far from reality. 'Among the Tsimshian, class prejudice was very strong'; statements that evoke ethnocentrism (p. 498). The picture that must be kept in mind is of the steep valleys and rugged coast of the Tsimshians' land, and their struggle to survive in this environment; a struggle made doubly hard with Euro-Canadian colonization. More interesting, but absent, would be a presentation of the totemic clans found in Tsimshian communities.

Kwakiutl villages are among the most distinctive Northwest Coast settlements. Material on these was published separately by Boas, also posthumously. Unfortunately BAE publications provide little on village structures. The history of Kwakiutl villages would demand a separate study. Suffice it to say that the villages consisted of rows of large houses along the shore with 300+ residents. Similarly, the related Nootka tribe lived in fairly large villages on Vancouver Island and at Makah (Bull. 144).

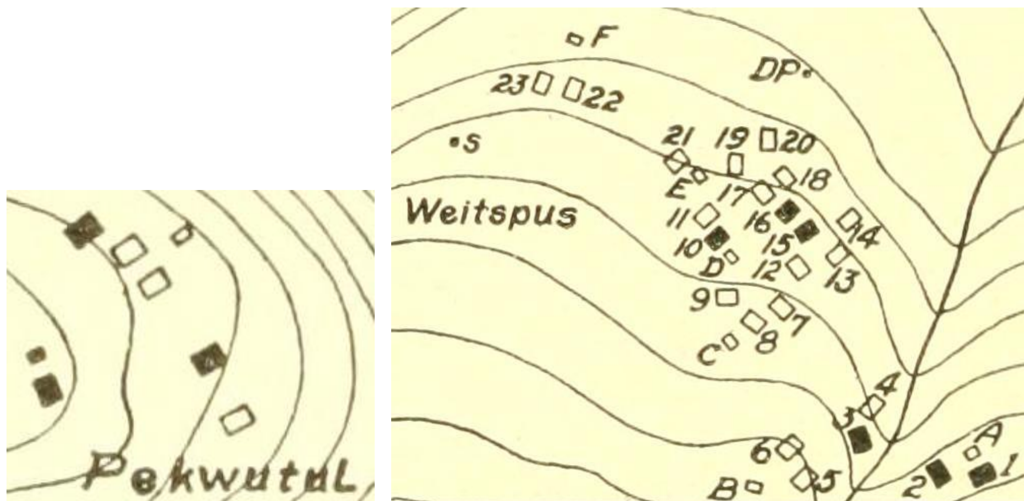
A description of the Coeur d'Alêne tribe notes 3-4 bands, each with from 6 to 16 'villages' or 'winter camps' (Ann. Rep. 45, p. 38). A village could hold up to 300+ people; indicating ca. 5,000 people for the tribe; by 1905 they counted 500; 10%. Unfortunately no village descriptions exist. Houses were large, 13-25 meters long, in summer up to 50 meters. A large house had 6 fires serving 12 families; large villages had 2-3 such houses, in addition to smaller, conical dwellings. The rule may have been to have one large house and 12 small ones; the large house was 'under the supervision of the village chief' (p. 60). A basic village size could be 90-100 people; many were larger. The sturdy ethnologist notes that clans or 'phratries' 'did not exist'; probably wrong (p. 150). Kinship was bilateral; people could stay at the father's or mother's village; but there was a rule of patrilocality, also debatable (p. 150, 161). Most likely each village consisted of roughly 12 clans.

Ethnocentrism gets into the description of the Coeur d'Alêne. People 'were fairly sedentary' with 'no' villages, i.e., like Americans (Ann. Rep. 45, p. 151). 'Chiefs were elected'; band leaders were 'small chiefs'. Each chief had a pipe, while tribal divisions had 'chief's pipes', and the tribal 'head chief' had a 'tribal' pipe (p. 154). These served as chiefs' symbols during councils. Councils 'and all public functions' were held in the large house, aka 'communal long house or dance house'; in addition, gatherings could take place outdoors. 'The crier went out in the middle of the camp circle' to summon people to events; indicating that there was a clan structure (p. 154). The ethnologist did not bother to 'collect' names; so totemic references are unknown. There was a type of inherited names with 6-7 endings; possibly totemic. Names translated as 'runs on horn', 'lying in brush' and 'painted stomach' may refer to animals such as deer, rabbit and wildcat (p. 160).

For another Salishan group, the Flathead tribes, Teit hesitantly notes a 'large winter camp' of 'about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families', as well as '2 long houses' 'for dances and meetings', 'a spare long house' for 'visitors', and 40-50 'conical lodges' (Ann. Rep. 45, p. 331-2). Such a village could hold 300+ people, but Teit provides no comments. His emphasis

is on the individual house, the 'conical lodge' as 'the common family and living house'; villages as such did not exist in his description (p. 332).

Old settlements of the Umatilla, a Sahaptin tribe, were destroyed by the damming of the Columbia River after 1948 (Bull. 166). Salmon fishing had been a mainstay for the tribe, and the banks of the river were covered with abandoned camp dwellings. The archeologist surveying the area had no interest in settlement patterns, but took a strong interest in stones. One historical source in 1805 noted 5+7+5 lodges in a fishing camp; perhaps part of a local community with roughly 300-350 people (p. 131). The 3 locations might indicate a phratry distribution. A shared village location may have been elsewhere. The Umatilla before this time perhaps numbered 5000 people; in 1910 the numbered 280; 6%.



Yurok hamlets in 1909; solid squares: standing in 1909; small rectangles: sweat houses (Bull. 78, p. 12)

Turning to California, the Yurok had 10-11-12 local communities of roughly 150-200 people; Rekwoi, Turip, Erner, Lower and Upper Pekwan, Kepel, Kenek, Weitspus, Orekw, Opyuweg and Tsurau, perhaps Omen as well (Bull. 78, p. 9). Each local community was divided into moieties and phratries, with phratry-like hamlets of 25-50 people as minimal units. One community had a moiety-like structure, Tsurau and its branch Metskwo, but it probably included phratries as well. Conceptually, a Yurok community would consist of two moieties, 'upper' and 'lower', each moiety would consist of 3 phratries, and each phratry would be made up of 4 clans living in one or two hamlets. A typical clan might have 3 houses and a sweat house. For social and ceremonial get-togethers each local community would have a central gathering place (p. 10). Unlike nearly every other tribe in California the Yurok managed to preserve much of their population. Their well-established settlement pattern may have contributed to this.

Hupa villages in 1851 had from 6 to 28 houses; the smallest may have been part of larger communities. As a conjectural interpretation, a typical local community might have 20-28 houses. These would be organized in 2 moieties and 3 phratries made up of local clans. The clans supposedly were patrilineal (New Handbook v. 8, p. 168-9).

Kroeber skips rapidly over northern inland groups in California. The Shasta once had 2000-3000 people in 50 settlements, down to 100 people in 1910 (Bull. 78, p. 286-7). The Achomawi-Atsugewi were 3000, reduced to 1200 in 1910; totems included fox (p. 308, 315).

The Modoc are barely mentioned. The Yana-Yahi dropped from 1500 people to ‘less than 40’ in 1925. Each local ‘division’ once had 300-500 people (p. 339). The Washo community consisted of 2-3-10 large ‘winter houses’ (New Handbook v. 8, p. 484). Further descriptions are lacking.

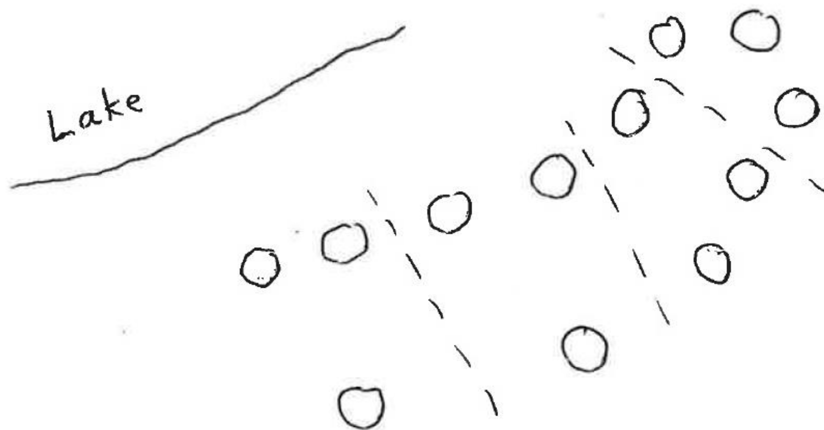
The Yuki people lived in 8-9 named divisions. Each division consisted of 6 or so communities, divided into a central or ‘principal village’ and 4-9 smaller villages or hamlets. Hamlets had 30-80 people, the main village perhaps 100, and a division could number 300-600 people. The Yuki as a whole had a pre-contact population of 3000-4000 people, reduced to 95 in 1910; 3% (Bull. 78, p. 168). A village had summer and winter habitations and locations, a dance house, and sweat houses.

Wappo villages or local communities had 200-350 people. In the case of the Western Wappo, there apparently was a community center or main village at Pipoholma. From here two groups or moieties seasonally spread to the south, each with three hamlets or phratries, Koloko, Shlmela and Kotishomota to the east, and Gayechin, Ashaben and Malalachali to the west; each hamlet perhaps counting 50 people. Another ‘town’ was at Tekenantsonoma, perhaps a seasonal camp area (Bull. 78, pl. 27). The pre-contact Wappo numbered 1100; in 1910 there were 73 left; 7%. They had matrilineal descent, like the Pomo (p. 250).

The Pomo were prominent in the handbook (Bull. 78, p. 222-271). Perhaps because they survived; from a pre-contact estimate of 8000 they counted 1200 in 1910, which was ‘greater than expected’; the emphasis was not on a loss of 85% but the survival of 15%. Investigations counted 479 named and located settlements, 7 geographical tribal areas, and 75 ‘principal villages’. All these carefully noted circumstances indicate that Kroeber somehow identified with the Pomo; perhaps because this was a vital people living under limiting conditions. He became interested in micro-variations and the complexities of a ‘simple’ culture. Perhaps he also felt he could reconstruct a tribal universe. The intricate map of the Pomo territory fills two fold-out pages (Bull. 78, pl. 36).

The village community among the Pomo was a political unit comprising several settlements but with one ‘principal village’, in which lived the head chief (Bull. 78, p. 228). Pomo villages held 75-80 people in 10-12 dwellings; there were regional variations. The Eastern Pomo had villages of up to 300 people, each with a central ‘ceremonial house’ (New Handbook v. 8, p. 307). One house held 10 people, so there might be 30 houses per village. Based on the map, it would seem that there was a pattern of a main village site adjoined by two separate moiety-like areas each with 3 phratry-like hamlets; a hamlet could hold 50 people, a village 300 (Bull. 78, pl. 36). Land and resources were held in common by the local ‘community’ (p. 228). Villages contained winter houses, a ‘sweat house’ and an ‘assembly or dance house’; in summer people used brush shelters (p. 241). Each ‘principal village’ was led by a chief; implying that there were 75-80 chiefs for the tribe as a whole (p. 250). The Pomo could then have a unified tribal structure.

The once-numerous Wintun went from pre-contact 12,000 to 710 people in 1910; 6%. A Wintun village had up to 150-180 people. It might include 3 earth lodges holding 50-70 people and up to 40 smaller ‘bark houses’ for families (New Handbook v. 8, p. 325). In spite of this social structure, a programmatic statement was made: ‘The family was the basic unit while the village was considered the social’ center (ibid., p. 326).



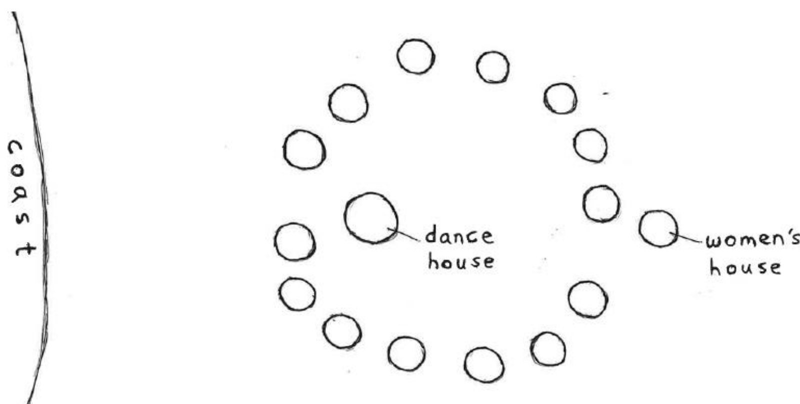
Conjectural outline of Wintun (Chino) village (New Handbook v. 8, p. 340)

For the Nomlaki it was stated that daily life ‘centered in a village’ of 25-200 people. The village was ‘named and exogamous’; all strong and fairly clear statements. Unfortunately this led the anthropologists to think that a village ‘was a kinship group’ ‘related in the male line’, while probably clan-related exogamy rules applied both to a person’s lineal and collateral kin, effectively preventing local marriage; each village would include several clans (New Handbook v. 8, p. 343). A village could be made up of 3 phratries with 5-7 houses each; 2-3 houses could comprise a clan, possibly totemic.

Next to be noted were Patwin people, who were organized in villages with ‘satellite’ camps. The population dropped from pre-contact 12,500 to 12 in 1972; 0.1% (New Handbook v. 8, p. 352-3). A village had roughly 12-14 houses and a ceremonial house (p. 357).

The prominent Maidu people had villages organized in large geographical units or ‘village communities’. In each local area the central village had the largest ‘dance house’ for community assemblies. A village could have 7-15 houses (New Handbook v. 8, p. 388). The Maidu once numbered 9,000, reduced to 1000 in 1910; 11%. They had communities such as Silongkoyo in American Valley, which had 6 hamlets, 3 each on the north and south side, with 15-50 people each, 20-22 on average. There would be 20-24 houses combined, with a total of 110-130 people. One central location with 7-12 houses and a ‘sweat house’ would be a community center (Bull. 78, p. 397-8). A composite clan organization is hinted at.

Nisenan people were organized in dispersed groups of 20-50 people in 3-7 houses clustered around a central village of 40-50 houses with room for 500+ people, including a ‘dance house’ for assemblies; a kind of metropole system (New Handbook v. 8, p. 388).

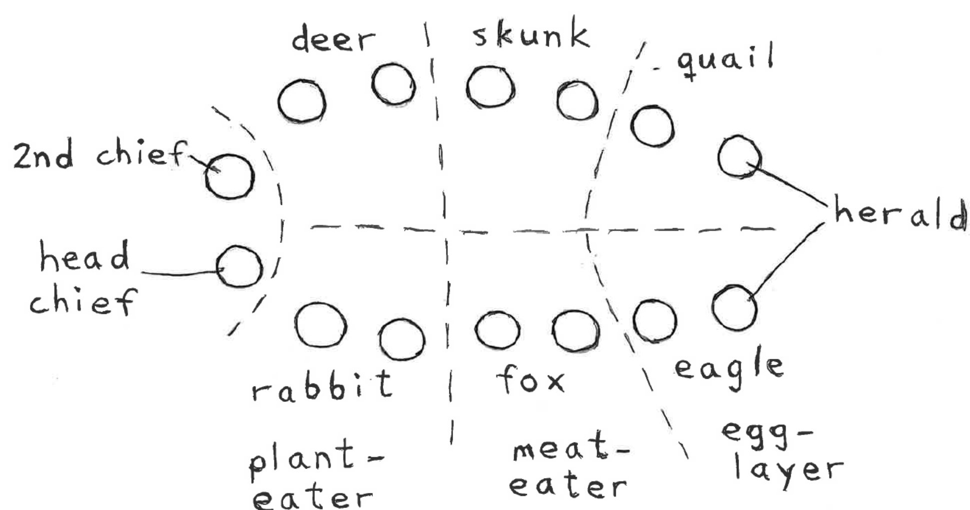


Conceptual Coast Miwok village in 1579

Coast Miwok villages seem to have had a distinct structure around a dance house. Each dwelling house could hold 5-10 people; a village size could reach 100-300 people. The tribe once numbered 2000 people, in 1925 there were 'a handful' of survivors; 0.2%. Kroeber accused the 'missions' of exterminating the Indians, here as elsewhere in California – hand in hand with other white intruders (Bull. 78, p. 275).

The Inland Miwok counted 9000 people, down to 670 in 1910; 7%. There would be ca. 2000 persons per 'division' or sub-tribe (Bull. 78, p. 445). Plains Miwok were organized in 'tribelets' of 300-500 people with a central village and ceremonial house aka 'assembly house' (New Handbook v. 8, p. 410). Moiety and clan descent was in 'patrilineages'.

The Yokuts people, like many California tribes, was 'divided into true tribes' or tribal communities with their own 'name', 'dialect' and 'territory' (Bull. 78, p. 474). The tribe as a whole was estimated at 20,-30,000 people, reduced to 533 in 1910; 2%. People were killed off by missions and Anglos (p. 489). Supposedly there once were 50-80 communities of ca. 250-400 people each. A list in 1806 gave 200-250-300-400 people for various communities, up to 600 for the largest (p. 491). In a recent view, Yokuts had local groups with a principal settlement or village of 300-350 people. 'The land was owned collectively' (New Handbook v. 8, p. 454). Villages were organized in moieties, phratries and clans.



Conceptual Yokuts village

Yokuts settlements at Buena Vista and Kerr lakes held 100-200 people. In 1806 the 'village of Buena Vista' had 218 people (Bull. 130, p. 142). Probably there were also seasonal camps with 6-12 houses or less.

The Costanoan pre-contact population was 30,000+ people, in 1925 they were 'extinct'; 0% (Bull. 78, p. 464). Hundreds of 'village names' were preserved, but the size and social organization is all but unknown. Supposedly there were 'permanent towns and suburbs or summer camps', much as in San Francisco today (p. 465). A Costanoan community was made up of a 'tribelet' with 'one or more villages and a number of camps' (New Handbook v. 8, p. 487). The tribe lived peacefully in its area for '3,000 or more years'; then the white people came. Catholics complained that the natives 'never' laugh; in return the missions exterminated them (Bull. 78, p. 466). People worshipped the sun; 'wear a flower in your hair' would be a wistful echo (p. 471).

Tribes near the coast in southern California were almost exterminated; Esselen, Salinan and Chumash (Bull. 78, p. 544f). Among the Chumash a coastal camp could have 5-10 houses in a row. Villages could be 'large', up to 200-400 people (New Handbook v. 8, p. 510). Houses were 'up to 50 feet' in diameter with room for 40-50 people or 3-4 extended families. Structures included sweat houses and 'ceremonial' chambers or dance houses (Bull. 78, p. 557). This concludes the tragic summary of major California tribal communities, now all but gone, but evincing a common pattern of local communities or villages organized along the lines of moieties, phratries and clans, nearly always totemic, though not described as such by Kroeber and others.

Shoshonean tribes in California seem to have lived in small camps, such as the Koso tribe, once numbering 1000+, who were in 4 camps with 100-150 people in 1890, averaging 25-40 inhabitants (Bull. 78, p. 590). Yet the camps were internally organized; there were 6-12 houses, a sweat house, and probably other structures as well. Most likely each camp contained 3 clans, e.g., snake, buzzard and coyote, or similar. Two camps may have served as 'moieties' to each other. The Chemehuevi had roughly 10 'local divisions' with in all 800 people; each division or community may have consisted of two-three camps organized as 2 moieties with 3 phratry-like clans each. The Kawaiisu may have had 600 people in 4 bands with 3-6 camps each, housing 20-50 people (Bull 78, p. 603). A Vanyume 'village' and 'town' had 25 and 40 people (p. 614-5). Serrano 'rancherias' had 25, 75 and 80 people (p. 615). Their poorly known social organization points to the arid region further east.

Villages in the desert-plateau area have been generally underestimated. While most camps were small, communities of 200+ people could congregate in central locations during part of the year. This was documented in an extensive survey of 'Basin-Plateau' Shoshone, Bannock and Paiute groups (Bull. 120). Worth noting is that this study included a year of 'field work' (p. ix). It charted hundreds of small settlements from California and Nevada to Utah and Idaho (p. x). Yet it was plagued with geographical determinism. The survey ran into problems of tribal distributions and population estimates, such as a guess of 'one person to 15.6 square miles' (p. 48). An earlier 'impression of a large population' was summarily dismissed; reports of 'large numbers of Indians' that were 'seen together in early times' was brushed off as a visual illusion (p. 48). But it is not certain that the mental perceptions white ethnologists had of the Plateau would give a better guestimate. Nevada's 110,700 square miles were given a population of 8,500, roughly the size of a Las Vegas casino (p. 48). The pre-contact population may have been closer to 100,000. Of some interest is the estimate that several villages counted 200 people; fairly large sized towns (p. 51-52). This would contrast with the image usually conveyed of desert natives. Getting a better understanding of desert-plateau settlements would be crucial for analyzing basic forms of social organization.

Moving into the American Southwest, highly mixed material on Indian communities appears. A typical example of Indian settlement studies is 'Navaho houses' (Ann. Rep. 17). A house has a material structure so it can be studied; a settlement layout somehow cannot. Houses may have a distribution on the ground, but this is not considered significant. That houses are connected by ties of kinship and clanship is generally ignored. Navaho winter and summer houses are shown, but always in closeup and never in context. A fiction is created of isolated houses. This image is broken when a dance house is noted, larger than an ordinary house and built to serve a larger community. This is used for a healing ceremony called 'yepichai'. Unfortunately it is not stated how many people are assembled for such a dance; there could be hundreds.

One archeological survey presented a well-preserved village of the ‘Basket Maker’ culture (Bull 91). Navaho people called it Shabik’eshchee, Sun Picture place (p. 1). The archeologist did not investigate how the name had come about, and contented himself by noting that ‘what became of’ the Basket Makers was unknown (p. 8). The 17-18 houses placed in a semi-circle could belong to 6-7 clans; a ‘kiva’ in the middle may have been a communal assembly or dance house (pl. 1).

Curiously, but not surprisingly, an early work on Pueblo settlements dealt with ‘antiquities’, not human beings (Bull. 32). A number of ruins were examined, without necessarily being viewed in relation to existing villages. One ruin, Puyé, ancestral to Santa Clara, had 427 rooms. Equally impressive was Otowi, ancestral to San Ildefonso, with 450 rooms, and 250 more estimated for an upper floor. Unfortunately no views on social organization are presented. Totems painted on walls included: snake, goose, eagle, bear, badger, fox, panther, horse, mouse, sun, moon, lightning, pine, arrow, etc. (Bull. 32, pl. 4).

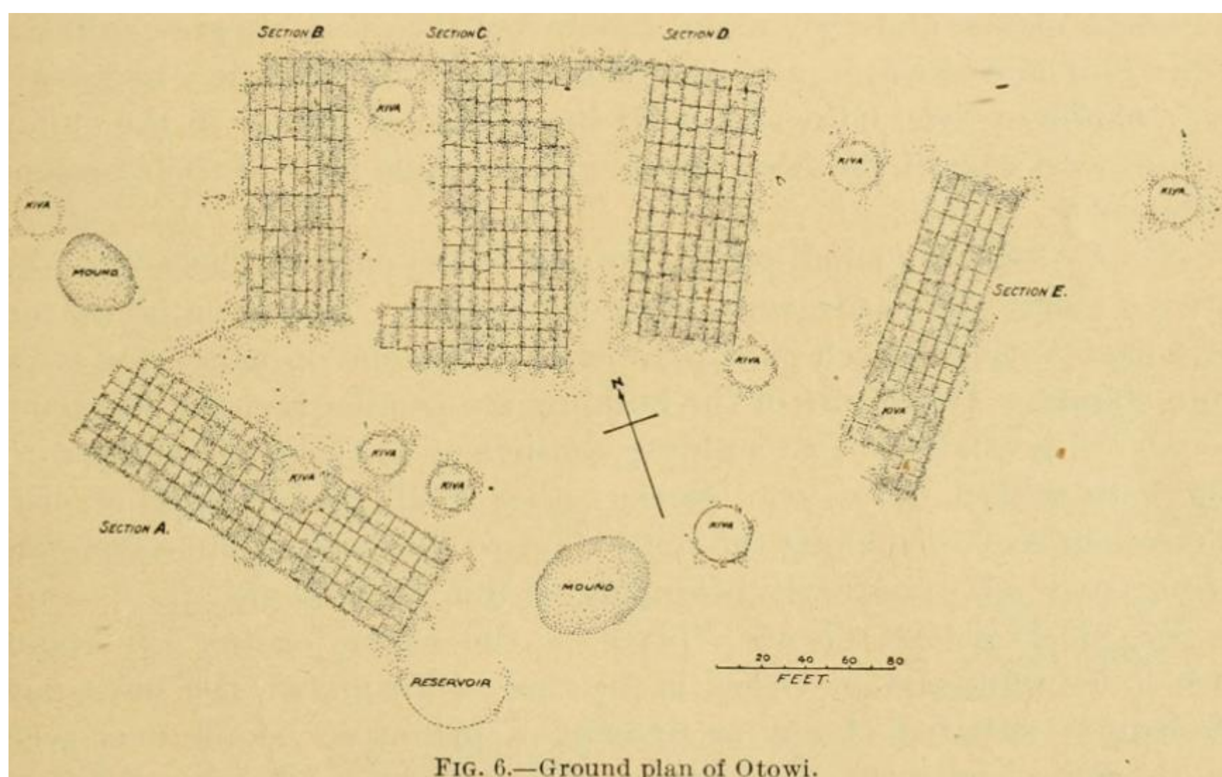


FIG. 6.—Ground plan of Otowi.

Otowi (Bull. 32)

One more work on Southwestern ‘antiquities’ came in 1907 (Bull. 35). It focused on ‘buildings’, though many diagrams were of villages, pueblos. No attempt was made to link the many sites to living cultures.

Kiatuthlanna, eastern Arizona (Bull. 100, p. 91).

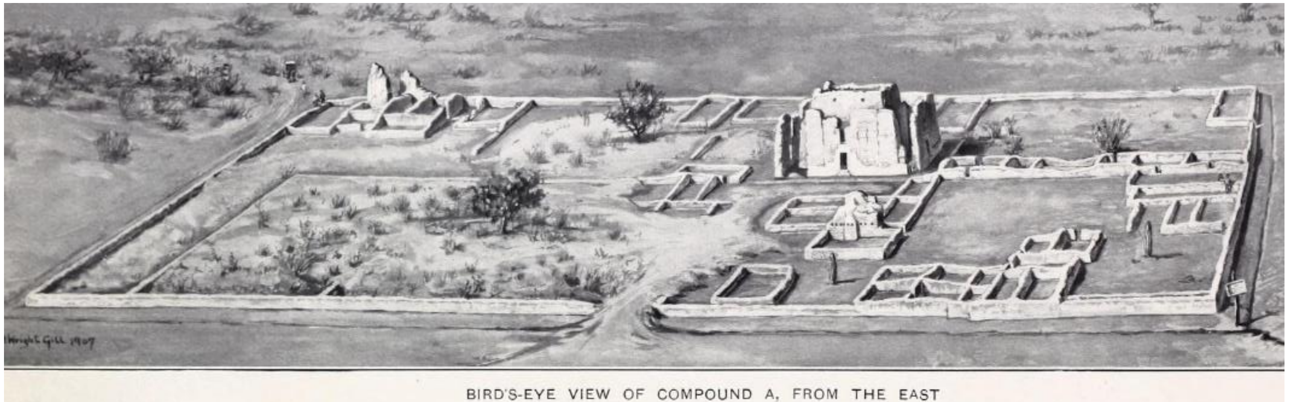
Prehistoric 'Kiatuthlanna' in Arizona was an ancestral Zuni pueblo (Bull 100). The main pueblo had 49 houses and 4 kivas, perhaps indicating 12 clans in 3 phratries with one central kiva serving 2 chiefly clans; each clan would have 3-4 houses. The archeologist gave half an ear to Zuni stories about the ruin, but interpreted the excavation in his own terms. Around the village were scattered clusters of 4-6 houses, that the archeologist interpreted as 'family units' and 'clan clusters' (p. 19, 100). These may have been camps used for seasonal pursuits.

In 1916 a work on 'The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians' was published (Ann. Rep. 29). Unfortunately it provides little information on social organization. It was mainly a list of place names near the Rio Grande. A map of San Ildefonso shows residential sections such as an 'East row', 'West row' and 'South row' of houses. A later report gives information on Pueblo towns (Ann. Rep. 47). Judging from a sketch map of Isleta, it would seem that pueblo social organization is based more on permanent houses than on totemic clans. But the image is composite. Many houses are associated with corn totems, sometimes in association with birds. There are White, Black, Yellow, Blue, and All Colors Corn, or corn combined with Goose, Magpie and Eagle. The population was 1059 in 1890 and 1036 in 1930; fairly stable figures. Extra population was moving out of the fixed-size town of 220 houses, with 43 houses in nearby Oraibi and 50+ houses in 'ranch suburbs' (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 209). The pueblo was suburbanizing! At the same time people would be named into clans, and knew their totems. Similar findings were reported for Sia pueblo (Bull. 184).

In the far Southwest it would appear that Pima villages were strongly organized. They might hold 350 people and 10-20 clans. The political leadership was a village chief and village council. Decrees of the council 'are announced from a house top by the village crier'. There

also was a ‘ceremony talker’, ‘messenger’, war chief, and other roles in each village (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 196).

If Casa Grande was a Pima settlement, it had a distinctly ‘modern’ layout (Ann. Rep. 28). There were compounds of various sizes and layout, ranging from 2 small rooms to 50 rooms, plazas and a tower. There even was a Minoan-style labyrinth (p. 57). This is not to say that Minoans built Casa Grande, but that it attests to the complexity of native communities, a complexity that is often overlooked.


BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF COMPOUND A, FROM THE EAST

Casa Grande (Ann. Rep. 28, pl. 7)

If a summary must be made of this chapter on North American local settlements, it is first of all that ethnologists rarely paid attention to the distribution of houses and people on the ground. Their ethnocentric instinct was to speak of individuals, nuclear families and homes. In spite of or even contrary to ethnologists’ reports Native Americans lived in local communities with well-developed social organizations. An archetypal image is of villages organized into two sides with a set number of totemic clans, ideally reducible to 3 phratries crossing the moiety divide. That this has to be presented as an imaginary ideal or hypothetical model, is not because such patterns did not occur, but because most ethnologists would never make such a description. All that is asked is that the reader bears in mind that such a pattern can occur, even if not explicated. The situation does not get more clear in South America, to be briefly looked at next; in fact matters get even more opaque and confusing. Much remains before Native American communities are adequately described; but the image of an underlying social organization gradually presents itself; like sherds of a broken mirror.

Central and South American villages

Pre-contact societies in Mexico are not well known. The Spanish attempted to destroy the cultures they met. Nor were many studies or even reports of Native American village structures made. This exposition of ethnologic reports starts tentatively in the north. Based on limited evidence, it would seem that Warihio communities in Sonora were divided into smaller camps of 6-12 families during parts of the year; one community could have 3-6 such phratry-like camps and a total of 200-300 people (Bull. 186, p. 77f). With 10-15 local communities there would be 2500-3000 people in a western part of the tribe. The tribe as a whole may once have numbered 7000+ members (p. 78). In 1930 there were 1400 Warihio; a reduction to 20% (p. 76).

The Miskito and Sumu, two closely related tribes, had different historical adaptations. The Miskito lived in large villages of 100-500 people along the coast, while the Sumu had small 'settlements' of 2-6 houses in the inland (Bull. 106, p. 29; Bull. 143, v. 4, p. 221). A typical 'Mosquito' village size might be 300-500 people. The Miskito population dropped from 30,000+ to ca. 3000 around 1650, changing the local situation completely (Bull. 106, p. 13-14). Originally there would be large villages near the mouths of major rivers. As late as 1699 a village with 12 long houses and 400 people was noted at Sandy Bay (Bull. 106, p. 31). It is tempting to view the 12 houses as being occupied by clans, perhaps totemic.

Far south in Central America the Guaymi apparently had towns of up to 1500 people; their organization is not well known (Bull. 143, v. 4, p. 254). Village structures in the area were barely discussed in ethnologic writings.

The study of Native American villages in South America could fill volumes. It is then surprising to find that American ethnologists rarely described such villages in BAE publications. As before the description will proceed generally from the north to the south. The Turbaco had palisaded villages. Among the Cenu was found a palisaded village of 20 houses around a 'court', led by a 'female chief' (v. 4, p. 333). Palenque and Amani villages had 50-90 houses and a 'special building for ceremonies' (v. 4, p. 341). A village consisted of several 'clans' (p. 344). A Betoi village in Colombia consisted of several large houses and a 'community clubhouse' (Bull. 143, v. 4, p. 394).

There was a continued tendency to describe houses as substitutes for villages. In British Guiana it was mused that Indians would place 'a settlement' on a 'hill' for defense; the settlement was then described as 'dwellings' or 'house' types (Ann. Rep. 38, p. 248). The closest to describing a village is a note of 'four houses' in one place (p. 249). Colonial calamities had depleted native villages, but there also was an unwillingness to describe conditions on the ground. Apparently Carib villages were composed of a number of large houses (pl. 58). Macusi villages had many round houses and one or more larger communal houses (pl. 59). Some villages had a very large communal house and many small family houses around an open area or plaza (pl. 63, pl. 65).

A perfunctory Guiana colonial noted 'Taruma and Waiwai' villages as lasting 10 years, sometimes with palisades (Bull. 91, p. 19). As usual, photos were of single houses only, not whole villages. And descriptions of villages focused on individual dwellings (p. 24). One

photo indicated a village of at least 4, perhaps 6-7 houses; all such villages must have been severely decimated in colonial times (Bull. 91, pl. 3).

A German lived for months at a Macusi village, Quatata, describing it as large with 10 houses, 'all oval or round'; perhaps accommodating 200-300 people (Bull. 177, p. 329). One type of Guiana Indian village could have a large communal house surrounded by 6+ family huts of lean-tos (pl. 48). An Arecuna village in Guiana could have 6 large houses around a plaza plus a communal house (v. 3, pl. 106). Such examples strongly suggest a totemic clan-like structure.

Describing the 'tropical forest tribes', a little informative statement was made that the 'mode of settlement varies' (Bull. 143, v. 3, p. 16). There apparently were exceptions to village-type settlements. 'The aboriginal Panoan sociopolitical unit was the household'; no less. But this 'unit' 'consisted of related families' and had an unknown 'composition'; hence it could hardly be a household (v. 3, p. 581). Perhaps it would be better to describe the Panoan 'unit' as a local community. There had been attempts to describe clans or 'sib characteristics' among Panoan groups, but these were dismissed by an ethnologist (ibid.). The reluctance to discuss clans in general and totems in particular shines through.

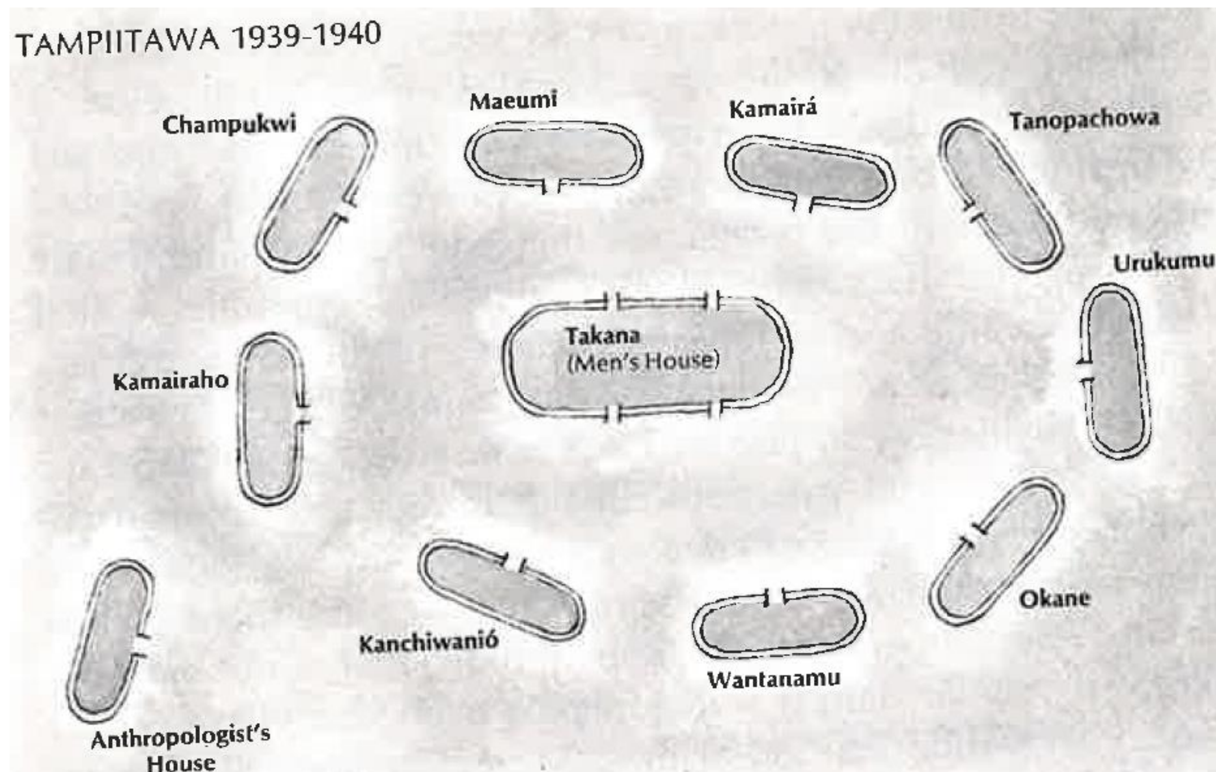
Many cases of nucleated villages are noted in the South American handbook. Many more could have been reported if ethnologists took an interest in this topic. Among those mentioned, Omagua villages could have as many as 60 houses with perhaps 500-800+ people. There would be 25-30 houses on each side of the village, like moieties (Bull. 143, v. 3, p. 698). A Cocama village had 30-40 multifamily houses and 250+ people (v. 3, p. 693). The Chiriguana village had 3-5+ 'long houses, grouped around the plaza' (v. 3, p. 472). A Mosetene village had 'houses in a circle around a plaza' (v. 3, p. 491). One Yuruna village had 6 houses (v. 3, p. 227). Masco villages had 6 or more houses around a plaza with a 'communal house' (v. 3, pl. 53).

A sort of ultimate village pattern was represented by the Tupinamba people, said to have 4-8 large houses around a plaza, each house 'accommodating 30 to 200 families'; perhaps exaggerated (Bull. 143, v. 3, p. 16). A typical village might have 6 houses surrounded by a palisade, holding 300+ people. There could also be a communal or ceremonial house, perhaps as a giant arbor. What was missing in the description of these villages was social organization, such as clan composition, which presumably had matrilineal descent, based on the limited evidence.

For the Paressí it was noted that they had large villages with 'from 10 to 30 large houses'. They included a 'clubhouse', and were located 'close to a stream'. Houses were round, 30-40 feet in diameter (Bull. 134, p. 163). Apparently a Paressi village could have 20-30 houses plus a 'ceremonial hut' (Bull. 143, v. 3, p. 353). A Bacairi village contained 10-20 large houses around a plaza (v. 3, p. 326). The Tupi-Kawahib had 20 houses in a circle, with a chief and council located in the middle (v. 3, p. 301). A Mundurucu village consisted of dwellings around a 'plaza' with a 'men's house' (v. 3, p. 274). One Amanaye village had 26 houses. A German-Brazilian anthropologist contributed to the handbook, but provided little original information, preferring to keep his knowledge to himself, e.g., on the Amanaye (Bull. 143, v. 3, p. 201). Anambe villages had 250-600 people (v. 3, p. 204).

Tenetehara villages could have 'two rows of houses with a wide street between them', or sometimes 'three, four, or more rows', with up to 800+ persons (Bull. 143, v. 3, p. 139-140).

A ‘large ceremonial house’ was at the end of the ‘street’ (v. 3, p. 140). The rows of houses may indicate the presence of large matrilineal clans.



Tapirape village (Wagley 1977, p. 86)

The houses in a Tapirape village would form ‘an oval’ around a plaza with a large ‘ceremonial men’s house’ (v. 3, 169). One village in 1939 had 147 people living in 9 large houses around a plaza with a ‘takana’ or men’s house (Wagley 1977, p. 38, 86). This was the remains of a once thriving tribe.

The Bororo people, well-known from anthropological studies, had round symmetrical villages with 7 clans on each side (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 427). An Eastern Bororo village had houses in a circle around a plaza with a large assembly house or ‘men’s club’ (v. 1, p. 420). They claimed to be totemic, but ethnologists dismissed this (v. 1, p. 389). Bororo and Central Ge villages had a ‘circular or horseshoe’ arrangement of houses (v. 1, p. 383). A Patasho village contained ’15 huts round an open circle’ (v. 1, p. 383).

Similar village layouts were found in other tribes. The Coroado people had 6 large houses around an oblong space that may have contained an assembly house (Bull. 143, v. 1). The ‘Zamucoans’ had circular villages, ‘cabins’ placed ‘around a circular plaza’ (v. 1, p. 268). Mbaya had villages with 25-30 houses, each holding 10-14 people, for a total size of 250-400 residents. The Mbaya ‘houses’ were placed ‘around a plaza’ kept scrupulously clean (v. 1, p. 269). Native ‘settlements’ such as among the ‘Ashluslay’ could have as many as 1000 inhabitants (v. 1, p. 269). The Timbu, far south among the forest tribes, had palisaded villages of 6-12 large houses placed in a circle around a plaza with an assembly house (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 188). The examples strongly suggest an organization of local clans around a plaza, that could be organized by totems.

The great cultures of the Andes, such as Quechua and Aymara, are left outside the scope of the present treatise. Their dramatic history, in particular their ‘conquest’ and oppression, belongs in a more specialized work (Bull. 143, v. 2, p. 331f). All that will be noted here is that even the Inca had totemic symbolism, which will be discussed briefly in a later chapter.

Araucanian villages in Chile consisted of ‘a number of extended families’ or ‘kugas’, apparently patrilineal clans (Bull. 143, v. 2, p. 44). Such clans may have been totemic or ‘animistic’. On the Argentinian side, Tehuelche villages could have 20 houses or 100+ people (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 144). The Tehuelche had territorial ‘bands’ of 500-1000+ people; or rather, 2000-4000+ people in pre-contact times. Each ‘band’ was led by a ‘headman’ (v. 1, p. 150). Communities apparently were made up of moieties and phratries; ‘relatives and friends’ (v. 1, p. 150).

Tierra del Fuego villages included a large communal house and smaller ‘wigwams’ (Bull. 63, p. 193). The information on different tribes is scarce. Alacaluf camps would consist of 2-6 huts near the beach; the social organization was unknown (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 26-29). There may have been both moieties and phratries. During parts of the year, such as at ‘initiation rites’, people would gather in central villages of 100+ people. There were summer and winter villages (v. 1, p. 85-86). The Yaghan had villages of up to 300 people where ‘initiation’ rites took place. Most of the year people lived in smaller camps (v. 1, p. 94). Ona communities apparently were clan based, as those of the Yahgan and Alacaluf also may have been (v. 1, p. 117).

This chapter ends with a ‘non-conclusion’. Ethnologists were not keen on describing the social organization of villages, or villages in general. They would content themselves with describing house types. The anthropological mind screams for information. Even one carefully researched case would have been useful. What is known is that the South American Indians faced terrible trauma in their encounter with white colonists, to the extent that many were exterminated. The villages that dotted the landscape from Tierra del Fuego to Guiana were destroyed, leaving only a few instances behind. Still, ethnology could have provided a far better knowledge of how villages were organized.

What will be seen is that South American Indians in general lived in local communities that consisted of a number of families and house groups, and that such groups in many cases entered into a descent-based clan system, where each clan constituted a complement to the village circle. One way of creating complementarity between clans would be to have totems that distinguished one clan from another. Later it will be shown that to a greater or lesser extent, at least in terms of ethnologic knowledge, totemic clans could be found among many of the peoples inhabiting the Americas.

Why Indian tribes were not migratory

There is a lingering misconception that Native American societies were not stationary but moved around a lot and became migratory. One example of this is so-called ‘prairie tribes’ that moved around the Great Plains and apparently switched places constantly. To a large extent this does not correspond with the pre-contact situation.

In prehistoric times each tribe had its own territory and moved around very little, mostly for seasonal hunts. It was post-contact depopulation that forced Indian tribes to move around. European colonization and Old World epidemics would reduce the native population by more than 90%. As a consequence tribes could no longer fill every part of their territory, let alone defend it against intruders. They became ‘migratory’ in the sense that they had to move around in order to stay together and protect their access to needed resources. The situation became chaotic and violent once Euro-American colonizers started taking away the Indians’ land.

Before this happened, when every village, settlement and camp was intact, there was little need to move around. People controlled the resources in their vicinity as a community or settlement. Attacking another tribe was costly and would be done only in times of extreme need, such as during climatic upheavals around 1300 AD. Most of the time tribes would control their land in peace. There would be smaller war parties and skirmishes, but these had little impact on whole tribes. They were actions of personal heroics and revenge, serious enough, but not capable of upsetting tribal territories.

Ethnologists would see this from the perspective of conditions after 1850. They would devise ‘tribal circles’ for most tribes between the middle-upper Mississippi and the Rockies. These represented remnants of former bands that formerly held their own territories, but now were reduced in population and had to rely on each other for political and territorial support, hence the ‘circle’. No tribal circle existed before 1750, except in cases when chiefs from different bands met in tribal councils, band members in general not being present. It was up to ethnologists to cement the picture they saw after 1850 and turn it into a fixed representation, though it applied to a transitional and destructive period lasting less that hundred years, until the US government took the Indians’ land by the so-called Allotment Act of 1889.

Consider instead the following image: In late prehistory a tribe could hold 30,-40,000+ people divided into 4-20 bands, each with several villages and settlements that in turn were made up of a set number of complementary clans, phratries and moieties. Each village had its own territory, usually a river drainage or a part of a drainage area. By extension, each named band and tribe had its own territory. The contrast between territoriality and migration can be compared to the contrast between England and expats; that Brits move around a lot does not mean that they have no territory. If England was reduced to 500,000 people, the situation would be different; people would indeed be migratory.

Indian history would be treated in stops and starts by the BAE. The basic idea may have been that Indians had no history, or that this history would disturb the ethnologic image. Ethnologists were notorious for underestimating the size of pre-contact Indian populations. Mooney was particularly adamant in reducing early estimates to fit into his own view of small

and scattered native tribes; tribes that could be easily submitted to the 'melting-pot' of American assimilationism. Only by looking at every bit of evidence, textual, prehistoric and geographical, can a better understanding of pre-contact populations be arrived at.

When looking at individual tribes and nations in detail the image starts to change. Some attempts at describing Creek history were made by Swanton (Ann. Rep. 42; Bull. 73). It showed a large and prosperous native people with many villages and tribal bands. Yet the material is presented in the form of relational myths, and is interpreted as migratory; e.g., when the Creek 'met' other tribes this was interpreted as migrations rather than political meetings (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 35). Native history would be presented as a series of migrations until Europeans arrived. Such movements may have been postulated from the wording of tribal myths, but such myths must be interpreted in a much wider tribal, intertribal and political context. Presumably the Creeks had a stable existence in the form of largescale tribes and confederacies for centuries, perhaps millennia, before white people came.

The Caddo provide a good example of the dramatic transition in Indian history (Bull 132). In pre-contact times they constituted a stable confederacy in present Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas and southeast Oklahoma comprising perhaps 90,000 people. There were 15 or so large geographical tribal divisions, here named Adais, Wachita, Nawatesh, Cahinnio, Kiamisa, Nanatsoho, Caddohadacho, Nasoni, Yatasi, Natchitoche, Ayish, Anadarko, Nacogdoche, Hasinai-Hainai and Nabedache. A tribe later known as Washita may have been related. Each division occupied a territory of more than 2000 square miles, and had from 4000 to 8000 people living in distinct villages and towns of from 200 to 2000 people. They constituted a large and prosperous Indian nation.

By 1687 the Caddo nation as a whole had been reduced to less than 10,000 people and were concentrated on the Red River above present Texarkana and between the Sabine and Neches rivers in Texas (Bull. 132, fig. 1). European epidemics and trade conflicts had destroyed nearly 90% of the people. From here matters would get even worse. The tribe would be displaced time and time again, driven from Texas in 1859, and ending up on a small reservation in Oklahoma with 550 people in 1890 (p. 24). This is when ethnologists started arriving; Swanton had absolutely no comment to the appalling figures. His view was backward-looking, to a hard-to-imagine past. By some perverse logic Swanton thought that more bands were formed as the population declined, postulating a 'small number' of 'tribes' originally; mostly he was confused by the large number of village and band names (p. 10). He was equally confused by population numbers, viewing early figures as 'exaggerated' (p. 24). Large and prosperous nations did not fit into the American image of the native Indians.

The Caddo history was not unique. Some tribes fared worse, some fared better, but all shared the experience of decimation, removal and land loss at the hands of Anglo-Americans. In the process whites created a gratifying myth that Indian tribes had always been small and shifting, which served to justify their theft of Indian property. It takes a leap of the mind, possible but imaginative, to think back to a time when people such as the Caddo lived in hundreds of towns and villages that dotted the landscape in several states of today's USA.

From hunting to growing stuff

There has never been a bigger change in human existence than moving away from a free relationship with nature to a directed one. The introduction of agriculture would change people's relationship with nature forever. Population historians and prehistorians fervently try to uncover the transition from hunting to agriculture, since this would help us understand social change. So it is surprising that ethnologists say virtually nothing about the interrelation and development of hunting and cultivating tribes. It is as if they take for granted that there is an absolute difference between hunters and cultivators; 'lower' and 'higher' cultures, 'savages' and 'civilized' people (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 69). The development is unidirectional and predetermined. 'Civilized' people lift 'savages' up, and those who fail to be 'elevated' risk being destroyed. The views mirror the US treatment of American Indians.

That the transition from hunting to agriculture represents a tremendous challenge of social development, somehow is obscured in BAE writings. The change touches upon ethnologists' distaste for social organization. What happens when people start domesticating animals and plants will have an impact on how they are organized, but how this happens is obscured. The view from the BAE would be that they become more like 'us'. The view from Indian society by contrast could refer to moving from a dependence on nature to an exploitation of scarce resources; from balance to imbalance. Yet how this challenge is handled remains unexplored.

This view of balance should raise the hackles of many human ecologists (Martin 1982). Indians, it is claimed, were not 'natural conservationists', though they are often portrayed as such. They exploited resources, and this could turn into over-exploitation and natural degradation or change. However, there are several reasons why this would not happen. First and most importantly, native people depended on taking care of natural resources where they lived. This attitude continues today. Shawnee people will not harm trees, because they depend on the forest for sustenance.

Another and more complex answer to the question of balance, concerns the interplay between human populations and the natural environment. A basic example would be a tribe that hunts and grows crops. Tribes without agriculture would depend wholly on wild organic resources in their living areas. Agriculturists by contrast can grow food beyond their personal needs. This could lead to a growing population which in turn would threaten natural resources such as wildlife. Since North American Indians depended on wild animals for protein, they had to find a balance between population growth and natural protection. One mechanism to preserve this balance was to limit the number of clans in a village. Limiting the number of clans in a village would also limit the population and prevent environmental degradation.

Needless to say ecological and economic relationships were far more complex than indicated in these few paragraphs. Native Americans had myriad ways in which to handle their relations with the environment. Local cooperation was one way to preserve labor and resources. The Cherokee had a form of mutual labor or 'working bee', where people helped plant each other's fields (Bull. 180, p. 104). Similar arrangements would be found in other tribes.

Relations with the environment were regulated in countless ways. Among the Winnebago, before going on a hunt the hunters would perform a ceremony with a small burnt sacrifice to

the animals they wanted to catch (Radin 1923, p. 63-64). If several bears were found, only a few were killed, so that the animal population was not depleted. All game was protected by taboos and rituals. Natural preservation was an explicit viewpoint and policy. Since pigeons came in large droves, they were distributed by the chief at a communal feast (p. 64-65). This was before wild pigeons were killed off by settlers.

When trying to reconstruct native economies, ethnologists relied on prehistoric excavations and historical accounts of varying quality. The production of maple sugar, common in many tribes, was referred to by using an 18th century source, mainly to illustrate the use of 'earthen pots' in this work (Ann. Rep. 20, p. 31). There would always be a temptation to favor old sources, even when unreliable. There also was a temptation to provide personally flavored interpretations. An example would be clay figures that simplistically were thought to be 'Mexican', though probably representing local life (p. 41). In prehistoric studies it was possible to fantasize about how things were done or made. One lament was that it was impossible to link finds to historical tribes because they had 'removed', without specifying what this entailed (p. 142). The link between the past and present was lost, even when speaking of such general practices as sugar production and agriculture.

Not least this lack of sources concerned trade and other economic networks. In pre-contact times trade networks crossed most of the American continent, such as the manufacture and exchange of copper used for ornaments and ceremonial artefacts. Ethnologists did little to elucidate such trade networks. One work noted that Huron trade included furs, pigments, wampum 'and other articles' (Bull. 190, p. 25). Such 'other' articles included corn, fishing nets, fish, skins, tobacco, and beads; probably salt as well. The Creek Indians were engaged in immense trade networks (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 452f). Trade items included mica, copper, pipe stone, flint, angelica, shells, dry fish, emetic plants, salt, honey, bear's oil, and numerous other items. Salt-making and salt-trade was a major but poorly reported industry in tribes such as Shawnee and Tunica (Bull. 43, p. 306-7). Among Salishan tribes there was regular trade in basketry materials, such as 'standardized' bundles of 'sewing splints' (Ann. Rep. 41, p. 156).

The extensive nature of tribal networks is best exemplified by trade. In one Chinook story, Clatsop people found a European ship-wreck, the first ship they had ever seen; in fear they burned the ship, but the equipment on board was irresistible (Bull 15, p. 278). There were kettles, boxes, brass buttons, metal strings, iron, copper, brass – fantastic things. In very short time tribes from all over the region visited the site, Quinault, Chehalis, Cascades, Cowlitz, Klickitat and Willapa. Almost instantaneously strips 'of copper' became a shared standard of value (ibid.). Apparently all such trade relations were peaceful. There 'almost' was a fight over two surviving sailors, but they were sent to separate Clatsop villages; and 'the chief was satisfied'. Trade was more important than warfare; peace had priority over violence.

In central California types of exchange media or 'current money' included shell and stone beads. These were represented by 'clamshell' beads, 'magnesite cylinders' called 'gold money', and dentalia shell beads on strings (Bull. 78, p. 176). Shell money would circulate back and forth over wide areas depending on demand, creating networks and contacts across different tribes.

The famous practice called a potlatch, a ceremonial give-away on the Northwest Coast, became a testing stone for ethnologic views of exchange. Among the Tlingit the potlatch only had 'one motive', 'regard for and respect for the dead' (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 434). Every activity, putting up a house or pole, secret society performances, feasts and distribution of property,

was done 'for the sake of' dead members of a clan; blankets and food that were given away or burned were 'supposed to go' to the dead. The dead would be present and feast on spirit food and clothing. If a blanket was given away 'a dead person had to be named' who received its equivalent in the spirit world (ibid.). That the potlatch was something more, a contest of prestige and status, and a way for different tribes to become engaged in networks of trade and social encounters, is not presented in this view.

The potlatch is best known from the Kwakiutl people, and here it is associated with a general ethnology of the tribe. This is not so well represented in BAE publications. Boas published several works about the Kwakiutl Indians, including an ethnology (Ann. Rep. 35). This was truly ethnologic, in the sense that it was an inventory or catalogue of material and immaterial culture. In the 7-page 'Contents' there were separate sections on 'Picking elderberries', 'salal-berries' and eight other kinds of berries. Actually this was a way of publishing native texts with translations on all imaginable topics. Under 'Endogamy' both incest and close inbreeding was noted, 'they do this because they do not want their privileges to go out of their family' (p. 782). More common was 'taking a wife' or 'husband outside', such as from another 'tribe'; in some cases 'from far off outside' (p. 783). Exogamy, moving outside one's kin group, was the general rule. Parents had a duty to support such marriage (p. 783-4). Eagle hunting, potlatch, totem 'crests' and names were briefly brought up in Kwakiutl-English translations (p. 784-6). By and large this was an opaque work, such as ethnologic treatises often were, making it hard to grasp the finer workings of the potlatch and other exchange systems.

Of course the potlatch would be brought up in other publications by Boas and later scholars. But this was outside the domain of BAE publications. The intense bouts of exchange and battles over prestige were social events that did not fit into ethnologic schema of description. That such exchanges tied together large areas and had an impact on relations far beyond where they occurred, would not be part of BAE representations.

By and large Bureau publications provide scattered but insufficient information about Native American economies. The only claim that can be presented is that Indian societies, once they adopted agriculture, had to find a way to balance their outtake of resources against the environmental diversity of their surroundings. Even though the sources are scarce, it can be said that by and large such balancing mechanisms were found through the ways people were organized and how they managed to limit the pressure on local resources, such as wildlife. Trade networks were an extra dimension, securing interchange across wide territories. There would not always be a perfect balance between people and nature; but there would always be mechanisms in place to limit the impacts of economic activities. Many of these had to do with social organization and kinship, next to be noted in this treatise.

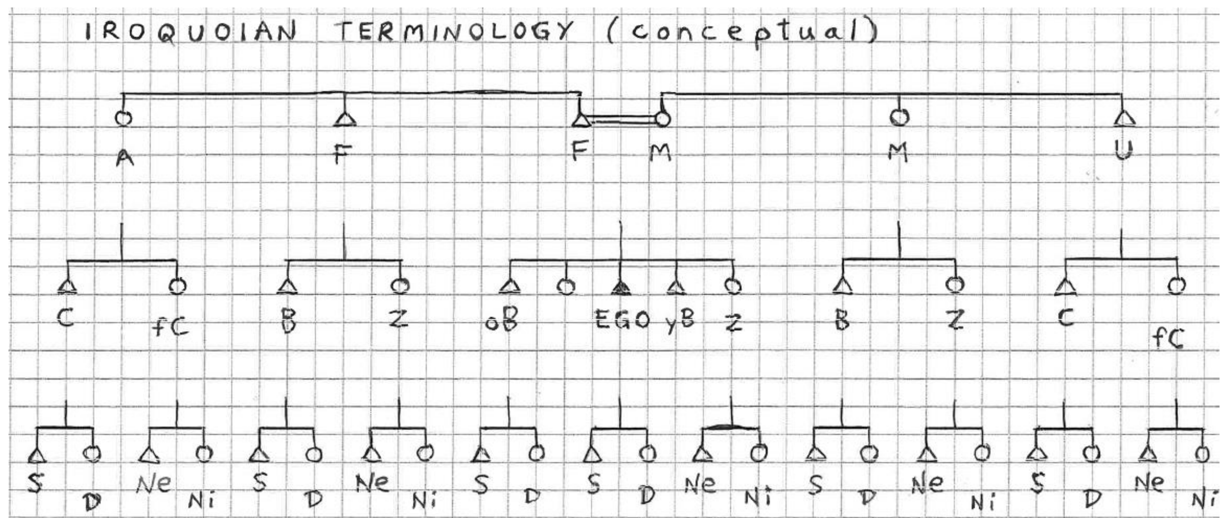
Kinship terminologies – an ethnological crux

Ethnologists took shortcuts when describing kinship. A full approach to researching kinship would have four methodical steps. First all the inhabitants in a community would be identified by name and their genealogies recorded. Secondly a list of the names would be prepared and people would be asked to recite their kin reference to each individual in the list. Thirdly the kin references used for different persons would be plotted in charts and the general, emic usage of kin terms would be established. Fourthly the prevailing pattern on kin term usage, the terminology, would be cited in a kin chart or model. This research process could take months or even years.

The main shortcut is ethnocentric. The ethnologist would think that other people use the same kin terms as him- or herself, and would ask informants to give the words for father, mother, uncle and aunt in their native language. Then, if it is found that there is no correspondence, for instance that no word for 'cousin' can be found, the most simple ethnocentric approach is to note that the term is 'missing'. The more inquisitive intake will examine what a MoBrSo is called, and perhaps finds that he is called 'uncle'. The approach then becomes more professional. Informants will be asked to name each relationship, MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa, MoSiSo, MoSiDa, and so on. In many cases this may be adequate. But informants often have problems understanding what is meant by 'father's sister's daughter', because that is not the way they talk about kinship. So ethnologists end up with a less than ideal approach for how to understand kin terminologies. Descriptions of kinship systems are rarely adequate. (Note: Mo = mother, Fa = father, Br = brother, Si = sister, So = son, Da = daughter).

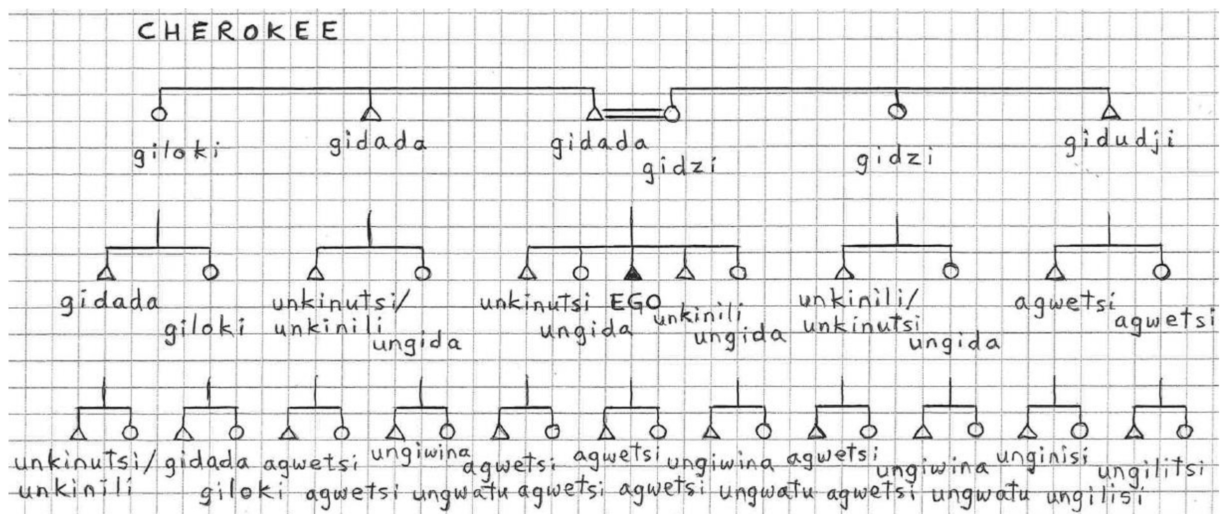
The notion of 'group marriage', so common in communist ethnography, but also in American ethnology, stems from a simple misunderstanding of kinship terminologies (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 254). An Omaha man calls his FaBr 'father' and his MoSi 'mother'. This is interpreted as if every man in father's group can marry every woman in mother's group, so that there is a promiscuous interchange of partners. The actual case is that Fa and FaBr belong to the same kin group, just as Mo and MoSi do in theirs. There is no group marriage, only groups of kin whose members stand in a similar position to each other.

It is highly indicative that Hoffman describes Menomini kinship in terms of social evolution. The tribe had 'advanced' from an 'older form of descent in the female line … to the next stage, that of father-right, or descent in the male line' (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 43). Two systems, matrilines and patrilines, are seen as 'stages', with patrilines more 'advanced', a basic ethnocentrism, rather than seeing these as co-existing and variously distributed kinship systems. Ethnologists tended to disparage matrilineal societies, what Germans called 'mother-right'. This kind of ethnocentric determinism would hamper the understanding of kinship systems.



Source: Godelier et al., 1998: p. 31 (the letters used are arbitrary representations of kin terms)

The Iroquoian terminology is a basic way to organize large societies based on totemic clans. It is one of the most widely spread terminologies, not only in North America, but in other parts of the world as well, such as in South Asia. Characteristically, ethnologists would rarely explicate this kinship system in their works.



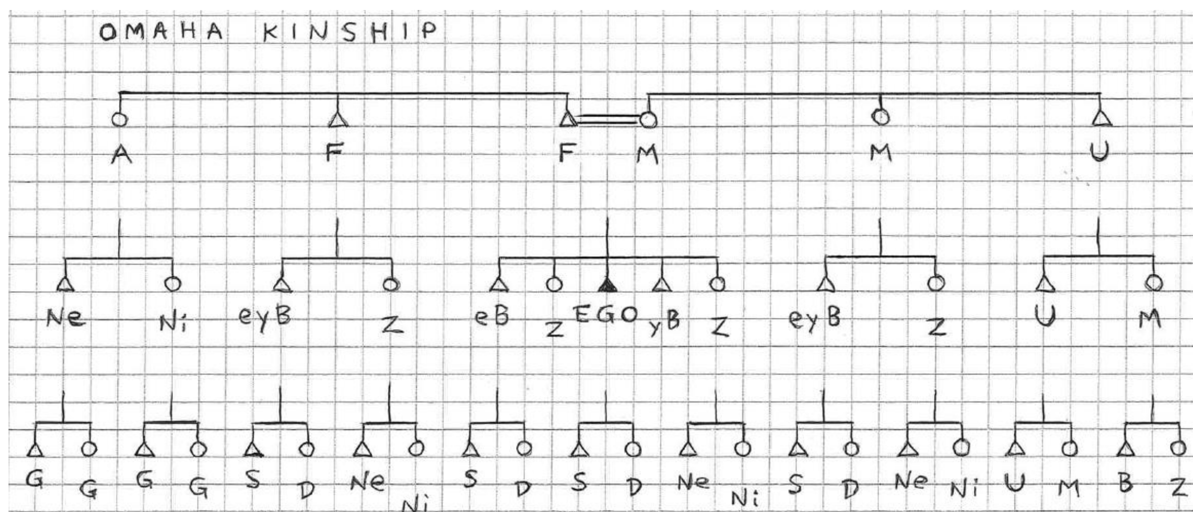
A beautiful Cherokee kinship chart is given, covering 150 kin positions across 5 generations (Bull. 133, p. 218). It conforms to the Crow terminology or system. But the appended chart for a female speaker curiously only covers 35 of the 150 kinfolk (p. 219). This may indicate problems in eliciting kin terms, in particular where the informant is of a different gender. That ethnologists suffered from gender bias could – perhaps should – be a separate chapter, or rather, a separate work. In this treatise the issue of ethnocentrism is more salient.

When discussing Winnebago kinship, Radin only refers to nuclear kin, Fa, Mo, Si, Br etc., no lateral kin (Radin 1923, p. 80f). In this way he avoids discussing the un-American topic of classificatory terminologies. Yet he includes some important information on exogamy, such as people from the same moiety or side of the village not marrying, and ‘friend clans’ or complementary clans on opposite sides not marrying, like fish and snake, or pigeon and hawk. This is significant information, because it shows that the Winnebago tribe, which retained some population, in practice carried out local exogamy, since exogamic rules meant that

people only could choose partners from 3-4 local clans, and marrying outside would be far more attractive and feasible. It is stated that people who wanted to marry inside a local moiety could be killed, and had to be forced or persuaded to marry outside the moiety or outside the village (p. 163). The extensive rules of exogamy stretched across four generations; marriage partners or their parents could have no shared grandparents.

Dorsey’s presentation of Omaha kinship is strangely inscrutable and arcane, no doubt on purpose. His point of reference was archaic times, ancient Rome, Greece and beyond. He presumed that Omaha kinship was already dead, to be replaced by Christian paternalist practices (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 214f). In this way the ethnologist distances himself from earlier research.

The Omaha kinship terminology is one of the great discoveries of Morgan, one of a few major kinship types that can be found around the globe. The system can be reproduced as follows, modifying Dorsey’s lettering:



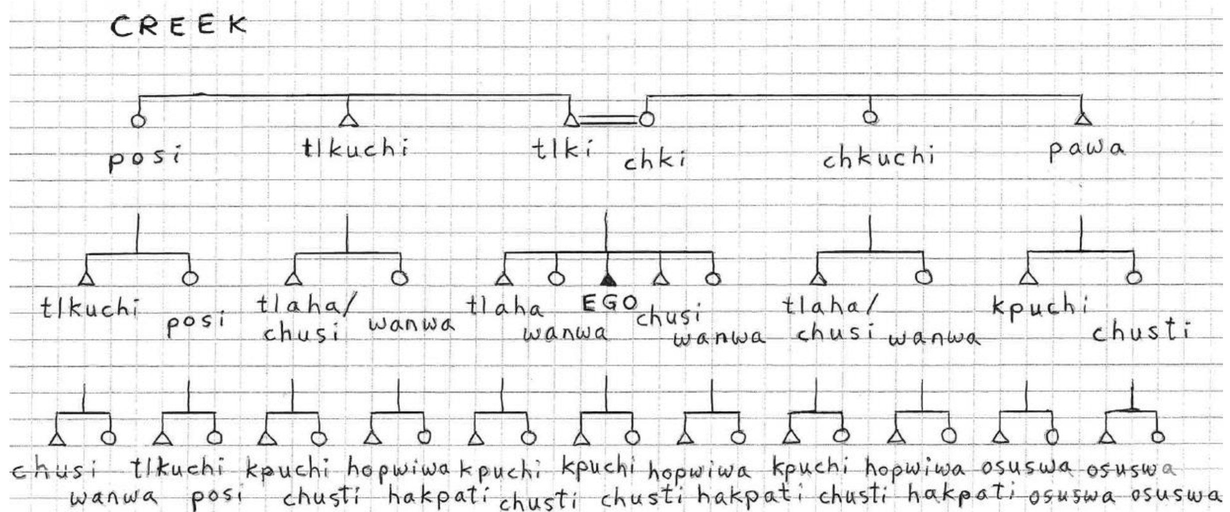
The extended uses of kinship are equally inscrutable. All men around the camping circle call each other brother regardless of clan membership. Perhaps more significant is a note that men with the same totem in different tribes use ‘customary’ (nikie) kinship to call each other brothers; an Omaha elk man called a Kansa elk ‘younger brother’ and an Oto elk ‘elder brother’ (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 252).

The somewhat bigoted Dorsey tried to explain polygyny, a compulsory ethnologic exercise. He claimed that ‘the maximum number of wives that one man can have is three’, the first wife, her ‘aunt’ and her sister or niece (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 261). Dorsey daintily uses words such as ‘catamenia’, ‘couvade’, ‘fœticide’ and ‘enceinte’ to describe pregnancy. The Omaha isolated women during menstruation and childbirth, but this is reduced to a note that women ‘dwelt alone’ at certain times (p. 263). A subsequent note says that during ‘catamenia’ women dwelt alone for four days in a little lodge. She could be joined by another menstruant; but this was not the same as the special lodges that once existed in aboriginal villages. Abortion and infanticide were ‘exceptional cases’ ‘for they are very fond of their children’; a troublingly ethnocentric view. Since village life had ended, birth, marriage and other life changes were not conducted as before.

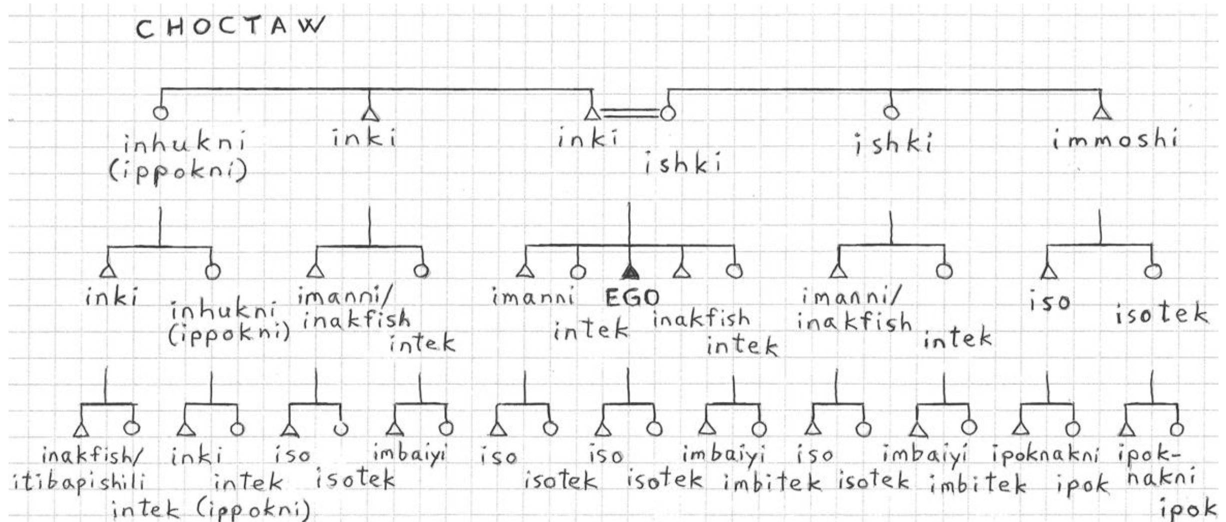
In a Sioux village co-wives could share a house; when camping they usually had separate tents (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 222). Rules of residence were difficult to clarify. For one thing, a newly married couple could stay for some time near the wife's parents; so-called bride service. Later they would establish their own home. Among the Sioux, a 'young man' sometimes 'goes to live with his wife's kindred', but 'there is no fixed rule' (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 222). Presumably residence would always be mixed, some staying with the wife's, others with the husband's kin. This would depend on the clan composition of the village. To take a patrilineal example, if a buffalo man had no son, a son-in-law could live with him, and one or more grandchildren could be adopted into the buffalo clan. The residence would be uxorilocal, but the descent would remain patrilineal. Probably residence could be both patri- and matrilocal in Native American societies.

Among the Hidatsa marriage is formalized 'by the distribution of gifts on the part of the man to the woman's kindred' (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 242). They in turn reciprocate with a similar gift. The wedding gift was 'a pledge to the parents for the proper treatment of their daughter'. Sororate was practiced; a man was allowed to marry his wife's sister. Marriage rules in different tribes often would echo each other.

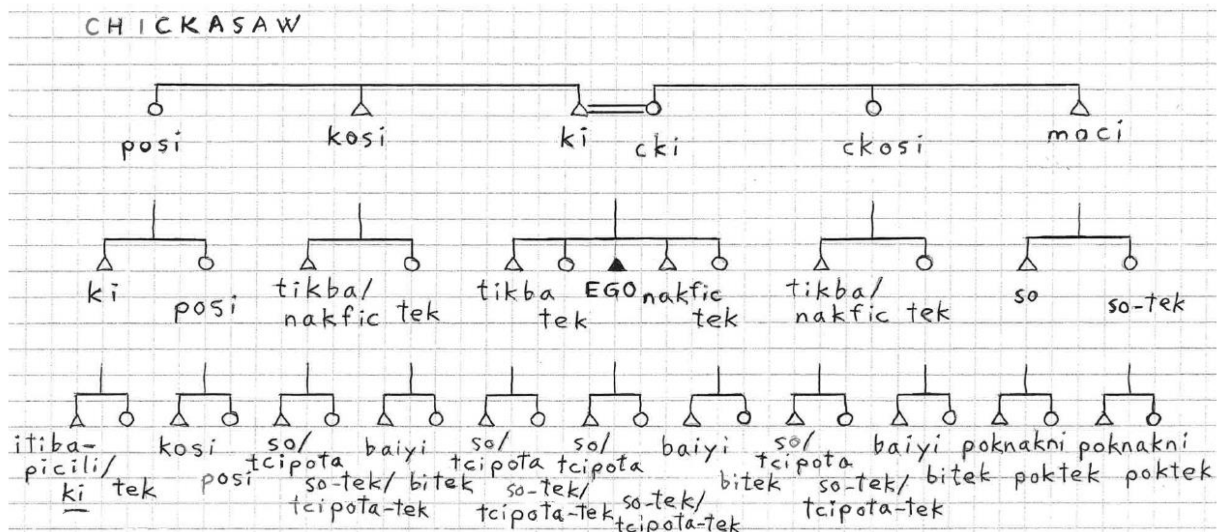
As often happened, due to a dependence on textual sources, Swanton's presentation of Creek kinship terms is opaque. He uses English terms as a reference, 'uncle', 'niece' (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 80-82). But in the adjoining kinship diagrams he manages to portray the terminology (p. 85-86). Creek kinship conforms to the so-called Crow terminology, which is matrilineal. The same term is used for FaSi, FaSiDa, FaSiDaDa etc., because they belong to the same matriline.



Among the Creek, women 'owned the houses' (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 79). Marriage was matrilocal; men 'went to the homes of their wives' (p. 79). But a man's 'home' was his mother's or sister's. It would be far better to say that a man belonged to his mother's clan, a matriclan. But ethnologists were much more eager to represent marriage than descent, leading to many unclear points.



Choctaw kinship largely conforms to the Crow type. Old Swanton mixed up the children of FaSiSo and FaSiDa; he also printed the same town list twice (Bull. 103, p. 85, 65f). Another explanation for this discrepancy may be that men had less interest in kinship than women, and did not remember the ancient terminology. Kinship was matrilineal. Family groups were headed by a MoBr (p. 95).



The Chickasaw kinship terminology was reported (Ann. Rep. 44, p. 185). One anomaly is that FaSiSo and FaSiSoSo are given as 'ki', which should be 'kosi' and 'nakfic' respectively. Old Swanton may have made a mistake in eliciting, confusing the two generations; another term, 'itibapicili', means sibling. The ethnologist did not pay attention to such anomalies; he wrote what he heard, or thought he heard. By and large the terminology conforms to the Crow system.

In spite of its fame, Natchez society is strangely unknown (Bull. 43). The economy was based on hunting and agriculture. Trade must have been significant, and the allied Avoyel tribe served as trade middlemen with the Caddo (p. 273). The kinship system is largely unknown. The reason is that the available French sources are generally biased and moralistic. They would take note of free sex before marriage and fidelity after, but not how people were

related. Rules of residence and descent are mostly unrecorded. At a divorce each parent 'took the children of the same sex'; perhaps dubious (Bull. 43, p. 95). Descent in the female line is indicated (p. 101). Europeans such as French men reacted strongly to matriliny, in particular that a man was succeeded by his sister's son. The Indians had a logical explanation, a child's mother is known, its father is not. A thousand years of patriarchy made this impossible to accept. Ethnologists saw this the same way; they usually avoided the subject of maternal kinship. The French sources hinted at patrilocality; but this is dubious, and may have worked both ways (p. 97).

One example of poor eliciting of kin terms by ethnologists is provided by the Caddo (Bull. 132, p. 167). The ethnologist, ethnocentrically, was asking about words for 'uncle', 'aunt' and 'cousin'; while the informant was trying to explain about marriage restrictions. A word 'shahut' was thought to mean 'cousin', but was the FaFaFa of 'inetit', a FaFaBrSoSoSoSoCh, which was as far as marriage restrictions applied, e.g., to 4th cousins. If people married closer than this, their children would be 'deaf and dumb', a punishment for breaking exogamy laws. (Note: Ch = child).

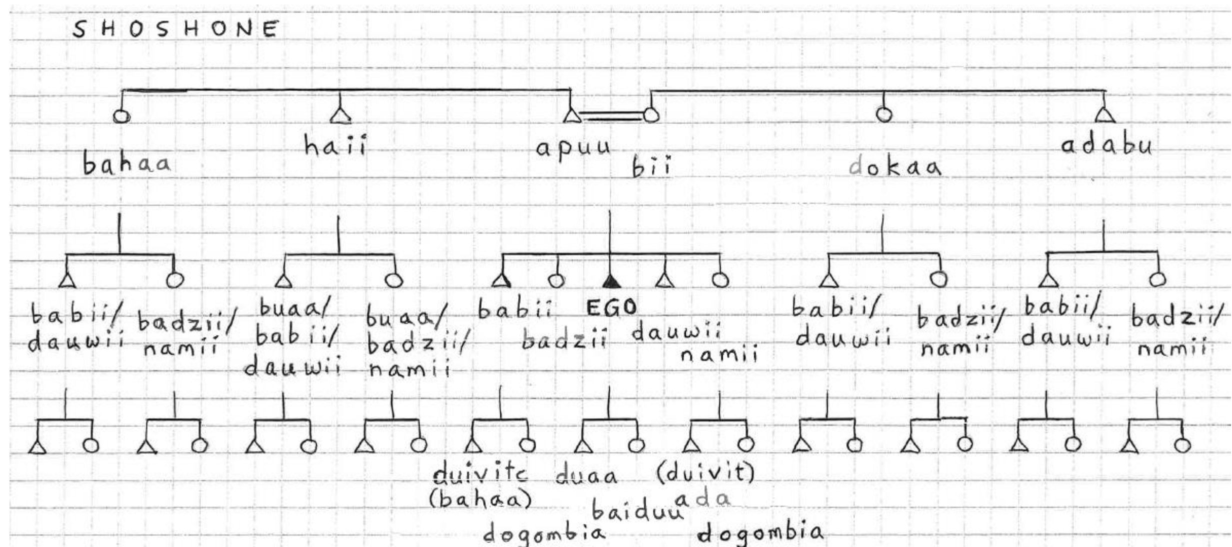
Mooney in his work frantically tried to avoid all references to kin terminologies and exogamy. This led him in some ways to denounce native culture. 'Marriage among the Kiowa' he termed 'a simple affair'; then he goes on to describe bride payment, which was anything but simple (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 231-2). The idea apparently was to show that Indian marriage was like Anglo-American ones; 'a simple affair'; yet the wording sounds racist. At the same time he notes that residence was matrilocal. Residence after marriage was a standard ethnologic topic, though in most cases it would remain unclear, probably also among the Kiowa.

Native Americans on the Pacific coast had no Morgan to do systematic research. Kinship from Alaska to California is curiously under-researched. Tlingit kinship seems to be of the Crow type; unfortunately the listing of terms is not complete (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 425). Theoretical and personal hang-ups mar the material. For instance, Boas conforms to the Marxist notion of 'group marriage' when describing Tsimshian kinship, in his diagram joining 'Uncles' and 'Aunts' as parents of 'Cousins', and female 'Cousins' as parents of a man's 'Children' and a woman's 'Nephews or nieces' (Ann. Rep. 31, p. 489). He saw no need to elicit kin terms – but added a list of native terms to 'substantiate' his model. Unfortunately the list makes no sense; he glibly adds: 'The terms "brother", "sister", "cousin," must be understood in their Tsimshian sense' – which happens to be Boas' sense (p. 495). Inscrutable texts make it difficult to examine details.

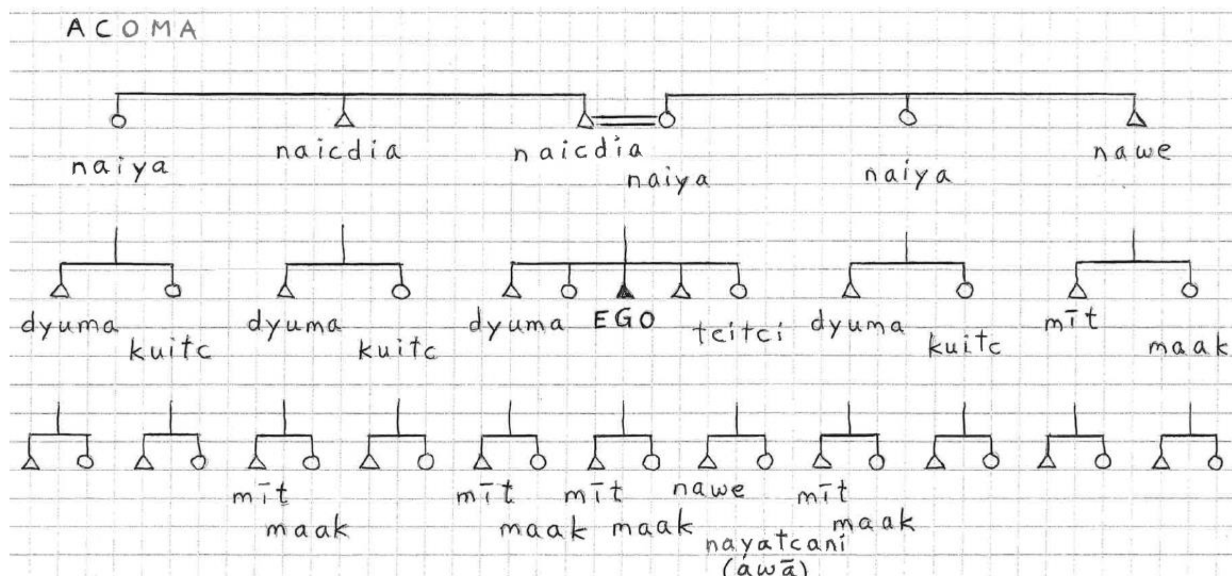
Ethnologists by-and-large avoided the complexities of California kinship, preferring to describe it in Yankee terms. Kroeber complains that Miwok has no 'term' for 'uncle' (Bull. 78, p. 457). He does not offer a terminology; possibly it was patrilineal, possibly Omaha, since a MoBrDa is called the same as MoSi (p. 458). Preferred marriage would be with a (classificatory) MoMoBrSoDa, which Kroeber finds 'quite shocking' to 'civilized people', who, incidentally, marry any kin (p. 458).

Among the Yokuts 'the husband lived with his wife's people', which Kroeber found 'remarkable', since he thought Yokuts 'reckoned descent paternally with reference to exogamy and totemism' (Bull. 78, p. 493). Probably residence was both uxorilocal and patrilocal; the moiety and phratry of both husband and wife would be in every community. More peculiar is the statement that a man 'with several wives' was 'married in as many villages, dividing his time between his various households'; this may be due to historical

circumstances such as a shortage of men due to many being killed by whites (p. 493). Kin 'of any known degree of relationship' could not marry; this rule of exogamy included 'namesakes', people of the same clan (p. 493). Apparently preferential marriage was with a (classificatory) MoMoBrDaDa. Kroeber postulated descent to be patrilineal, in the form of totemic clans (p. 494). This is about all we get to learn about California kinship from BAE publications.



One ethnologist collected an impressive set of kin terms from 30 Basin-Plateau groups; unfortunately he did not collect a complete set of terms (Bull. 120, p. 297-306). Note that the terms for MoBr and SiSo, and FaSi and BrCh in some cases are reciprocal, indicating closeness to mother's and father's clans. This might become clearer if more terms from the descending generation were collected.



A partial Acoma kinship system is given; it does not quite fit the Crow terminology, nor the Hawaiian (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 40). Similar uncertainties appear from other Pueblo data. Sia kinship apparently has changed in post-contact times from a Crow terminology to an approximate Hawaiian system; with 'nephew' and 'niece' terms used for cross-sibling's

children (Bull. 184, p. 194). More systematic data would be needed to clarify such developments.

Kin terms were for the most part poorly elicited by ethnologists. In the case of Isleta two terms for 'aunt' were given, ky'uu and aiya, besides two words for 'mother', inke' and nana (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 219-220). It would be nice to know how these terms were actually used. Some confusing examples are given, such as inue'i, 'son', used for women's FaSiSo, FaSiSoSo, FaBrDaSo and MoBrDaSo! – As with totemism, pueblos seem to evince a modified system of kinship, not fully matrilineal nor bilateral. This seems to suit the ethnologist just fine, who mainly thinks in terms of Yankee kin.

One woman ethnologist found great joy in Zuni households. 'The domestic life of the Zunis might well serve as an example for the civilized world. As has been stated, the husband lives with the wife's parents… several families under the same roof'. They 'do not have large families'. In the evening parents looked after their children, and old people were present (Ann. Rep. 23, p. 293). On this qualitative note the perusal of North American kinship ends. It can be asked if the ethnologist understood Zuni kinship at all; she simply felt at home in the atmosphere of a native home.

Ethnologists managed to retrograde from Morgan's work, who identified a few universal types of kin terminologies. In BAE accounts the renderings instead become idiosyncratic and variable. No doubt this suited the ethnocentric approach of Bureau scholars, who uniformly used the individual and nuclear family as basic units. Beyond this they saw little point in uncovering the complexities of social life. That in doing so they did a disservice to the continued understanding of native life, without ethnocentric coloring, became a secondary concern. If the precise kinship terminology of every North American tribe had been documented and placed on a map, an amazing reality would be revealed. For instance, east of the Rockies the Iroquoian terminology is found in the north, the Omaha terminology in the central region, and the Crow terminology outside, in the Southeast and on the upper Missouri. This in turn could lead to exciting postulations about social networks and social fields linking up with intertribal trade, confederacies and cross-continent networks. The distribution of bilateral, matrilineal and patrilineal descent is directly linked to the types of economic, social and political networks people were engaged in; what Grønhaug might call a 'total social field'. Yet ethnologists would never go there, so this will have to remain uncharted territory for now.

For South America our knowledge about kinship becomes even more sketchy. In Guiana ethnologists not surprisingly found that Arawak kinship is similar to British, such as for the terms 'uncle', 'aunt' and 'cousin'. No attempt was made to elicit lateral kin, such as MoBrSo or FaSiDa (Ann. Rep. 38, p. 675). A typical opaque remark is made about some whites claiming that natives had no 'marriage ceremonies', and others saying they had 'many'. A note is made that this is contradictory; but the ethnologist must not judge which is right (p. 680). 'Polygamy was practiced throughout the length and breadth of the Guianas'; aghast!

Among the Betoi in Colombia marriage was 'forbidden with relatives to the fifth degree', resulting in marriage outside a 'local, exogamous group' (Bull. 143, v. 4, p. 395). This echoes earlier finds on local exogamy in North America, and strongly hints at an exogamic totemic clan system.

The South American handbook claimed that residence rules in the 'western' tropical forest were 'patrilocal' and marriage was 'exogamous'. Further east, in 'the Guianas, matrilocal residence prevails' (Bull. 143, v. 33, p. 29). Needless to say conditions would be far more complex; residence could be both matri- and patrilocal, while exogamy probably was universal.

Residence rules often are simplified in ethnological texts; not to mention kin terminologies. Matrilocality is mentioned for some tribes such as: Caraja, Mataco, Mbaya, Timbira, Bororo, etc. (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 302, 326, 389; v. 3, p. 186). Other cases were patrilocal: Pilaga, Sherente, etc. (v. 1, p. 326, 389). Or cases can be both patri- and matrilocal: Mataco, Pilaga, Cayapo, Coroado, etc. (v. 1, p. 528). A tribe can be patrilineal and matrilocal, like Mataco, or matrilineal and patrilocal; basically people were both patri- and matrilocal (v. 1, p. 302).

The frustrating realization is that such statements say virtually nothing about kinship systems. More data is needed. First the use of kin terms, the kinship terminology, must be elicited, preferably in a systematic and methodical fashion. Next the existence of local groups of kin, such as household and totemic clans, need to be established. This should say something about rules of descent and how family members are recruited through marriage and otherwise. Then residence rules and the actual residence of marriage partners would be interesting; but only then. Starting with marriage and residence is like working backwards into uncertainty. A map showing the distribution of kinship terminologies probably would be as intriguing and exciting as in North America; but the information is lacking.

Kinship studies by and large are about asking people how they use kin terms to refer to people. Ethnologists did this listlessly. As a sort of consolation, the ethnologies tie residence to descent, indicating that many tribes have lineal descent groups, so-called matrilineal and patrilineal clans. This lifts the presentation squarely into the topic of social organization and integration, as represented by local clans. A closer and extensive look at this demanding topic will be attempted next. In fact, this will be the main topic in this treatise – so reader, steel yourself.

Clanship and social classification in the north and east

There is a received view that totemic clans represent unified structures, like corporations. Reality is very different. There are individual totems, as well as family, clan, moiety, village, band and tribal totems. A tribe will consist of several bands, a band of several villages, a village of many clans, a clan of several families, and a family of several individuals. Each unit will have its own totem. A person can be a mouse, a family a white wolf, a clan wolf, a village crow, a band horse, a tribe turkey, and there may even be a level beyond that, such as the ancient Fire Nation, a tribal confederacy. The primary level of totemic social organization would be in a village, a local community. Put differently, totemism entails the complementary organization of family groups or clans in a village. Indian villages were organized as a collection of complementary clans, usually specified as a definite number, such as 10 or 12. These clans often would form a circle of houses around the central plaza in a village.

Any study of totemic clans should start at this level, e.g., local clans in a village. But ethnologists believed that clans were of the European type, large corporate units that spanned an entire society. In fact, clans, or rather totems, spanned the American continent, in that e.g., wolves would be found everywhere, but they were not corporated or organized as exclusive units. Each totemic clan belonged to a village along with a complement of other clans that managed local resources and interests. The village or local community was the basic social unit, not the clan. It was at the village or community level that the totemic clan system spread outwards to embrace everything from individual members to multi-tribal unions. Any understanding of totemism would have to start with local communities.

I have taken some liberties in representing the totemic units of different Indian societies. This is because ethnologists were reluctant to refer to totems, and often presented very limited views of clanship in native societies. To alleviate this weakness, various sources have been used to supplement ethnological references to totems. The result is startling, dozens of totems are found in societies that are represented as having few clans. This material is so extensive that it has not been possible to list references for every totem found. Instead the reader is asked to view this as a kind of exemplary and aggregative material. By looking at the number of totems found in different societies it is possible to get a more composite and nuanced view of the complexities involved. But the diversity of totems should not be taken literally; some 60 totems are found in the Shawnee tribe, but each village only had 12 clans. The suggestion is more to get an overview of the range of natural referents that serve as available totems in a tribe, and from which local selections are made. (The reader is asked to view the distribution of local clans in relation to the earlier presentation of native villages and communities.)

Dorsey defines a clan as ‘a number of consanguinei, claiming descent from a common ancestor, and having a common taboo’ (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 213). This is like climbing out of bed and falling into an abyss. A totemic clan does not have a common ancestor, unless every animal associated with the totem is that ancestor. They share a totem, not a taboo, and the totem is a relationship of a clan with one of a series of animals that serve as complementary symbols for a finite number of other clans in a village. It is the series of clans in a village that is the totemic system, not the original descent of one clan from one animal. The genealogical analogy, based on European aristocracy, obscures the social nature of totemism and leads to disastrous determinism and objectivism. The only way to analyze totemic clans is to describe

their distribution in each village. People with totems may see them as mythical ancestors, but scholars need to see the picture on the ground.

Ethnologists needlessly complicated things by using words such as clan, gens, gentes, sib, etc. Here all such words will be used as synonymous. Local descent groups will be called clans throughout.

As before in this treatise a starting point will be Eskimo culture. In western Alaska the Eskimo had 'a regular system of totem marks' and 'gentes' or clans. Interestingly the investigating ethnologist in 1877-81 wrote that it 'was extremely difficult' to get information about totems, without explaining why; probably people did not want to tell their names to strangers (Ann. Rep. 18, p. 322). An alternative explanation is that the ethnologist was a pilferer; his main interest was to collect objects such as carvings, and he managed to grab 10,000 'specimens' on short trips.

Totemic clans were called 'uchohuk'. Among totem marks collected, the wolf clan was prominent. Wolf women wore 'strips of wolfskin in their hair'; wolf men had a 'wolf tail' hanging from their belt. Supposedly it was a custom 'for all to wear some mark' of their totem. Men would carry raven feet, hawk feathers and dog-bones to indicate their clan. Totem marks could be worn as tattoos; a hint at today's fad. One readily identifiable mark was a bird's foot, 'a tridentate mark'. This may have been universal not only among the Eskimo but in America and around the globe. Such marks, lines, circles and triangles, could be modified or elaborated to indicate a specific totem animal. A V-symbol represented the wake of a swimming animal, like a seal (Ann. Rep. 18, p. 325). 'All of these marks have totemic meanings', which the ethnologist did not have the 'opportunity' to investigate; he was busy packing his loot of artefacts (p. 327).

Eskimo totems included: fish, loach, seal, walrus, dolphin, whale, bird, raven, plover, gull, cormorant, crane, goose, hawk, ger-falcon, owl, bear, red-bear, polar-bear, mink, wolf, dog, otter, sea-otter, land-otter, ermine, deer, reindeer, mountain-goat, rabbit or hare, earth, sky, sun, moon, tobacco, black, red, blue, bow, etc. As noted, these symbols are collated from various sources, too extensive to be individually referred to; a main source is: (Ann. Rep. 18). A totem could be distinguished by colors such as red and black; perhaps an indication of moieties or phratries.

Unfortunately the ethnologist who reported on totems never examined the distribution of clans in a village. He was too occupied with collecting 'specimens' such as spearheads and other objects with totem marks. In one village, 'Sabotnisky', he found a wolf painted on a door. A local man told him that: 'All of our people' have 'marks … handed down by our fathers from very long ago'. Other local totems included 'red bear' and 'loach' (Ann. Rep. 18, p. 326). Probably there were at least 3 clans or phratries in each Eskimo settlement. A basic pattern could be bird, land animal and water animal, repeated in pairs. Such a 3-partite system could be found from Pangnirtung in the east to Yukon River in the west. The Eskimo, unbeknownst to many, had a local totemic clan system. In this they would be paralleled by native peoples in North and South America.

For Athapascan tribes our knowledge is sketchy. One study of the Carrier Indians indicates that their totemic clans and phratries were influenced by Tsimshian practices; also that the population was decimated by epidemics such as smallpox (Bull. 133, p. 486). A vague system of 6 clans in 3 phratries appears: (sun), beaver, owl, whale, wolf, raven, frog, (rock); such as

at the fishing village of 'Rock-foot' (p. 486). Among the Carrier people the totems could include: fish, whale, frog, bird, robin, raven, heron, crane, eagle, owl, bear, wolf, caribou, elk, horse, beaver, rock, water, sun, etc. Each clan would occupy one or more houses in a village, and each village would have a set number of totemic clans, such as 8 or 10. Descent 'followed the female line' (p. 487). The clan composition of every local group would be a matter for research, mostly ignored by ethnologists.

Moving on to the Algonquian tribes we find a world of totemic references. Arapaho clans and totems could include: fish, turtle, bird, magpie, hawk, owl, bear, weasel, fox, coyote, deer, antelope, buffalo, grasshopper, pipe, sun, etc. There are some indications of dual clans, such as 'White Plume', 'Black Feather', 'White Hawk', 'Black Fox' and 'White Antelope' (Bull. 119, p. 83; Bull. 148, p. 61). By dual clan is meant that a local clan can be represented by two families, differentiated by words such as 'white' and 'black'. This distinction often is associated with a moiety makeup, for instance that a village is divided into two sides. Yet dual clans always belong to or occupy the same position in the village, and the moiety allusion becomes an example of crisscrossing local ties; parts of one clan tentatively (but not quite) were identified with the other side of the village. This somewhat complex phenomenon is mentioned here because it will appear in many tribes as the description moves on. However, our knowledge of Arapaho ethnology is sketchy. For instance, a better knowledge of personal names could help elucidate the prevalence of totemic references. A name such as 'Weasel Bear' could indicate that both names belong to one clan (Bull. 119, p. 74).

The ethnology of 'prairie' tribes such as the Cheyenne is marked by historical conditions, when the tribe had been dislodged from its ancient homeland. The tribal 'camping circle' would represent bands camping together on the Great Plains. The bands recorded included Evits-unipahis, Sutaya, Isiumi-teniuw, Hewa-teniuw, Oivimana, Witapiu, Hotami-teniuw, Otugunu, Hmisis, Anskowinis and Pinutgu. Names of former bands or settlements could include Matsishkota and Miayuma. One name referred to a 'corpse', perhaps indicative of earlier epidemics and population loss. Some of these groups, such as Sutaya, once were independent tribes. Needless to say a list of bands say little about totemic clans. Possible totems include: crow, eagle, bear, wolf, coyote, dog, knife, lodge, corpse, etc. BAE texts say little about Cheyenne clans (Ann. Rep. 14; Bull. 30, pt. 2, p. 250f).

Eastern Algonquian totemic systems are both known and obscure. The Mohegan tribe had totemic clans such as: fish, eel, turtle, mud-turtle, bird, turkey, chicken, crane, hawk, bear, wolf, dog, deer, opossum, etc. (Contrib. 4, p. 16). These were divided into 3 phratries, animals with fur, with shells and with feathers; wolf, turtle and turkey. As the tribe was virtually annihilated only the 3 phratry groups remained, smaller clans not being sustained by the diminished local population. This led to the simplified view that they only had 3 clans, a modern condition.

The social organization of the Lenape or Delaware tribe is an enigma. This is because totemism spanned the society from individuals via families, clans and villages up to tribal divisions and the tribe itself. Each unit had its totem or mark, but ethnologists and others basically assumed that all the levels were the same; whereas clans only made sense in a local or village setting. First of all there were at least 5 tribal divisions, Kechemekes, Naraticons or Unalachtigo, Unami, Unalimi and Munsee, identified with totems such as fish, turkey, turtle, deer and wolf (Weslager 1972, p. 34-38). Two divisions quickly were decimated in post-contact times, leaving 3 bands with turtle, turkey and wolf as 'tribal' totems (Bull. 62, p. 13). By simple transposition it was assumed that these must be the only totems, a person would

belong to one of the three tribal groups and share its totem. This fiction was practically forced on the tribe through numerous land cessions in the 18th century. To get a cession all that was needed were three ‘signatures’, turtle, turkey and wolf.

The local situation and social organization were a different matter. A Delaware village included two sides or moieties and three phratries, for a minimum of 6 clans. The phratries did indeed include turtle, turkey and wolf, or animals with scales, feathers and fur, but many clan animals could fit into each phratry. Animals with scales included fish, turtle and snake. Birds included turkey, crane and hawk. Furry animals included wolf, bear and deer. Hosts of other creatures and objects could be adopted as totems, including corn and rock.

No doubt the Delawares originally had a similar span of totems as the Mohegans: fish, turtle, snake, bird, turkey, crane, hawk, eagle, bear, raccoon, wolf, fox, deer, elk, beaver, rabbit, rock, star, corn etc. People named Fox and Beaver may attest to this complexity. Only as the population was catastrophically decimated in historic times did the practice of reckoning 3 phratry-like clans emerge, causing much confusion among whites and others with no local knowledge. A Delaware community would still have 6 or more clan groups.

This complexity of local clans becomes even more evident for Central Algonquian people. One BAE study of the Chippewa nation may be called a list of traits, artefacts and practices (Bull. 86). The main informant was a mostly white woman (p. 4). Yet almost by chance there would be interesting information about some aspects of local social organization.

Chippewa totems included: fish, pike, whitefish, catfish, sucker, sturgeon, turtle or tortoise, snake, rattlesnake, seal, mussel, bird, grouse, pigeon, finch or sparrow, swallow, loon, duck, cormorant, goose, crane, gull, pelican, eagle, bald-eagle, hawk, goshawk, falcon, owl, buzzard, bear, badger, wolverine, raccoon, marten, otter, wolf, dog, lynx, deer, caribou, moose, elk, horse, cow, beaver, squirrel, ground-squirrel, rabbit or hare, porcupine, horn, earth, stone or rock, mountain, water, water-monster, underwater-lynx, cloud, rain, mist, sky, sun, moon, star, light, day, wind, south, thunder or thunderbird, lightning, grasshopper, spider, tree, knife, rope, money, merman, etc. Among the Chippewa personal names hint at dual clans, such as White Crane, Black Hawk, Black Bear, etc. Suggested phratry systems could be: bird-animal-fish, bird-fish-animal, or fish-bird-animal.

People, not least whites among the Chippewa, would try to hone down the number of clans to a manageable number, such as 21. Of these, 5-6 were said to be original; awause, businause, ahahwauk, noka, monsone, and perhaps waubishashe; later given as: ‘crane, catfish, bear, marten, wolf, and loon’ (Bull. 86, p. 10). Those 6 supposedly ‘comprise’ 80% of the tribe. This would depend on which part of the wide-reaching Chippewa nation one was in. More interesting is a native pairing of clans; bear and marten, crane and eagle, sturgeon and catfish were paired off in native statements; these neatly fit into a phratry pattern, and probably one of moieties as well: (1) bear, crane, sturgeon, and (2) marten, eagle, catfish (ibid.).

One informant described 6 families residing around an open space or plaza in winter and summer villages at Mille Lacs ca. 1840, a fire spot marking the center (Bull. 86, p. 120-122). Clan descent was in ‘the male line’, and clans were exogamous (Bull. 86, p. 10). Residence could be matrilocal or patrilocal.

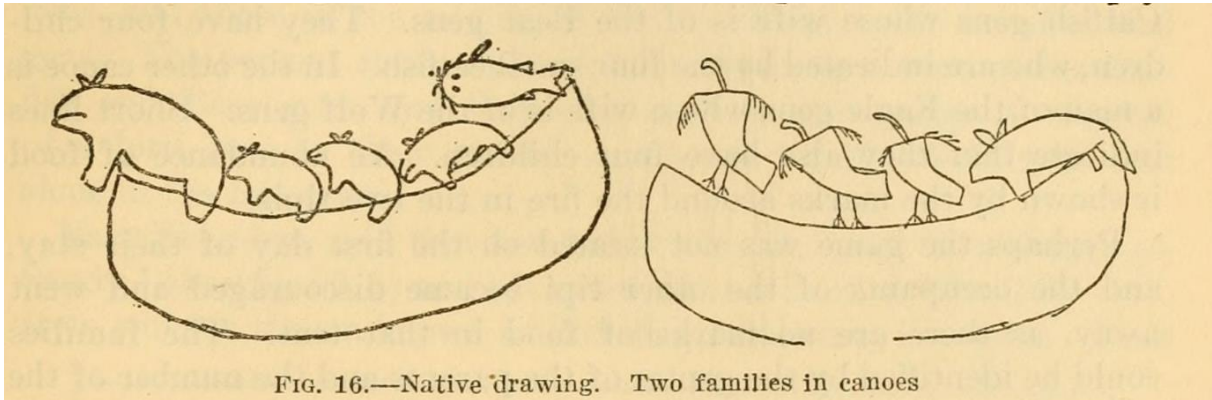


FIG. 16.—Native drawing. Two families in canoes

One remarkable piece of information concerns messages drawn on bark with totem-marks (Bull. 86, p. 176-183). These referred to the childhood of Nawachipikokwe at White Earth around 1840. They show families in canoes, and document 3 exogamous phratries; snake and catfish; woodpecker, crane and eagle; and bear, wolf and beaver. Fishes, birds and animals constitute exogamous units; a bear man can have a catfish wife and little bear children (canoe on the left), and an eagle man can have a bear wife and eagle children, but birds do not marry each other, nor do fishes or animals. There are no bear-wolf marriages. Admittedly the sample is small (10 canoes), but it is intriguing, probably far beyond what Densmore imagined. This is totemism in action, a totemic universe.

Chippewa communities can be described as having 3 phratries and 2 moieties, in a system of 6 clans or more (Bull. 86, p. 10). Clans and phratries were exogamous, and to some extent moieties also. This vouched for wider social networks and some integration of larger social systems, regional bands and tribal groupings. People had to travel far to find spouses.

Related tribes such as Ottawa and Potawatomi could help expand our understanding of Central Algonquian clanship; unfortunately this information is lacking. A few Ottawa totems are mentioned: hawk (pipikwen), moose (mons), and rabbit (wapus) (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 44).

A list of Menomini clan totems might include: fish, sturgeon, sunfish, snake, turtle, frog, bird, partridge, pigeon, crow, raven, duck, coot, heron, crane, eagle, bald-eagle, hawk, swift-hawk, sparrow-hawk, red-tail hawk, winter-hawk, buzzard, bear, otter, marten, fisher, wolf, dog, deer, elk, moose, beaver, muskrat, porcupine, squirrel, rabbit or hare, rain, tree, plant, reed, earth, stone, corn, rice, tobacco, sky, thunder, fire, wind, good spirit, etc. Thunder was 'represented by' eagle; that is, these were similar creatures.

One story listed: good spirit (mashemanito), bear (owasse, nanohke) (E), eagle (kinew), thunder (inemehkiw) (W), beaver (nomai, namakokiw, powatinôt), sturgeon (nomaew), elk (omaskos), wolf (mohwaio) (N), crane (otetshia) (N), dog (anem) (N), deer (apeshosh) (N), rain, tree, plant, earth, corn, rice, fire, wind. Clan totems that are omitted in the story include: turtle (mihkeno), sunfish (nakoti), crow (kakake), raven (inahtek), duck (osse), coot (okawasiku), heron (shakshaken), hawk (shawanani), swift-hawk (pakeshchekew), sparrow-hawk (keshewatoshe), red-tail hawk (mahkowkani), winter-hawk (pekikekone), bald-eagle (pineshiw), buzzard (opashkoshi), marten (wapeshiw), fisher (wochik), otter (mikek), moose (mons), porcupine (kitemi), squirrel (onawanink), muskrat (o'sass), and rabbit or hare. One ethnologist observed that earlier 'there were a greater number of totems among the Menomini'; at the same time he notes roughly 40 totems, a full complement (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 39). Many clans were said to have become 'extinct' due to European-American influences

such as epidemics. The same word was used for ‘totems or gentes’; the bear clan was called ‘owasi-totemi’. In a modern expostulation, different clans were placed in ‘phratries’, partly survivors of earlier independent bands and villages, partly a grouping of similar animals (p. 42). (Note: E = east, W = west, N = north; indicating a local clan distribution).

A tentative reconstruction of the totemic clan distribution in a Menomini village, starting in the west clockwise, would be: (thunder), turtle, crow, bear, wolf, deer, beaver; fish, hawk, otter, wildcat, elk, rabbit, (earth). The northern moiety may have been called ‘oshkosh’, ‘claw’; the southern perhaps kishko, ‘cutter’. This pattern would be found also in other tribes.

The ethnologist duly records that ‘the several totems’ were ‘congregated and united into an organized body for mutual benefit’ (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 42). That is, they formed a system of totemic clans distributed in a complementary way around the village circle. Of interest in Menomini ethnology is a reference to clan stories, stories that tell about the totemic origin of each clan (p. 39). Not only clans, but also villages, bands and whole tribes would have such origin stories, that usually contained a totemic reference.

The researcher found it ‘interesting’ that people with the same totem were considered to be related, not only in the Menomini tribe, but also in other tribes like Chippewa and those speaking unrelated languages such as Winnebago. A Menomini bear was ‘of the same kinship’ as a Sioux bear (p. 43). The perspective that is missing is that clans in all the tribes are distributed, so a person would find bears in every village, as well as deer, wolf and other totems.

Sauk clans and totems could be: fish, sturgeon, bass, black-bass, ringed-perch, trout, turtle, snake, bird, grouse, turkey, duck, goose, swan, hawk, eagle, bald eagle, buzzard, owl, bear, black bear, weasel, wolf, dog, fox, wildcat, lynx, panther, deer, elk, buffalo, beaver, squirrel, rabbit, earth, bone, big-tree, bear-potato, sea, great-lake, sky, sun, day, fire, thunder, etc. Totems could be conceived as linked; for instance, fire was associated with ‘Great Lynx’ (Harrington 1914, p. 160).

Dual clans are indicated by names such as Black Thunder and White Thunder (Harrington 1914, p. 143). Sauk moieties were: oshkasha aka ashkasha, black or war, and kishkoha aka kishkoa, white or peace. In prehistory these occupied opposite sides around the village plaza, ashkasha on the north side, kishkoha south, and were associated with a distinct set of clans. In historic times villages were depopulated and scattered, and moieties referred instead to children’s birth order, sons alternately being named into one or the other moiety (New Handbook 15, p. 650). This points to a former dual system of clans, such as black and white wolf; wolves could be on the north side, but were represented by two descent groups so that ties to both sides were maintained. Clan representatives, usually older men, Black Wolf and White Wolf, would occupy the same house, but White Wolf would be linked to the other moiety through his name. If this sounds complex, it is only scratching the surface of totemic complexity. But the basic system is simple: a definite number of totemic clans, perhaps 12, were arranged around the village plaza.

Based on various sources, such as Sauk and Fox clan feasts, a suggested village clan distribution can be hypothesized: (north side): (oshkasha moiety): (thunder), sturgeon, bird, bear, wolf, deer, beaver; (south side:) perch, hawk, raccoon, wildcat, elk, rabbit, (sea): (kishko moiety). There would be room for countless permutations, but they would follow the set pattern of a distinct number of clans. Thus a lynx or panther totem could take the place of

wildcat; bass and trout could take the place of sturgeon and perch; and buffalo could take the place of deer, as later would happen when the tribe moved west. But the number of clans would be definitive and restricted; there would be no free addition to the number of local clans.

As brutally as it may sound this was virtually mandatory in order to keep up an organized local community that did not exceed its resources. Villages had a set and limited number of people. The main contrast here would be to tribal centers, large villages or towns that could exceed 1000 inhabitants. These would be the exceptions that proved the rule. Once a center over-used its resources, it would be abandoned, and the process of building a central town would start over. Of course it cannot be proven that every Sauk village had the same number of clans, but clan-lists made much later would indicate that the local number always was strictly limited.

Fox clan lists included (by year): 1672: eagle, bear, fox, beaver; 1826: bass, pheasant, grouse, swan, bear, wolf, fox, elk; 1830: sturgeon, ringed perch, grouse, eagle, bear, wolf, fox, deer, water, sea, thunder, bear-potato; 1869: fish, sturgeon, eagle, hawk, bear, wolf, fox, deer, buffalo, elk, bone, sea, thunder, big tree; 1895: sturgeon, bass, eagle, bald eagle, grouse, swan, bear, raccoon, otter, wolf, fox, wildcat, elk, beaver, bear-potato, sea, thunder; 1906: sturgeon, bass, pheasant, grouse, swan, eagle, bear, black bear, brown bear, raccoon, otter, wolf, coyote, fox, wildcat, lynx, big lynx, panther, buffalo, elk, beaver, rabbit, red rabbit, bear potato, sea, thunder, peace chief (Bull. 125, p. 72f).

Taken together, the following clan appellations may occur among the Fox: fish, sturgeon, bass, ringed-perch, trout, turtle, snapping-turtle, snake, bird or feather, hummingbird, pigeon, grouse, quail, partridge, pheasant, prairie-chicken, crow, turkey, duck, swan, hawk, eagle, bald eagle, owl, bear, brown bear, black bear, raccoon, skunk, otter, wolf, coyote, dog, fox, wildcat, lynx, panther, deer, buffalo, moose, elk, horse, beaver, mouse, squirrel, rabbit, earth, rock, flint, water, sea, cloud, rainbow, sky, sun, star, night, fire, thunder, lightning, bone, tree, oak, flower, bear-potato, tobacco, chief, peace-chief, war-chief, etc.

Quail, pheasant, grouse, partridge and prairie-chicken may refer to roughly the same totem; as may eagle and bald eagle; as well as bear, brown bear and black bear; and wildcat or bobcat, lynx, big lynx and panther. Eagle and hawk can refer to the same clan. Fox can refer to a clan but also to the tribe as a whole. Many totems were interconnected in stories; an owl sacred pack was found by Black Rainbow and his niece, Deer-Horn; mythic associations included night, oak and flower (Bull. 72). Appellations such as ‘big lynx’, ‘red rabbit’ and ‘big tree’ may be personal names. Dual clans may be indicated by names such as ‘black rainbow’. The term ‘peace chief’ or ‘Kindly chief’ may refer to a clan position, but it also refers to an official role. As will be noted elsewhere, one myth refers to 14 sacred bundles, which may refer to the number of clans in a pre-contact village.

The appearance of clans in lists at various times is interesting. Raccoon appears from 1895, perhaps taking over from bear; or it may have been there all along. In 1906 raccoon was said to be a part of the eagle clan; presumably due to its decimation (Bull. 125, p. 74). Coyote may be a substitute for wolf in 1906. Buffalo appears after the tribe was forced west. Beaver appears in 1672 and next in 1906; it may have been there all along. What clans are listed would depend on who is being asked. In 1906 two clans, thunder and bear held 50% of the population; obviously a recent development. Elk had 1 member, while 19% of the people had no known totem; most likely they kept it secret (Bull. 125, p. 75).

Clans were exogamous. Older genealogies confirmed this, while in 1906 the rule was broken in 15% of the cases (Bull. 125, p. 77). Much had happened since the year 1500. In a commentary, it was noted that a person's totemic belonging is not definite, a bear woman could be fox, a wolf man could be bear, and so on (p. 78). The system was flexible.

Fox moieties were: to'kâna, black or war, and kishkoha, white or peace. Tokana apparently was a Siouan word. Among other functions, moieties were opposed in lacrosse games (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 361). Their quite wide significance is expanded in other writings, such as exogamy, ceremonial roles at clan feasts, etc. (Bull. 72, p. 11). Clans in opposite moieties performed ritual services for each other, such as at funerals and clan feasts. Based on such reciprocal relations it would be possible to see which clan was in which moiety, except that by 1895-1906 only 5 clans were active; of these bear and wolf might be in the north moiety and eagle and fox in the south one; the fifth clan, Thunder, could refer to a chiefly position, or it could be identified with eagle. Earlier data might place lynx and elk in the south moiety (Bull. 125, p. 79-80). An observation is made that children are alternately placed in the white and black moiety by their parents; this would not affect the position of their clan, that would be either on the north (black) or south (white) side of the village. The implication is that the Fox tribe had dual clans; two men, White Wolf and Black Wolf, would head respective families in the wolf clan on the north side of the village plaza (Bull. 125, p. 81).

An intricate color symbolism could be related to social groups. In Fox views, green and white stands for peace. Green was reserved for the head chief, while white is for the kishko moiety. Red and black symbolizes war and death. Black is for the to'kâna moiety, while red could be war paint and hence represent the war chief (Bull. 125, p. 24-25).

The complementary character of clans in a village is exemplified by clan stories or jokes. Members of totemic clans would tell amusing stories about each other; also more spontaneous joking. This lore was mutual; other clans would retort with their own jokes and stories. An example would be a fox and wolf 'cycle' of myths (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 27). One aspect of clan continuity was the adoption of people to take the place of someone who died (Bull. 125, p. 65).

By contrast to the kindred Sauk and Fox tribes, Kickapoo clan totems are poorly known. Suggested designations include: fish, turtle, snake, bird, hawk, buzzard, bear, raccoon, wolf, fox, panther, wildcat, deer, buffalo, horse, beaver, rabbit, etc.

Totemic clan systems have their own logic. To take the Shawnee tribe as an example: Their social organization originally consisted of 12 clans, that were reduced to 6 due to population decimation (Selstad 1986, p. 38). Territorial bands that originally might have 5000 members could be reduced to 70 people in 1890. Originally the 12 clans occupied spatial positions in the social organization of villages. They were distributed around the village plaza together with 2 chiefly clans. In a Great Pekowi village the positioning could be: (peace chief), turtle, turkey, raccoon, wolf, deer, beaver; fish, hawk, bear, wildcat, elk, rabbit, (war chief). Small variations could occur, for instance, eagle could take the place of hawk, panther could replace wildcat, and so on, but the system of clan positions remained the same. It was said that every Shawnee village originally followed this system of 12 clans and 2 chiefs.

Since the largest Shawnee village held approximately 1500 people in pre-contact times (a guestimate), it would have a kind of expansion of the 12-clan system. There would be a

central area where the 12 clans were represented, and surrounding clusters representing other geographical divisions of the tribe. This large town was the tribal capital, perhaps located at today's Cincinnati. It housed the tribal leadership and had room for representatives from all subdivisions of the tribe. In addition to being a political center it was a trade and manufacturing center. There would be specialist groups such as potters and healers. There would be extra positions and activities related to learning, production, food distribution and other functions. There might even be a training arena for wrestlers, for which the Shawnee were famous. But the social organization into 12 clans remained the defining feature in every Shawnee village throughout the pre-contact tribal territory. It helped people organize their lives according to available resources.

The reader will have to excuse if this presentation at times seems tedious and repetitive. Since ethnologists never tried to systematize their knowledge of social organization, it is necessary to sift through any and all information to gain an overview of what they found out. The perplexing assortment of details does not grow less when turning to the Iroquoian peoples.

In a heedless attempt to describe what totemic clans were, Powell listed them as 'mythologic' and 'religious', related to 'medicines', 'festivals' and 'games' (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 59f). He forgot the real issue, social differentiation and integration. He did note that the Wyandot 'civil government' was based on totemic clans; the clans in each village collectively formed the council and appointed chiefs (p. 61). Then he mistakenly thought that each clan had its own council. What he was dealing with was different levels of social organization, from individual and family to clan, village, band, tribe and tribal confederacy. Every level had its own totem, but only villages and wider levels had councils. He claimed that 'formerly' the Wyandot chief belonged to the bear clan, but now was chosen from deer. The explanation was that epidemics had killed 'all the wise men' of the bear clan; that is, the men of that clan who were eligible to be chiefs (p. 62). No doubt the situation was more complex. Of the six or seven tribal units that originally constituted the Huron and Tionontati tribes, the remnant was now coalesced into the Wyandot tribe, with an isolated Huron offshoot in Canada (Trigger 1969, p. 2). This meant that the chiefs of each band, who might be bear, deer, wolf, porcupine, rock and so on, now had to vie for positions in the one remaining band. This was partly solved by creating ceremonial positions, such as wolf being 'the herald and the sheriff of the tribe'. So-called phratries, probably old tribal bands, included one with bear, deer and turtle, a second with three turtle clans, a third with hawk, beaver and wolf, and a fourth with snake and porcupine. It must have been the remnants of different tribes and bands that Powell contrived to call 'phratries', no doubt because of the small number of survivors (p. 60). Ethnologists would make such misinterpretations routinely for all severely reduced tribes.

Several studies tried to reconstruct the Huron and Wyandot social structure. 'Wyandot Government' was based on clan membership (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 59f). Totems included: fish, turtle, snake, bird, turkey, snipe, hawk, bear, raccoon, wolf, wildcat, lynx, deer, elk, moose, beaver, porcupine, rabbit, hare, earth, rock, sky, etc. One known list of Wyandot clans had: turtle, wolf, bear, beaver, deer, hawk, porcupine and snake (New Handbook v. 15, p. 371). A typical mistake among ethnologists was to see clans as corporate groups; together they 'constitute the tribe' (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 60). Obviously a clan would never be all together, bearers of the totem would be distributed across different Wyandot communities, along with other clan totems. Clans were local and complementary, they had to be understood by how they were distributed in relation to each other in a village layout.

‘The camp of the tribe’ or of a village ‘is in an open circle or horse-shoe’, and the clans ‘camp in’ the ‘following order, beginning on the left and going around to the right’, possibly west-north-east-south (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 64). The order could be: (war chief), turtle, snipe, wolf, moose or elk, beaver; snake, hawk, bear, deer, porcupine, (peace chief). Or: (sky), turtle, snipe, wolf, bear, deer, beaver; snake, hawk, lynx, raccoon, moose, porcupine, (earth). The schedule has been modified to give a more general order of clans. In the original text, deer is placed first, no doubt because it filled the position of main or peace chief; while bear is placed next, as second or war chief. Different types of turtle presumably represent remnants of families from many different villages and bands, now living in one community, and needing to distinguish each other. The alternative would be to adopt new animal totems, which is hard to do if they are all turtles. Powell intriguingly says that ‘the oldest family is placed on the left, and the youngest on the right’; probably a spatial sequence is meant, which also is followed in processions: ‘the order of travel follows the analogy of encampment’, with one adjustment, the peace chief goes first (p. 64).

In the Huron nation clans were matrilineal and exogamous; a Huron could not marry in his or her mother’s or father’s clan including first cousins (New Handbook v. 15, p. 370). Residence was matrilocal or mixed. Intriguingly Powell claimed that Wyandot clans remained exogamous in 1880, even though only one percent of the population remained. A man could not marry his MoSiDa, but could marry a FaSiDa, since ‘she belongs to a different’ clan; a matriliny (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 63). This would be a loosening of older rules of exogamy, probably made necessary by depopulation. The only reason why exogamy was still practiced, may be that most tribal members were of white descent. Those few who had Indian blood would marry whites to avoid the exogamy restraints. Of course, whites could marry anybody regardless of relationships.

For the Wyandot it was said that ‘women councillors’ partitioned agricultural land among the clans. This would automatically restrict the use of land to clans that were part of the village circle. Clans were not allowed to change their tract of land without ‘the consent of the tribe’ or village council. People who were not in the circle of clans did not have a right to land (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 65). The implication of this, the way a village was organized as a fixed number of clans, meant that there were intense constraints on a person who tried to come in without being a member of a village clan. Ostracism and expulsion were constant threats for people who did not have a secure place in the village circle. Powell touches upon this when he speaks of ‘outlawry’: ‘An outlaw is one’ who has ‘placed himself without the protection of the clan’. This was thought to mean punishment by ‘death’, but probably expulsion was the rule (p. 67). Powell also said that clans were organized through kin ties, and there ‘is no place in a tribe for any person whose kinship is not fixed’; a very definitive statement. An outsider would have to be ‘adopted into some family with artificial kinship specified’ (p. 69). The warp and woof of the social fabric was kinship and marriage ties. The implication would be that every person who was not reckoned as kin would be outside society and not allowed to stay. More particularly, he or she would have to have a totem that was accepted as part of the village circle. That four clans all called themselves turtle in modern times, in theory would mean that three of them must leave, but the only option left after all the tribal divisions had vanished and become one, was to create an artificial distinction of ‘striped’, ‘black’, ‘mud’, and ‘smooth large turtle’; the same but different (p. 59). This is an exception that proves the rule: people had to belong to a complemental local clan in order to stay in a village.

Totemism goes all the way up to religious ceremonies among the Wyandot. Each ‘phratry’ or formerly distinct tribe had some major ceremonies. And each clan ‘has the exclusive right to

worship its tutelar god', just as individuals had the right to own 'a particular amulet' (p. 65). In plain speak, there were tribal dances, clan feasts and individual totems.

Powell has a curious summary of Wyandot social organization. The tribal organization was 'determined by the differentiation of the functions of the government and the correlative specialization of organic elements' (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 68). In other words, he had not a clue about how the tribe was organized. His unavoidable contrast was with the USA; a society with 'civilization', 'art' and 'monotheism'. Indians are left with 'kinship', 'mythic animals' and 'nature-gods' (p. 69). And yet Powell is left with not understanding either society, the USA and the Indians. In spite of such shortcomings there are some eerily relevant observations in 'Wyandot Government'; the main one is that villages were based on a fixed structure of complementary totemic clans. Every village had a similar complement of clans.

Iroquois social organization is a classic in American ethnographic and ethnologic research, emanating from Morgan (1851). At the same time Iroquois totemism remains poorly known, almost obscure. In later publications Morgan would simply reiterate his views on Iroquois 'gentes', such as Seneca clans: wolf, bear, turtle, beaver, deer, snipe, heron and hawk (Contrib. 4, p. 7, 10). This information would be repeated by other scholars countless times, nobody seeming to learn anything new.

Each Iroquois tribe had its own clan system, its own social organization, showing variations on a common pattern. The Seneca tribe supposedly had the following moieties, firstly: bear, wolf, beaver and turtle, and secondly: deer, snipe, heron and hawk. The system is also given as wolf, turtle, bear, beaver, and snipe, hawk, deer, heron, eel. The Onondaga had first turtle, beaver, wolf and snipe, next eel, bear, deer and hawk (Bull. 156, p. 71, 138; Bull. 187, p. xiv-xv). But the two sides or moieties do not match; bear is matched with beaver, snipe is matched with wolf, and so on; these are animals that would usually be assigned to different clan-groups or phratries. A decisive factor was that the Iroquois nation lost nearly all its people in early historical times through European diseases and colonization. The pre-contact totemic clan system must have been much more complex than it appears today.

Based on myths, ceremonies and social life it is possible to identify a range of Seneca or Iroquois totems and clans: fish, eel, turtle, snake, rattlesnake, crawfish, bird, robin, pigeon, turkey, chicken, snipe, duck, heron, hawk, eagle, owl, bear, raccoon, otter, wolf, dog, fox, panther, wildcat, deer, buffalo, elk, moose, beaver, mouse, chipmunk, porcupine, squirrel, rabbit, hare, earth, rock, water, ice, river, lake, tide, fire, sky, sun, moon, star, day, wind, thunder, horn, tree, hemlock, cattail, berry, corn, pumpkin, squash, bean, drum, ball, string, war-club, shield, rattle, comb, wampum, door, false-face, monster, cannibal, etc. There are some hints at dual clans, such as 'white' or 'black' pigeon, otter and corn. Some of these totems may be the result of people adopted from other tribes due to early historical depopulation. It is also possible that as animals disappeared, for instance the passenger-pigeon, a new animal took its place, like turkey.

The Cayuga tribe in early times may have had a plethora of clan totems: turtle, sparrow, crow, snipe, hawk, eagle, bear, wolf, deer, beaver, etc. And the Onondaga: fish, eel, turtle, bird, snipe, hawk, bear, wolf, deer, elk, beaver, squirrel, etc. There would be a basic moiety and phratry alignment of totems such as fish-animal-bird, or fish-bird-animal; e.g., turtle, wolf, beaver, snipe, and eel, bear, deer, hawk. As villages grew they could add clans, e.g., mud-turtle, land-turtle, raccoon, wolf, elk, beaver, snipe, heron, and eel, fish, bear, fox, deer, rabbit, hawk, owl. This would then give 2 moieties, 3 phratries and 8-16 clans, in addition to a head

chief and second chief. A prehistoric Iroquois village could have 1000+ inhabitants; it can then be assumed that the social organization was complex but well-defined.

A conceivable local organization of Seneca clans could be: (sky), turtle, heron, bear, deer, fish, hawk, wolf, elk, (earth). Or perhaps: (sky), turtle, heron, bear, wolf, deer, beaver; snake, hawk, otter, fox, elk, porcupine, (rock). These are tentative attempts to reconstruct a complete local clan structure based on totems that have disappeared and those that were found in Morgan's time. The listing is not definitive in any way, and should be seen in relation to other bits of information on clans among the Iroquois and other tribes. What seems clear is that Iroquois villages were organized around a complement of totemic clans that together formed the local social structure.

Among the southern Iroquoians a Cherokee village consisted of 12-14 clans. The number cannot be determined precisely, because prehistoric villages have not been fully excavated, and traditional villages have not been fully described. Mooney posited 7 so-called Cherokee 'clans', which may be old designations for territorial bands, such as Lower, Middle and Overhill Cherokees, with a few subdivisions. Or they can be a mixture of local clan names and territorial designations (Ann. Rep. 19, p. 212). Dozens of other totemic clan designations can be found. These would not be counted as clans by Mooney, or he would scoff at any claims to animal descent.

Mooney apparently was not interested in reporting totemism, at least not for the white Cherokee. Instead he seemed rather strongly opposed to the notion of totemism (e.g., Ann. Rep. 17, p. 227f). In particular this concerned the white Cherokee. The notion that white people descended from animals was unacceptable. That this reflected his own prejudice was immaterial; Mooney somehow knew best. It would be easy to get tribal members to agree with his views, once they saw how offended he was. The issue continued. Scholars in 1960 were unwilling to report totemic clans among the Cherokee (Bull. 180, p. 91).

One posthumous work, the 'Swimmer Manuscript', mentions many animals in its formulas (Bull. 99). These are not presented in totemic terms, but in relation to magic, spirits, diseases and witchcraft (p. 30). Perhaps, as totemism weakened in post-contact times, animals went from being protectors to becoming threatening, through diseases and witchcraft. Yet there are tantalizing hints at former clan relations. One case involves dual clans, that one clan could be represented by two people assigned to opposite moieties, even though occupying the same residential position in the village. Examples include totems such as fish, raven, eagle and bear that are each distinguished as 'white' or 'black'.

Some Cherokee clan designations and totems include: fish, goldfish, snake, frog, bird (tsiskwa), killdee-bird, goldfinch, kingfisher, pigeon, turkey, raven, sandpiper, bittern, heron, eagle, hawk, fish-hawk, buzzard, owl, bear, raccoon, skunk, weasel, mink, otter, wolf (tsiwaya), dog, fox (tsula), panther, wildcat, deer (ahwi), buffalo, elk, beaver, mole, squirrel, rabbit, opossum (sikwa – later 'hog'), earth, paint, blue, wind, star, thunder, worm, leech, bush, oak, corn, etc. A tentative clan distribution in an old village could be: (thunder), fish, pigeon, bear, wolf, deer, squirrel; snake, raven, raccoon, fox, elk, opossum, (earth). Mooney notes that 'originally there were fourteen' Cherokee clans, presumably in each village (Ann. Rep. 19, p. 213).

Hopefully what can be discerned from this summary is that fairly regular and recognizable totemic clan systems are found among tribes ranging from the Chippewa and Menomini in the

north to the Cherokee in the south. Villages had a definite number of clans that served to define the social organization in each local area. A recognizable pattern emerges, typically represented by a village being divided into 2 sides or moieties and 3 phratries each represented by 1-2 clans on both sides of the village. The pattern can be simpler or more complex, but there is a pattern. Since ethnologists rarely discussed social organization in these terms, it is necessary to look at settlement structures in other parts of America before anything like a conclusion can be drawn. As before, the reader is asked to bear with me.

The Siouan conundrum

In Siouan ethnologies there is a dramatic contrast between the limited and definite number of clans posited, and the almost limitless number of totems represented in texts. The problem is compounded by a propensity among ethnologists to turn clans into large and corporate groups, like consortiums, while clans on the ground were small and distributed across villages along with other clans. Based on historical preconceptions and prejudice the scholars were not willing to acknowledge that clans were non-corporative, distributed and complementary. Yet all indications are that many clans together made up a village and this pattern would be repeated across villages in a tribe. It was villages, bands and tribes that were 'corporated', in the sense that they possessed a territory, not individual clans.

Most tribes would experience extreme population loss in post-contact times, often more than a 90% loss. This would lead villages to disintegrate, the few surviving members having to amalgamate with other communities to keep up a minimally needed number of inhabitants. By the 19th century native societies had changed irreparably due to white colonization. Ethnologists would then start mixing and confusing social levels such as clan, village, band and even tribe, calling them all 'clans' or similar. This became the Siouan conundrum; confusion as to what a clan 'is'.

The Sioux aka Dakota or Lakota Indians, with the closely related Assiniboine or Nakota tribe, represent a massive paradox in totemic studies. On the one hand they are said not to have totemic clans, on the other hand they bore names such as Sitting Bull and Little Crow. To make it clear: Dakota people had clans. One attempted explanation was that Dakota personal names are totemic, and form the basis for clans; but the system was not 'carried to perfection' (Contrib. 9, p. 195). That is, the system carried the flexibility and intricacy found in other tribes, and ethnologists would not address this issue.

Unlike most other tribes the Sioux, or Ocheti-shakowin, managed to maintain their populations during historic times and gradually increased it, numbering 220,000 in 2010, while the prehistoric populace may have been 80,000. In early history the population fell, and was counted as 28,000+ in 1904. Members of other, depopulated tribes may have been adopted, ranging from Illinois to Mandan. Today less than 25,000 people speak Sioux languages, which may be a better indication of population loss.

In any event most tribal bands and villages had become diminished after Europeans came. Ethnologists reckoned such remnant groups as 'gentes', as if they were families; but they were composite entities. It was added that people took their 'names' from 'animals', recognized as a 'totemic system', but a system that remained incomplete (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 221). That is to say, local communities lost so many people that an organization of complementary and exogamous clans could not be maintained.

Dorsey gets his mind in a quandary over Dakota totemism. He lists names such as: Eagle Hawk; Crow Eagle; Owl Eagle; Weasel Eagle; Female-elk Boy; Small-bird Beaver; Hermaphrodite Ghost; Dog Rattlesnake; etc. (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 540). How can one person have a name referring to two totems, or even to two genders? A simple explanation would be

that people have relations with two totemic groups. The main point is that people's names have a totemic reference.

From this source a list of Sioux totems or totemic clan designations can be extracted: snake, rattlesnake, turtle, bird, blackbird, small-bird, swallow, crow, kingfisher, eagle, hawk, owl, wolf, dog, weasel, bear, badger, raccoon, deer, buffalo, elk, horse, beaver, ground-squirrel, rabbit, earth, mountain, stone, iron, fire, pipe, shield, sky, cloud, wind, whirlwind, hail, thunder, lightning, sun, moon, star, ghost, boy, man, hermaphrodite and more. This means that a man could be a small-bird and a beaver, or a dog and a rattlesnake; which are ordinary totemic designations. If an objection is made that a person cannot be both a dog and a rattlesnake, this begs the question why not; a person can represent two kin groups at once. In many ways having two clan totems would be a strength.

Totemism enters into a Dakota person's life from an early age. 'Each Teton may have his guardian spirit' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 475). By having a guardian spirit a person will be helped throughout life. If the guardian is a bird it can help the visionary fly away. One man's guardian spirit helped him locate lost animals. A person learns to relate to animals and nature through life. The buffalo is valued as a 'grandfather'; it provides meat and skins; it is celebrated with dances and ceremonies, such as the White Buffalo Dance of the Hunkpapa Dakota. Other animals and beings are valued in different ways, elk, bear, wolf, dog, horses, spiders, snakes, turtles, birds, deer, dwarfs, bogs, trees and more. Dakota totems associated with a sacred bundle and sacred paraphernalia could be: snake, fish, swan, eagle, owl, loon, otter, raccoon, weasel, buffalo, squirrel, rabbit, earth, water, and others. Related beings include spider, monkey, horse, goat.

Santee clans include: snake, crow, goose, buffalo, earth, sand, island (wita), water, river (wahpa), waterfall, tree, house, fishhook, spirit. Fourteen women dancers may represent local clans (Bull. 71, p. 37). As noted, the Santee lived in villages with 12 or more houses around a plaza, suggestive of a distribution of local totemic clans.

Yankton Dakota clans are listed as: chahu, chankute, iha-istaye, wachenpa, ikmun, etc.; fairly opaque terms. With English translations they become a little more comprehensible: goose, dog (shung), wildcat or panther (ikmung), buffalo, elk, tree, pumpkin, red, black, half-blood, etc. (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 217). But local totemic practices remain obscure.

Based on mythology and other sources some Teton clans and totems could be: snake, water-snake, fish, turtle, mussel, bird, grouse or prairie-chicken, raven, duck, goose, eagle, owl, bear, grizzly-bear, wolf, dog, deer, buffalo, antelope, elk, horse, beaver, mouse, prairie-dog, gopher, rabbit, earth, stone, metal, salt, water-monster, snow, sky, cloud, water, river, sun, moon, thunder, fire, smoke, wind, grass, corn, sunflower, food, meat, knife, bow, arrow, kettle, drum, house, leggings, cloth, white, black, red, blue, woman, orphan, Shawnee, spirit, lazy, non-exogamous, half-blood, etc. (cf. Bull. 5, p. 8-11).

An 1854 'report' by a racist German trader among the Assiniboine was published, who he called superstitious, 'lazy' and stupid (Ann. Rep. 46, p. 397). Crazy Bear had been 'made chief' by the US in 1851. The tribe had bands such as Watopahandatok, Wazeabwechasta, Watopanah, Hoteshapa, Wecheapena, and Eantonah, said to total 2340 people in 1854. Assiniboine clans and totems might include: fish, snake, bird, crow, duck, crane, hawk, bear, fox, buffalo, mouse, earth, stone, iron, mountain, lake, thunder, tree, forest, knife, arrow, boat, girl, etc. As with other groups, a clarification of local social organization is lacking.

If Dakota-Lakota-Nakota totemic designations are all put together we get an impressive list: snake, rattlesnake, water-snake, turtle, fish, mussel, bird, blackbird, small-bird, grouse, prairie-chicken, swallow, crow, raven, kingfisher, loon, goose, swan, eagle, bald-eagle, hawk, owl, wolf, dog, wildcat or lynx, panther, otter, weasel, bear, badger, raccoon, deer, buffalo, elk, horse, goat, beaver, squirrel, ground-squirrel, prairie-dog, gopher, rabbit, earth, sand, salt, island, mountain, stone, iron, fire, pipe, shield, sky, cloud, smoke, wind, whirlwind, water, river, waterfall, hail, thunder, lightning, sun, moon, star, tree, grass, corn, pumpkin, red, black, blue, house, food, meat, kettle, bow, arrow, knife, drum, leggings, cloth, spirit, ghost, boy, man, woman, hermaphrodite, orphan, half-blood, and more. This represents a full range of totemic references in the Sioux homeland.

An idealized image of the clan distribution in a Sioux village could be: (sky), snake, crow, bear, deer, beaver; turtle, eagle, wolf, buffalo, rabbit, (earth). All the clans are permutable; the distribution of clans would not be the same in each village or settlement. What is important, however, is that there was a definite number of singular complementary clans in each settlement, usually 10-12. There would only be one turtle clan in any settlement and the turtle would be in a complementary relation to the snake clan and other clans. If another totem came in, for instance fish, it would have to displace a local clan, turtle, or be subsumed under that clan. In totemic terms fish and turtle are similar, they have scaly skins and lay eggs.

The totemic clan system was both flexible and inflexible. The flexibility concerned each individual's totem. The inflexibility concerned the make-up of the social organization. A definite number of clans meant that each community had a decisive make-up and a limit to how many, if any, people would be allowed to settle locally from the outside. Recruitment would be mainly by intermarriage, hence rules of local exogamy were important. As has been stated before, this was a social world that would be totally incomprehensible to a modern person. You were not allowed to settle in a village or community unless you married into it or were adopted. This is opposite to modern migration; you are allowed to settle in a town, but need not marry a local.

A totemic division among the Sioux is called tokala (animal); this may be related to local moiety systems. The Teton operate with 'Ihoka and Tokala Societies' (Bull. 5, p. 10). There may be a link to the Fox moiety to'kâna; a case of ancient contacts. According to Dorsey, descent among the Dakota was in the male line, a chief being succeeded by his son (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 221).

One old-school ethnologist wrote: 'In the Sioux Nation the man is the head of the family' (Riggs 1881-82, p. 63). Chieftainship 'descended' from the father to the eldest son. He adds: 'the gentes among the Dakotas are scattered and mixed'. The notion of a totem would persist, as in 'Red Eagle' or 'Standing Buffalo', but the system 'seems to have been' lost. The ethnologist goes on to the conceptual short-circuit that former villages were made up of 'a single' clan, such as 'Little Crow's' village; the simple notion being that if the village was named after a chief, all the residents must have shared his totem. Yes, the village would 'belong' to the chief, but it would of necessity be composed of a full complement of totemic clans, because of the need to differentiate and distribute the clans in terms of residence, resource use and marriage alliances. If all were of the same clan, it would be difficult to decide which family should have a certain place to live or where to carry out its activities. Villages would be organized on the principle of complementary totemic clans. Clans were described as exogamic; within the clan 'it was not customary to intermarry' (p. 63).

Mention is made of moieties and phratries, and also special houses in a village. There was a 'soldiers' teepee' or lodge at the 'gateway' to the settlement; a guard house known as 'hoonkpa' or 'horn's end' (ibid.). By and large the image of a clan-less society is shattered when early totemic practices among the Sioux-Dakota are investigated. They lived in local communities or villages composed of a set number of 10-12 clans.

In the upper Missouri valley totemic clans are hard to investigate. Crow or Absaroka had a poorly known totemic system. Morgan lists prairie dog (achepabecha), bad leggings, skunk (hokarutcha), treacherous lodges (ashbotcheeah), lost lodges (ahshinnädeah), bad honors, butchers, moving lodges (ahächick), bear paw mountain, blackfoot lodges (ashkane´na), fish catchers, antelope (ohotdusha) and raven (petchaleruhpäka) (Morgan 1877, p. 163). Lowie lists new-lodge (ashirario), big-lodge (ashistite), sore-lip (ashiose), fat-mouth (owotashe), magic-hunt (osawatsie), knot (xuxkarahtse), filth-eating (ashpenuse), kicked-in-belly (erarapio), bad-honor (ashkapkawie), whistling-water (pirikose), spotted-lodge (ashhatse), Piegan (ashkamne) and awl (ashpache) (Lowie 1917, p. 53-54). These seem to be tribal bands rather than clans; they even include derogatory names strangers would use. Other group names can be found: ishirete, tsipawayitse, isatskawie (bad leggings: part of owotashe), pirishishie (muddy-water: with ashiose), ishiptiate (small pipes), piripahoe, horiwishe, ohaktoshe (deer: same as ohotdusha), etc. What is interesting is that all groups were exogamous, pointing not only to clan exogamy but to village exogamy; local residents did not marry each other.

There were three major Crow bands or tribal divisions, Minesepere aka Black Lodges or River Crow, Many Lodges, and Erarapio. Each occupied a territory of several thousand square miles. The total Crow population could be 20,000. Each division in turn was divided into smaller bands with several villages and camp settlements. This pattern would be severely disrupted in historic times; by 1900 there were 1900 people; 10% (Bull. 30, pt. 1, p. 369).

Possible Crow clan designations include: fish, snake, alligator, bird, blackbird, raven, crow, crane, eagle, bear, badger, weasel, skunk, wolf, dog, deer, antelope, bighorn, buffalo, horse, mule, prairie-dog, rabbit, earth, fire, water, tree, pipe, arrow, house, bead, hat, etc.

Since ethnologists operated on an imagined aggregate level, it was impossible to agree about social organization. 'The Crow are organized in exogamous clans with maternal descent' (Goldenweiser 1913, p. 281). One list has 13 clans in 3 phratries of 5, 5 and 3 clans. At the same time several more clan names are given. Ethnologists would disagree about everything: the number of clans, if phratries were exogamous, and so on.

A system of local Absaroka clans could be: fish, raven, bear, antelope, beaver, snake, hawk, skunk, deer and prairie-dog. No doubt there would be many variations as to how local settlements were organized in terms of clans. Crow kinship is matrilineal. Its regularity has made it an exemplar of a few kinship systems found worldwide, the Crow kinship terminology. Unfortunately BAE ethnologists did not get into detailed studies of either totemism, local clans or kinship.

Hidatsa social organization is a particular challenge in ethnology, because several villages have been excavated. At the same time Hidatsa society went through dramatic changes during history, in terms of depopulation due to white contacts, found in most tribes; falling from 20,000 to 800 people; 4%. Among all the painful consequences, a small but significant one is

the problem of reconstructing the social organization of villages. Apparently a village such as Knife River would have 10 clan groups organized in 2 moieties and 1 central lodge. There may also have been sub-clans and 'visiting' households. Similarly Old Awatixa would have 10 clans, 2 moieties and 1 central lodge. Rock Village repeated the same pattern. The historic village of Awatixa, 1795-1838, is a little more difficult to work out; the houses are more stretched out along a river bank, and the number of houses in each clan varies from 3 to 8; maybe the result of a 'fusion' of two or more villages following early decimation. Nonetheless, the several villages that have been more or less fully excavated, provides a unique opportunity to conceptually try out social organization on the ground (Bull. 194).

Ethnologists would later record 3 villages, Awataxi with 13 clans, Hidatsa with 7, and Awaxawi with 7. Clan names provided were: maxoxati (dust), metsiroku (knife), apukawiku (hat or bonnet), prairie-chicken, awaxenawita (three hills), miripati (water-bust), itisuku (in front), xura (cicada noise), speckled-eagle, waxikena, tamisik, crow (tribal name) and blackfoot (tribal name) (Morgan 1877, p. 163; Lowie 1917, p. 19-20). It becomes immediately apparent that most of these are not names of clans, but of earlier villages and bands that now have been reduced to tiny sections of combined villages. To complicate matters even more, late Hidatsa villages included several remnants of tribes and band. There would be Mandan 'moieties' among the Hidatsa, in turn combining a number of surviving clans, families or individuals from once independent villages; like a refuge of survivors.

In between the confusing array of groups, the names of actual totemic clans can be teased out: snake, turtle, fish, bird, crow, magpie, prairie-chicken, goose, hawk, eagle, wolf, fox, dog, bear, badger, weasel, antelope, buffalo, beaver, ground-squirrel, earth, hill, stone, dust, water, sky, thunder, fire, cicada, wood, knife, gun, tree, basket, hat, body, man, war, etc. In one myth, two groups of clans are listed: Lone Man, buffalo, wolf, bird, dog, thunder, crow, magpie, bear, fish; and Charred Body, fire, bear, buffalo, badger or no head, basket, beaver, weasel, snake, and wolf (Bowen 1992, p. 290f). Apparently these are not proper moieties, but may relate to two reduced villages. In Hidatsa ceremonies there were several totemic references: bird, goose, eagle, wolf, fox, dog, bear, skunk, buffalo, stone, thunder, tree, war. All of these can have social relevance. Other sources on totemic organization include personal names and sacred bundles.

Gradually an image emerges of how a Hidatsa village might be organized in terms of clans: (sky), snake, eagle, bear, buffalo, squirrel; fish, bird, wolf, antelope, beaver, (earth). This would assume that chiefly clans were identified with one of the other 10 clans, and that so-called 'junior' or 'guest' clans would be 'extra' and occupy houses near the edge of the village. Clans were matrilineal, consisting of female relatives in a cluster or string of houses, strictly exogamous and in a complementary relation to other clans. Probably marriage within a village was frowned upon, or at least within each moiety; a chief would not want alliances that cut across his constituency. Hidatsa kinship would conform to the Crow system.

The fate of the Mandan tribe is truly tragic; while celebrated for its culture, it was virtually exterminated by epidemics in the 1830s, diseases introduced by white people. The Mandan population is estimated between 7,000 and 30,000 people; by 1837 roughly 200 people remained; 1-3%. The rich description of Mandan villages and ceremonies, along with the virtual total destruction of the tribe, has made it a favorite topic for ethnologic speculation. A careful listing of animal remains in villages included: fish, mussel, snake, crow, raven, grouse, waterfowl, hawk, wolf, coyote, fox, bear, badger, raccoon, deer, antelope, buffalo, elk, beaver, prairie-dog, gopher, ground-squirrel, rabbit; other remains would be: stone, bone, horn, flint,

shell and wood; all could be totems (Bruner 1961, p. 194). Of animal bones found in villages 90% were buffalo; needless to say this would have no impact on any totemic identifications. The same number of totemic clans would be found in each village. As one scholar wrote: ‘It would be tempting to go further; but to do so would be to make assumptions’ (ibid., p. 195). Apparently not making assumptions while describing an extinct culture is possible. Dorsey listed the following Mandan clans: wolf, bear, prairie-chicken, knife, eagle, flat-head and village (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 241).

A provisional clan distribution could be: (air), fish, prairie-chicken, bear, buffalo, beaver, snake, eagle, wolf, elk, rabbit, (stone). As always, this listing is tentative and hypothetical. Mandan kinship was matrilineal. A young man would give ‘all the horses’ he captured ‘to his sister’; if he took a scalp he would give it to his mother-in-law, thus allowing him to speak to her. Apparently it was the same among the Crow and Arikara. Among the Dakota, by contrast, ‘bashfulness’ forbade a man to speak to his mother-in-law (ibid., p. 51-52).

In summary, local systems of 10-12 totemic clans appear among the upper Missouri Siouans. In some cases the local clustering of houses is well attested on the ground, as with Hidatsa villages, but without clear knowledge of how clans were distributed. In other cases our knowledge of clans is residual, as with the Crow tribe. Nonetheless, it seems safe to argue that these agricultural tribes lived in villages made up of a set complement of totemic clans, and shared the Crow type of matrilineal kinship reckoning.

Far better known are central Siouan totemic systems. Views on Winnebago clans have been shaped by a very forceful man, Paul Radin (Ann. Rep. 37; Radin 1923). His schedule cuts across every other diagram, dismissing variant views on clan distributions. This contrasts with the current treatise, where all sources are examined, however contradictory, because the knowledge of totemic systems is scarce. Dorsey in his naïve approach thought each Winnebago clan had four sub-clans, since there were ‘four kinds of wolves’ (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 50). Most likely this referred to different clans with the same totem in different bands or villages. An alternative listing of clans was dismissed by Radin as somehow not being an ‘enumeration of the clans’, and hence not to be presented; in the same imperial manner he dismissed lists that put the wolf clan first (Radin 1923, p. 143).

The Winnebago were natives of Wisconsin, and may have had a pre-contact population of 15,000+. The tribe experienced a crisis around 1630-1650, in the form of European-brought epidemics and warfare, with many tribes seeking refuge near Green Bay. This led to tribal ‘ruin’ and warfare with neighboring ‘Nations’ (ibid., p. 5). Yet the tribe would have a fairly strong population until after the removal period of the 1830s, reaching a low of ca. 2100 people in 1890; 14%.

Radin shared the predilections and dilemmas of other ethnologists by discussing ‘social organization’ in theory but not in practice. He embarks on a hypothetical discussion of all Siouan tribes, supposed to have one origin (Radin 1923, p. 133f). He goes on to claim that ‘Winnebago social organization has long since broken down’ (p. 136). With some perception he acknowledges that ‘4,000-odd’ tribal members having ever lived ‘together’ is ‘doubtful’. Yet he does not try to figure out what a village looked like. Instead he fantasizes that people lived ‘scattered’, like American settlers (p. 136).

In spite of this distal view of social life, he presents a variety of material on social organization that taken together may throw some light on the totemic clan composition of

Winnebago villages (Radin 1923, p. 133-147). He presents two moieties that seem convincing. In the first moiety some clans seem fairly well identified: (thunder), fish, pigeon, bear, wolf, buffalo or deer, and beaver. In the second moiety likewise: snake, eagle, mink or otter, panther or wildcat, elk or deer, rabbit or hare, and (earth). In a modified version some conceptual clans can be added: first, (thunder), fish, pigeon, bear, wolf, buffalo or deer, beaver, (warrior); and second, (water), snake, eagle, mink or otter, panther or wildcat, elk or deer, rabbit or hare, and (earth). The 4 clans in parenthesis are a sort of special groups, referring to moiety and possibly phratry qualities; it is not clear if they were separate units in each village or variants found in different villages – or even parts of other clans like eagle and fish. In addition to the suggested configuration and what Radin considered to be documented clans, dozens of other clan names and totems appear in his work, included in an expanded list below.

The moiety system caused much confusion to ethnologists, since it was seen as a conceptual arrangement, not a division of villages into two sides. Radin interprets the 'sky' and 'earth' distinction literally, one containing birds and the other 'land and water animals' (ibid., p. 137). This would influence how he and others presented the totem system. The first moiety was variously called: Wankereki, sky, upper sky, thunder, thunderbird, warrior or hawk. It would contain clans such as: turtle, fish, bird, pigeon, wolf, bear, deer and beaver. The second moiety could be known as: Maneki, earth, bear, water, fish, 'subaquatic animals', 'water-spirit' or panther. It contained clans such as: snake, hawk, eagle, buffalo, elk, rabbit or hare. In one of many complications Radin would distinguish Thunder, Warrior, Water and Earth as separate clans and hence as additions to the moiety system; either as extra clans in the village system or an arrangement of two moieties and four phratries (p. 143). If a phratry system was involved it most likely was 3-wise: egg-layers, meat-eaters and plant-eaters. Thunder and Warrior, Water and Earth may be alternate names for the same moiety.

When discussing the moieties Radin claimed that their only function was as exogamous units. People could not marry within their moiety (ibid., p. 139). As the text goes along, however, he identifies more and more functions of moieties. They played a role at funerals and on other occasions, social and ceremonial. Moiety members slept on opposite sides in war camps. At the 'chief feast', honoring a tribal chief, they had distinct roles. In fact, practically on every occasion the moiety membership can be relevant; at councils, dances, ball games, lacrosse, gambling, etc.

Totemic clans were constantly relevant. Clan symbols or fetishes included tails, feathers and shells or skin; they could be worn 'at certain dances' called heroshka, but mostly were kept in personal bundles. In the hunting season the bear clan would lead (Radin 1923, p. 66). People had birth names, indicating children's order of birth, and totemic names (p. 79). Clan animals are 'among the principal guardian spirits' – but not the only ones (p. 147). Each clan had a distinctive face paint (p. 156).

'Descent was reckoned in the paternal line'; it was generally patrilineal (ibid., p. 137). In ethnocentric fashion Radin in turn castigates modern Winnebago for becoming 'very lax' in following paternal descent when naming children; but presumably kin usage always was flexible (p. 144). Radin vehemently denies that people descend from animals; he posits 'a distinction between the animal of to-day and the animal of the heroic age' (p. 149). A "wolf" is not a 'wolf', though the meaning is the same; a desperate distinction. In native texts animal descent is explicit: 'the Snake clan' 'descended from the snakes' (p. 280).

Winnebago clans or totems listed in various sources include: snake, fish, turtle, frog, bird, pigeon, redbird, crow, crane, swan, eagle, hawk, bear (honte), grizzly-bear, mink, otter, wolf, fox, dog, panther, wildcat, buffalo, deer, elk, horse, beaver, squirrel, rabbit, hare, earth, earthquake, iron, water-spirit (aka panther), rain, hail, mist, lake, wave, stream, sky, sun, light, day, night, thunder or thunderbird, thundercloud, wind, east, blue, tree, oak, pine, brush, berry, house, spoon, war or warrior (aka hawk), cannibal, spirit, etc. In eclectic fashion Dorsey made a personal configuration of clans for each Siouan tribe based on the 4 elements, earth, fire, wind, water. It is here referred to as Dorsey's contrived system: bear, wolf; thunder; eagle, pigeon; water (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 534f). If this has anything to do with social organization, it is fortuitous. The information is repeated here and later as one of many contrived ethnologic attempts to reconstruct local clanship.

Individual totems can be linked: 'Land-on-tree' is a thunderbird, 'Wave' is a wolf walking near the shore, and 'Rain-walker' is a thunderbird (Radin 1923, p. 146). There are strong indications of dual clans: 'white' and 'black' thunderbird, fish, deer, elk, beaver, cloud and so on; also 'white' and 'green' wing. This might mean that each clan dwelling in a village had a pair of related clan families, distinguished as white and black or red and green. E.g., white wolf and black wolf would represent two families in the same clan, occupying the same elongated dwelling or longhouse. Over time, with depopulation and relocations, this added clan attribute disappeared – but was maintained in the naming of children, who could be distinguished by color terms and size, Little Green Wolf.

Personal names refer to numerous clans and totems: fish, crow, raven, duck, swan, wing, feather, eagle, hawk, bear, wolf, dog, deer, elk, beaver, hare, iron, sky, sun, moon, star, light, day, night, thunderbird, fire, wind, rain, hail, cloud, stream, pine, berry, spoon, cannibal, etc. (Radin 1923, p. 173-205). That dog should take the place of wolf as a totem is not surprising, since wolves became rare by the 20th century, and totems mostly refer to visibly existing creatures. As in many tribes, direct clan references were taboo, so most names would not refer to an identifiable being; e.g., 'Many walking' or 'She who crawls' (p. 202). The names are totemic but non-specific. This would be the case also in other tribes, such as Omaha and Osage.

Radin's material further shows that Winnebago clans can be linked: Clans are complementary and mutual parts of local communities; like a series of extended families in a village. In the 'council lodge' clans were seated opposite a 'friend clan' (hichakoro), called 'my opposite' (Radin 1923, p. 115). This would reflect the distribution of clans in the village, occupying houses on opposite sides of the village plaza; so-called moieties. Friend clans were located in opposite moieties; a symmetrical system. On p. 153 is a list of 'friendship' clans; these stood in a mutual relationship and could not marry. The list includes: Thunderbird-Bear – presumably because these were chiefs' clans and hence close. More specific are: Eagle-Pigeon, Bear-Wolf, Elk-Deer, Snake-Fish; similar animals could not marry. More peculiar is Buffalo-Water-spirit; perhaps this also had to do with chiefly or ceremonial positions, making them too close to marry. Last to be mentioned were Thunderbird-Warrior; both birds. Friend clans were tied together by 'mutual service', ranging from hospitality and revenge to funerals and social get-togethers. They had 'reciprocal duties' at funerals (p. 139). Additionally, friend clans can share names, even though the totems are different.

A few clans who at least in theory could marry locally were bear and eagle, as well as wolf and eagle. This was because they were in opposite moieties and not 'friend clans'. The deer clan was in a peculiar position in the elicited material. In some cases it was in the earth

moiety, in others in sky. Presumably this is because deer are common, while buffalo and elk at various times and places would be rare. Deer could then fill the position as ‘my opposite’ to whichever of the other two were found, buffalo in the earth half or elk in the sky half. The same may have applied to animals such as mink and otter, or duck, swan and crane. When wild pigeons were exterminated by settlers, the pigeon clan became extinct; instead names such as crow appear. Rodent-like animals such as beaver and rabbit were in a special position. They were highly regarded as peaceful animals, but in historic times these clans disappeared from the Winnebago and other tribes. Perhaps the desperate turmoil and depopulation of historic times led to a disavowing of small and unobtrusive animals. We will never know.

The Winnebago seem to have exercised strict rules of exogamy until the 20th century. People from the same moiety could not marry; nor presumably from groups of similar clans or phratries, like birds or meat-eating mammals. The so-called ‘friend clans’ could not marry. A friendship bond, especially between two men, was so strong that they were reckoned as close brothers, though there was no ‘blood bond’ (p. 202). Families of ‘friends’ or brothers could not marry, regardless how they came to be related (p. 153).

Descriptions of various rituals include a specification of the number of local clans, indicated as 10-11-12. Perhaps a dozen is closest to reality. Versions of a tribal origin myth also have 10-11-12 clans; snake, raven, bear, wolf, deer, beaver, fish, hawk, otter, panther, elk and rabbit; with variants. This allows a tentative layout of clans in a Winnebago village, starting west and going north, east and south-west, as follows: (sky (8)), turtle or fish (water-spirit), pigeon, wolf (1), deer or buffalo (3, 6), beaver; snake (7), eagle (4), bear (2), elk (5), rabbit, (earth). In parenthesis are Morgan’s numbers (Radin 1923, p. 143; Morgan 1877, p. 161). The usual reservations must be made about local variations. The main point is that villages were made up of a distinctive distribution of totemic clans.

For the Iowa tribe Dorsey listed: (1) bear, (2) wolf, (3) eagle, (4) elk, (5) beaver; (6) pigeon, (7) buffalo, (8) snake, (9) owl (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 238-239). True to himself he listed countless ‘Subgentes’: black-bear, white-bear, white-wolf, black-wolf, gray-wolf, coyote, golden-eagle, gray-eagle, spotted-eagle, bald-eagle, big-elk, little-elk, long-elk, young-elk, big-beaver, young-beaver, water-person, big-raccoon, little-raccoon, young-pigeon, prairie-chicken, grouse, big-buffalo, small-buffalo, broad-buffalo, yellow-snake, real-snake, copperhead-snake, gray-snake, etc. (ibid.). Probably Dorsey did not see that these were versions of the same clan, living in different bands or villages. Interestingly there is a hint at double clans, such as White Wolf and Black Wolf. These would be two descent groups occupying one clan position in a village, living in the same or adjacent houses, but affiliated with opposite moieties; a recurrent pattern noted for several tribes.

Iowa clans and totems included: turtle, snake, bird, pigeon, eagle, owl, wolf, coyote, bear, black-bear, raccoon, otter, buffalo, buffalo-cow, elk, beaver, ground-squirrel, rabbit, earth, red-earth, sky, thunder, lightning, storm, hail, rain, earth, pipe, corn, mescal bean, etc. Two phratries or rather moieties were found: (first or bear): bear, wolf, eagle, thunder, elk, beaver, ground-squirrel; (second or buffalo): pigeon, buffalo, snake, owl. In Dorsey’s contrived system, noted earlier, we find: bear, wolf; bird (chehila); pigeon, buffalo; beaver (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 534f).

As has been and will be noted repeatedly, because of its significance, totemic clans were complementary, each clan occupying a part of the houses encircling the plaza of a native village. A local Iowa clan configuration could be: (thunder), snake, pigeon, wolf, buffalo,

beaver; turtle, eagle, bear, elk, rabbit, (earth). Many permutations were possible; for instance, ground-squirrel might take the place of rabbit.

Sources mention ‘dancing societies’ among the Iowa and Winnebago (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 428). Presumably this refers to a series of clan ceremonies that are performed around the village plaza in summer, each clan in turn playing host to the others. There was ‘otter dancing’ and ‘buffalo dancing’, and probably other clan dances as well (p. 429). Mention was also made of ‘Red Medicine dancing’, crushed mescal beans boiled in water which was drunk to induce ‘intoxication’; a precursor to peyote ritualism practiced in the 1840s. Before that time Iowa villages seem to have been composed of regular sets of clans.

Missouri totemic clans could include: snake, bird (momi), ‘small’ bird, ‘large’ bird, hawk (kretau), eagle (chehita, hra), bear (tunanpin, nyutachi), elk (homa, hotachi), thunder (wakanta), clam shell or mussel, pipe (tunanpin-sub-nyutachi), etc. (Morgan 1877, p. 160; Ann. Rep. 15, p. 240). Dorsey’s contrived system had: bear; bird (chehila); hawk, bird (momi) (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 534f).

Some Oto clans were: turtle, snake (wakan), bird, pigeon (ruche), hawk, eagle (chehita), owl (makache), hoot-owl, bear (tunanpin), black-bear, mink, otter, wolf (munchirache), coyote, buffalo, buffalo-cow (arukwa), elk (hotachi), beaver (pacha), thunderbird (tcexita), lightning, etc. (Morgan 1877, p. 160; Ann. Rep. 15, p. 240). Dorsey’s contrived system had: bear, wolf; bird (chehila); pigeon, buffalo; beaver (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 534f). A probable Oto organization of totemic clans in a village could be: (owl), snake, pigeon, buffalo, wolf, beaver, turtle, eagle, elk, bear, rabbit, (wolf). There may have been a phratry division into land, water and air-borne animals. The Missouri system would be similar. These were closely related tribes, badly decimated in historic times.

In comparison, Dhegiha Siouan tribes, Ponca, Omaha, Kansa, Osage and Quapaw, would provide some of the central examples of totemic social organization in ethnologies after 1880. Not least this concerned the Omaha tribe in Nebraska. In ‘Omaha Sociology’ (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 211f), Dorsey set out to describe the organization of an Indian tribe in social science terms, a project that would be picked up by others. One difficulty in interpreting information given by Dorsey and his followers is that he set up a very prudish standard. He squirmed from saying things directly. In particular he was loath to speak of totems, perhaps because this would sound crude: I am an elk. Instead he uses native words whenever the meaning is awkward, and only gradually offers a translation or none at all. To obscure things further he will use Omaha words, weshinshte, and English words, elk, alternately, making the reading a schizoid exercise. Perhaps it is unfair to complain about this. His timidity may well reflect the way in which informants reluctantly talked about their society and asked him not to reveal anything secret or negative.

One reason why informants stalled when asked to identify a clan with a totem, is that the depopulation of the tribe would lead to many rearrangements and new combinations through the fusion of depleted villages. This in turn would lead to mixed and disparate views about which clan belonged in what position. This would be a shared problem in many tribes; one village could consist of the remnants of many bands, and the ideal clan distribution would have to be an approximation or tacit agreement.

Among Siouan tribes Dorsey claimed that ‘the primary unit is the clan or gens’, referring to Siouan tribes in general, but mainly focusing on the Dhegiha branch. Curiously, Dorsey

identifies the word 'clan' with matrilines and 'gens' with patrilines. The latter is approved of, because 'the man is the head of the family'; no doubt Dorsey's missionary view (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 213). Dorsey uses words such as 'state' and 'classes' (p. 2). The unit that is missing is the village, the local community.

Trying to gain an oversight of this tribal universe is a fantastic journey; as seen in several reports (Ann. Rep. 15; Ann. Rep. 27). Ethnologies provide an incredibly extensive and detailed, but opaque, documentation of central Siouan tribes. Myths and historical documentation coalesce; details of traits and experiences leave a material that is almost impossible to organize. Dorsey wants to present every detail, and the story becomes obscure. For precisely this reason the presentation that follows will have to be complex and not easily readable. When many sources provide unclear and contradictory information on social organization, there is no way getting around a bit of reiteration, listing and conjecture. The reader's indulgence is solicited.

Beautifully, all the central Siouan clan systems are presented as perfect circle diagrams. But the diagrams are composite constructions. Clans or 'sub-clans' outside the main line-up are 'fit in' to appear in some part of the circle, as if the circle of 10 is actually 14 or more, and those added do not fit in with the clans they are subsumed under; they are different clans (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 226). The order is broken, not because there is no order, but because Dorsey dutifully tries to fit in things that do not fit, which is both a good and a bad quality. He reports what he hears, more or less, but fails to clarify or analyze what it entails.

Starting in the north, the Ponca tribe becomes secondary in the BAE sources to the more published Omaha people. In some ways this is a boon, since it is easier to get an overview of the Ponca organization. Apparently there were three Ponca 'nations' or sub-tribes; from 10,000+ the tribe dropped to 900 people by 1900; 9%. Each subtribe formerly consisted of several villages, and each village was made up of a circle of complementary clans.

This is where matters become tricky. Some sources mention 8-10 Ponca 'clans'. These clans are: wasape-hitashi (bear, black-bear, turtle, bird, blackbird, duck, eagle, wolf, raccoon, beaver, deer, elk, buffalo, wood, wind, water, frost, cloud, lightning, fire, smoke, sun, moon, nettle, arrow, knife, pipe, road), hisata (bird, eagle, thunder, tree, cedar, stone), thihita (turtle, mussel, crow, swan, eagle, bear, deer, elk, buffalo, blood, black, war, water, river, cottonwood, moon), inkthonthinthne (panther, buffalo, pipe, blue, red, blood), nikapashna (turtle, crawfish, crow, goose, hawk, eagle, bear, raccoon, weasel, deer, buffalo, elk, horse, skull, war, moon, thunder, red, knife), ponshahti (Ponca, orphan, turtle, hawk, eagle, raccoon, deer, elk, buffalo, land, thunder, moon, wood, medicine, mystery, pole, black), washape (goose, woodpecker, hawk, coyote, bear, raccoon, skunk, elk, buffalo, corn, pole, dark, grey, wind, rain, lightning, moon, cedar, arrow, pole, orphan), washashe (snake, eagle, bear, rabbit, deer, horse, buffalo, moon, wind, water, cedar, paint), nohe (buffalo, horse, bear, ice, hail), neshta (owl – extinct) (Ann. Rep. 27, p. 42-57; Ann. Rep. 15, p. 228-9).

It takes only a cursory glance to see that the clan lists are awry; the 'clans' are too composite to be regular totemic clans. As with other tribes, such as Omaha, it would appear that what is referred to as 'clans' were remnants of depopulated bands; in myths they actually were referred to as bands. On closer examination it seems obvious that each unit might encompass a full complement of clans. Thihita included turtle, mussel, crow, swan, eagle, bear, wildcat, deer, elk, buffalo, blood, black, war, water, river, cottonwood and moon as totemic names; practically a full set of clans within this one group. Nikapashna likewise embraced a full

range of totemic units, with 19 totems. The only 'clan' with one totem is neshta; perhaps because only the chief's clan is remembered.

Other listings of clans and totems can be found that include: snake, turtle, blackbird, goose, hawk, eagle, wolf, fox, bear, raccoon, skunk, otter, wildcat, deer, buffalo, elk, horse, beaver, rat or squirrel, rabbit, tokala, earth, dust, sun, moon, cloud, ice, blood, medicine, orphan. Dorsey's contrived system gives: buffalo; elk, bird, deer, reptile, thunder, hawk, bear; bird, turtle etc.; snake, bird etc. (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 534f). A later work basically copies the material of Dorsey and others (Bull. 195, p. 87-91).

Potentially a Ponca village could have the following clans: (war chief), bird, coyote, buffalo, rabbit, snake; hawk or eagle, bear or panther, deer, beaver, turtle, (peace chief). An alternative configuration could be: (war chief), snake, bird, coyote, buffalo, beaver; turtle, hawk, panther or wildcat, deer, rabbit, (peace chief). Dual clans are indicated by such names as 'White-eagle' (Bull. 195, p. 103). To move beyond the tangle of totems is a challenge. It would take minute studies to break composite groups such as Nikapashna down by individual genealogies back to former villages that this group may once have consisted of. Yet the underlying structure of former villages composed of complementary clans lies embedded in the composite 'clans' that ethnologists unearthed. A similar development is found in other tribes.

The Omaha controlled an area of roughly 40,000 sq. miles, and may have had a population of 30,000+ people. In 1890 there were 1200 left, partly white; a survival rate of 4%. Yet Omaha was reckoned as a major tribe with a living culture, in comparison to the many tribes that had disappeared completely. These were proud and independent people. Dorsey waxes grand in his presentation. He refers to the Omaha tribe as a 'state', an organization whose 'primary unit is the gens or clan'. The analogy to ancient Rome and Greece is both clear and misguided. Dorsey goes on to specify Omaha society as a 'kinship state', one in which 'governmental positions' are 'determined by kinship'; also every relationship and resource is regulated by kinship. The Omaha tribe was said to consist of two 'nations' or sub-tribes, though originally there may have been 4-5 subdivisions. Each sub-tribe comprised several villages that in turn were made up of complementary clans.

Dorsey takes a perverse state model and forces it on the Omaha. He refers to three classes: chiefs, braves and young men; random words used for fictive classes. There are no slaves, but there are ceremonial attendants; wakaktha (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 216-7). What makes this construction particularly opaque and erratic, is that Dorsey uses random Omaha words to build his state model, words that have no meaning to a reader. In 1881 this would not serve as an objection to publication.

Anyhow, Dorsey proceeds to outline an ideal social organization for the Omaha tribe. This will be further idealized here to fill in the picture of tribal organizations across America.

The number of clans is specified as 10 (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 226). The system seems very simple and ordered, yet it leads to hundreds of pages of specifications and explanations. That this was due to 300 years of disruption and decimation seems to be lost on the ethnologists, so their elaborations will be generally ignored to get at the more general picture. The first complication is that the 10 clans supposedly had 'four subgentes in each gens in former days', and 'subgentes' in turn had 'sections'; divisions that never existed. Since each clan is found in every village, an informant of course will claim that the same clan in another village is a subsidiary, and vice versa. Dorsey dutifully interprets this literally.

The clans, from ‘right’ to ‘left’, are: (war chief), weshinshte or elk, inkethape or buffalo, honka or before, thatata or left-hand, konthe or wind, mon’thinkakahe or earth, tethinte or buffalo, tapa or deer, inktheshite or blood, inshtathunta or wildcat, (peace chief). The order of the clans, such as when moving into a village, would follow the order of the circle. Here weshinshte or elk, and inshtathunta would be in front; unfortunately these clans are on opposite sides of the circle, so the statement is incomprehensible (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 219-220; Ann. Rep. 15, p. 226-228; Ann. Rep. 27, p. 140-195).

Clans were distributed in two moieties occupying opposite sides of the village circle. Honkashenu on the ‘right’ had 5 clans, weshinshte, inkethabe, honka, thatata and konthe. Inshtathunta or Ishtasanda on the ‘left’ also had 5 clans, mon’thinkakahe, tethinte, tapa, inktheshite and inshtathunta (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 226).

Actually the model that Dorsey presents is not consistent, but shows a composite of various clans and sub-clans; bits of information and versions of stories. Without translations or explanations, the list of clans can only be presented as it appears in different versions (cf. Morgan 1877, p. 159): weshinshte aka wechinshte aka wäzheseta or elk aka deer, inkethape aka inkesabe aka inkkasaba or buffalo aka black, watanthi-chide-thatachi (corn), iekithe or crier, nathetapachi or coal, wathikishe aka wahope-kahe-aka (maze, whorl, mystery), ninipaton aka ninibatan (pipe), tehesapeitachi aka tethesethatachi aka wathikishe aka wathikiche (buffalo, hoop), inkthanka or wildcat, inkthan or thunder, honka aka hanka aka honga aka hungä or ‘foremost’ aka in front aka ancestral aka medicine (buffalo, rabbit, crow, bear), honkahti (corn, buffalo), wathitan (worker), washape aka wasabe aka wäsäba (known by three other names!) or buffalo (bear, leader), wathehe-athin (four other names!) or pole (cottonwood, buffalo, goose, swan, crane), hatoitashi (corn), thatata aka thatada aka lätädä or left-hand aka bird (many sub-clans: turtle, bird, eagle, bear, buffalo, rain, thunder, corn), wathape-itashi aka wasape-hitachi aka bear (black-bear, grizzly-bear, raccoon, porcupine, buffalo, corn, crops, spring, birds, thunder, singer), huka aka xuka aka kwoka aka shoka or raccoon (bear, teacher), washinka-itashi aka washinka-thatachi aka lätädä or bird aka blackbird (crops, magpie, owl), mankthikta or blackbird or starling, kthetan or hawk, nishkocho or martin, tepa-itashi aka teta-itachi aka ninipaton or eagle (buffalo, pipe), kein aka käih or turtle (rain), konthe aka kanse aka kunzä or wind aka south-wind aka Kaw (paint, pipe), tatetata aka tateata or wind aka cloud.

And further: monthinkakahe aka man’thinkakahe aka ononekägäha or wolf aka coyote (swan, horse, stone, earth, seasons), hupe aka kwope aka shope (wolf), minhashan-wetachi aka mihathon (swan), mikathi or mikasi (wolf, coyote), ine-waqope (stone), tethinte aka tesinde aka dathunda or buffalo, tapa aka täpä or deer aka head (pipe, coal), tapahti or deer (thunder, sky), inktheshite aka inkthechite aka ingräzheda or buffalo (blood, red), inshtathunta aka inshtathunda aka ietasanda aka ishdäsunda or wildcat (lightning, thunder, sky, earth, moon, snake, worm, toad, frog, reptile, insect, bug, pipe), wakthishka-nikashinka or reptile, wahtheheton aka washabeton aka washeton aka washetan (thunder, pole, mussel, buffalo, crane) (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 226-228). Dorsey’s contrived system gives: buffalo, bear, thunder, wind, buffalo, eagle, turtle, (inkesape) buffalo, (istasanda) wildcat (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 534f).

With many native words left untranslated, it is necessary to indicate the animals and other totems identified in different clan descriptions: turtle, snake, rattlesnake, puff-snake, worm, toad, frog, reptile, clam-shell, insect, bug, bird, martin, starling, redbird, blackbird, crow, magpie, turkey, duck, goose, swan, crane, hawk, eagle, bald eagle, buzzard, owl, bear, black-

bear, grizzly-bear, raccoon, wolf, coyote or prairie-wolf, dog, grey-fox, wildcat, lion or panther, deer, elk, horse, moose, buffalo, beaver, rabbit, porcupine, gopher, chipmunk, stone, coal, land, hill, fire, pipe, wind, south-wind, thunder, lightning, sky, sun, moon, night, water, cloud, rain, spring, seasons, blood, arrow, bow, corn, crop, artichoke, pole, cottonwood, cedar, sage, red, black, mystery, maze, whorl, head, giant, crier, teacher, worker, singer, Kaw, etc. Obviously the partly native, partly English, bit-by-bit listing of clans was a result of Dorsey's prudence and dutiful mind. He heard there were 10 clans and carefully noted them. Then he was given a list of 15 clans and many more animals and objects, at least 70 totems, and dutifully listed them also. Finally he would try to work out the system, and got his neurons in disarray. That it would be possible to theoretically systematize this information, was something he would not have the imprudence to do.

These listings are made mainly to show how complicated and confusing matters get. Clans are not clearly distinguished, they are not really clans, and each so-called clan contains a mixture of other clans or totems. Remnants of several former clans were subsumed under one of Dorsey's modern clans, i.e., turtle, bird, eagle, bear, buffalo, rain, thunder and corn can all be found in the thatata clan, 'to the left' in the village circle (Ann. Rep. 3; Ann. Rep. 27, p. 141). As far as I can understand, Thatata originally was a separate village; it had almost a full complement of clans represented, turtle, blackbird, eagle, raccoon, etc. The village would have been dissolved, but still had some cohesion as a community, and so camped together on the prairie, leading Dorsey to call it a 'gens' rather than what it was, a former village. The same is repeated over and over in Dorsey's lists, so that the 10 'clans' must be remnants of former villages and bands. It is noteworthy that Dorsey never refers to Omaha villages; it is not part of his ethnologic vocabulary.

The same would then apply to other 'gentes'; that they originally were distinct villages with a full complement of clans, that were decimated to become a small part of the camp circle. For instance, monthinkakahe had clan totems such as swan, wolf, coyote, horse, stone, seasons and earth. Honka has crow, bear, buffalo, rabbit and corn. Inshtathunta has snake, worm, toad, frog, reptile, insect, bug, crane, wildcat, buffalo, earth, sky, moon and pole. Another indication that 'gentes' were former distinct communities, is that they have many of the same totems; for instance, buffalo is listed for at least 5 'gentes', and thunder is in 4. This means that in order to arrive at an idea of the social organization of the Omaha tribe in terms of totemic clan configuration, each so-called 'gens' would have to be analyzed separately as a former village, with its own complement of sub-clans and totems, including the personal name and totem of each and every individual in the tribe. Even then it would be almost impossible to get to the configuration of clans in a village, since the remnants were just a part of the more general tribal circle, with no camp circle of their own. It would take a mapping of every tent in the circle to see if 'gentes' had a configuration, and preferably also a reconstruction of each and every former Omaha village whose layout and configuration could be described in one way or other. The mapping of each house on the reservation and its genealogy would be a place to start. Unfortunately such on-the-ground research was never a part of the ethnologists' agenda.

It must be added that Dorsey in some cases presents separate tribal or camp circles for different 'gens' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 523). In the thatata gens, clockwise from the entrance, were black-bear, small-bird, eagle and turtle, presumably with smaller clans in between. This is further interpreted as bear being associated with earth, bird with thunder and fire, eagle with wind and turtle with water, all of which are totems. A contrived effort is made to show that this is a divine arrangement, clockwise from the entrance: earth, bear, bird, fire, sun, thunder,

war, air, wind, eagle, turtle, water, peace; a good try but misunderstood. More interesting is the claim that all the clans are interlinked; bear and bird are 'kin', earth people serve fire people, water may serve wind, fire opposes water, and so on. There were crisscrossing interconnections and ritual bonds between clans in a village, though not in this quasi-philosophical manner. Dorsey sets up an intricate diagram for the Dakota tribes of gods: earth, fire, wind, water, north, east, south, west, blue, red, black and yellow. From here he proceeds to his own idea of how all clans belong in different corners of his diagram. Fairly crackpot; yet with curious relevance. Clans were not placed randomly in a village, they had a definite position in relation to other clans, one that could not be destroyed easily when the village structure was interrupted.

Dorsey's tribal circle seems to be a modern development. Villages had been dissolved on the reservation and people were placed on individual farms after 1870 (Ann. Rep. 27, p. 626f). Only the buffalo hunt remained as an occasion for most of the tribe to meet, and then random groups were placed together in the circle of clans, and became what Dorsey called 'gentes', actually groups of convenience. One group was named 'left hand', meaning that it camped to the left of another group. Hardly a distinguishing totem. This would be more like an ad hoc arrangement, like repeat visitors to modern camping grounds who always park in the same spot and get to know their neighbors, here construed as 'gens'.

The gender perspective of Dorsey and others is strange. When listing members of a clan, he seems to list women in the clans of their husbands, so that Hawk-Female is listed in the wolf clan (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 243). Probably this is a result of confusion or puritan views, e.g., that a woman belongs to her husband, and informants might place people by location rather than provenance. The main reason may be that women were not used as informants. As often happens in research there is a male bias in which women become a muted group (Ardener 1972). Then again, the mixed listing may be the result of the confusing organization of modern groups. It is slightly mitigating that Dorsey claims that 'women had an equal standing in society' (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 266). Men would help their wives at difficult tasks, such as cutting wood in the winter. Both genders worked hard.

The ideal version of the clanship system is a compromise between the handful of survivors from 100+ Omaha villages that existed in the not-too-distant past. And yet the ideal version is everything we have in order to catch a glimpse of the well-organized tribal past. It resembles the myriad sherds from a mirror that can show us the reflection of how things used to be.

Trying to work out the Omaha system of totemic clans at first seems impossible. Yet there is a discernable pattern in how clans are grouped. The Omaha worked hard to maintain their social system. One approximation to how clans were grouped could be: (earth), hawk, elk, rabbit, bear, turtle; bird, buffalo, deer, wolf, snake, (thunder). Alternatively: (earth), elk, rabbit, bear, eagle, turtle; buffalo, beaver, wolf, bird, snake, (thunder). If there was a phratry system, earth, elk, buffalo, rabbit and deer or beaver could be in one phratry, bear and wolf or wildcat could be in another, and hawk, bird, turtle, snake and thunder could be in a third. This is based on a conceptual grouping of animals, plant-eaters, meat-eaters and egg-layers, with chiefly clans added. Since a large number of totems are available, permutations of the clan pattern would be expected in ancient villages. But the system of 10 clans and 2 leaders, or 12 clans in all, seems to have been persistent, even insistently so (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 227).

Among the Omaha the clans had reciprocal obligations. For instance, bear people served elk people in ceremonies. Unfortunately a full presentation of clan interrelations is lacking. Some

statements are pretty straightforward. ‘A child belongs to its father’s gens’ (Ann. Rep. 3, p. 225). Beyond the opaque nature of the material it is possible to envision the Omaha nation consisting of villages made up of 10-12 totemic clans; which is all that we can demand of the material. The claim may seem minor, but it is crucial to understanding native social organization. There was a definite number of complementary clans in each village.

The Kansa tribe had one of the hardest fates of all these kindred societies. One reason presumably was the tribe’s location in the way of white settlers in Kansas, ironically named for the tribe. As late as 1855 half the tribe’s remaining population died from smallpox because white doctors refused to vaccinate them; a straightforward genocidal attempt (Unrau 1971, p. 151-2). Of 15,000+ people 300 remained by 1890; 2%.

Kansa supposedly had two tribal halves, Hanga (buffalo) and Cenu (soil). There also were two moieties, uata (pipe) and ictunga (wind), said to originate in female ancestors. Kansa clans and totems included: washashe (snake, turtle, mussel), washinka-inikashikithe (bird, crow, turkey, duck), minha-onikashinka (swan, hawk, eagle, owl, wolf, coyote, wildcat), mika (raccoon, bear, deer, antelope), hanga, tsetuka, te-inikashikithe (buffalo, moose), ophon-inikashikithe, manyinkakahe (elk, horse, beaver, gopher, rabbit, horn, bow), cenu, moninka (earth, rock), hon (night, moon, sun), ictunga (wind, thunder, war, shadow, ghost, smoke, fire, tree, reed), uata (pipe, tent), hongatonga, hongashinga (leader), ponka (Ponca), tsishu-washtake (peace or orphan), etc. (cf. Ann. Rep. 15, p. 230f; Ann. Rep. 27, p. 67; Morgan 1877, p. 160). Dorsey’s contrived system has: earth, bear; hawk (lu), thunder, deer, buffalo; wind, eagle, ghost; turtle (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 534f). Dual clans are hinted at by totems such as white and black eagle.

A suggested ordering of clans in a Kansa village would be: ((6) thunder or wind), snake, bird, (2) raccoon or wolf, (5) deer or antelope, beaver; (11) turtle, (6b) hawk or (3, 8) eagle, (13) bear, (9) buffalo or (4) elk, rabbit, ((1) earth or pipe). Or revised a little bit: (tsishu or earth), snake (A), bird (B), raccoon (C), buffalo (D), rabbit (C), turtle (F), hawk (G), bear (H), elk (I), beaver (J), (wind or Kansa). The numbers are from a list by Skinner; capital letters from Dorsey (Skinner 1915, p. 762; Dorsey list above). As will be seen there is no correlation in Skinner’s list, except that some clans in the first group (2 and 5) come before the corresponding ones in the second group (13 and 9). The Dorsey list has a better fit, A, B, C, D, and F, G, H, I, J. All in all it can be assumed that each Kansa village had a system of 10-12 totemic clans situated around a central plaza.

Ethnologists totally misinterpreted the Osage tribe. This great people that once inhabited the southern half of Missouri and adjacent areas may have numbered 40,000 people in 1500 AD; and 2000 by 1900; 5%. In one account they are reduced to ‘five kinship groups’ with ‘a number of subgroups’ (Ann. Rep. 27, p. 57). Actually this would originally be political tribal divisions occupying large areas with many villages. The 5 designated parts of the Osage nation must have been geographical divisions, like counties in a state, even though they had clan-like names; Gronin, Honga, Tsishu, Washashe and Utanatsi. A parallel would be the 5 divisions of the Shawnee tribe, that each included a vast territory with dozens of villages (Bull. 30, pt. 2, p. 536). Each division would have a totemic designation, such as turkey, but each constituent village in turn would have a full complement of 12 clans.

These complex historical precedents were reduced by ethnologists to an idealized tribal circle with 5 ‘clans’ and 24 sub-clans; actually remnants of tribal divisions and villages. As an added complication, there supposedly were three ways in which the tribal circle was formed, a

‘usual’, ‘hunting’ and ‘sacred’ order. A conceptual presentation is as follows (cf. Ann. Rep. 27, p. 58, Ann. Rep. 15, p. 233-234):

Honga half: Washashe (snake): including washashethka (snake), kekin (turtle), mikeestetse (cattail, crow), watsetsi (star, eagle), uzugahe (road), tathihi (deer, rodent), hu-shoigara (fish). Honga (leader): including wathape (bear or black-bear), inkronka-shoikara or ingthonga (panther, porcupine), ophon or upkwan (elk), moninkakahe (earth), ponka-washtake (orphan, peace), hitha (eagle), honkashinka or kansa (leader, wind). Honga-utanatsi (little leader): including monhinthi (knife).

Tsishu half: Nika-wakontaki or Gronin (thunder): including hontsewatse (cedar), nuhe (ice, buffalo). Tsishu (oldest): including tsishu-wanon (oldest, spirit), sintsakre (wolf), petontonka-shoikara (crane), tsetoka-intse (buffalo), mikin-wanon (sun, eagle), hon-shoikara (night, deer), and tsishu-uthuhake or tsishu-washtake (last, bald-eagle).

To this clear but misleading picture some totems can be added: Washashe: elders. Ponca or ponka-washtake: peace. Hanka or hitha: eagle, black-bear, elk. Kansa: wind. Tsishu or chee-zhoo: wolf or tail, buffalo, eagle, sun, night, thunder. Thoxe or thohe: buffalo, hawk, wolf, moon, star, flower, bow. Sintsakre: hawk, eagle, wolf, dog, buffalo, horse, walker (elk or hawk?), howler (wolf?), war. Mikin-wanon: eagle, buffalo, hair, voice (bird?), moon, sun, war. Tsishu-washtage: blackbird, hawk, eagle (yellow claw), deer, buffalo, elk, horse, wing, bone, head, chief, moon, war, wind, land, rope, hail, black, leader, peace. Ho-inikashika: fish, blue-fish, white-fish, hawk, raccoon, deer, horn, mouse, water, sun, fire, bush, leaf, moccasin, bow, chief. Hon-inikashika: night, bear, dog, fire, cedar, pipe. Ta-inikashika: deer, fish, buffalo, water, sun, oak, moccasin, footprint, bow, soldier, chief. Ingthonga: panther, bear, earth, sun, moon, star, arrow, knife, war. Xuthashutse: red-eagle. Etc.

All put together there is a great number of potential clan totems: snake, fish, black-fish, red-fish, turtle, crawfish, mussel, spider, insect, bird, turkey, crow, blackbird, redbird or tanager, cardinal, blue-jay, woodpecker, curlew, wing, snipe, duck, swan, crane, pelican, eagle, bald-eagle, golden-eagle, osprey, hawk, owl, great-horned-owl, gray-owl, bear, black-bear, raccoon, otter, panther, wildcat, wolf, dog, coyote, deer, buffalo, elk, horse, beaver, gopher, rodent, porcupine, marmot, gopher, small-animals, squirrel, rabbit, walker, head, bone, earth, land, hill, coal, thunder, water, lake, river, cloud, rain, hail, ice, wind, sky, sun, moon, star, day, night, meteor, fire, war, peace, tree, oak, cedar, corn, pumpkin, cattail, pond-lily, tree, cedar, sycamore, willow, house, pipe, rattle, rope, arrow, bow, war-club, red, black, village, chief, peace, war, voice, etc. (Ann. Rep. 6; Ann. Rep. 27). Dorsey’s contrived system gives: earth, bear; thunder, peace; wind, eagle; turtle, water, fish, beaver, pond-lily (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 534f). There are indications of a dual system of clans, such as ‘black’ and ‘white’ used for snake, bear, etc. Several totems have color designations: black-fish, red-fish, white-bird, white-hawk, black-eagle, red-eagle, as well as other qualifications, big-elk. All this may reflect on an earlier clan structure, now reduced to mythical recitations.

In a work called ‘The Osage Tribe’ the term ‘life symbol’ is used for a totem (Ann. Rep. 36). There are two moieties, sky and earth (p. 48). The social organization has a basic pattern of 7 clans on each side of the village, west or north and east or south. Unfortunately this is presented as a ‘symbolic organization’, not reality (p. 51). This misconstrued pattern is applied to the tribe as a whole, not to clans on the ground.

In spite of this a kind of pattern is hinted at. The west or north is called tsishu, thuhe or nika-wakondagi, identified with the sky, sun and war. The east or south moiety is called honga, and is identified with the earth, water and peace (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 51-52). Since these moieties in the 'symbolic' view are transposed on the tribe as a whole, all clans will be in each moiety. Yet it is possible to vaguely differentiate two sides in the clan alignments. The sky moiety has turtle, bird, dog, buffalo and beaver. The earth moiety has snake, eagle, bear, elk and porcupine. There are many permutations and variations on this pattern, since each village would have its own selection of complementary clans. There are definitive statements that there were 7 kinds of clans; so there may be a pattern such as: (sky), turtle, bird, dog, buffalo, beaver, (wind); (thunder), snake, eagle, bear, elk, rabbit and (earth). This would leave 7 clans on each side of the village (p. 52-53). Here rabbit is substituted for porcupine; other rodent-like totems include squirrel and 'small-animals' (p. 52).

Based on the 'peace ceremony' a clan distribution can be vaguely discerned (Bull. 101, p. 202f): (thunder), turtle, bird, bear, wolf, buffalo, beaver; snake, eagle, raccoon, panther, deer or elk, rabbit, (earth). Or in a more restricted reading: (sky), turtle, bird, bear, buffalo, beaver; snake, eagle, wolf, elk, rabbit, (earth). This is not at all certain; clans have become mixed and forgotten. The actual listing of clans in different sources varies and basically covers every conceivable or claimed totem: buffalo, thunder, rabbit, snake, fire, bear, night, dawn, peace, moon, star, sun, buffalo, sun; wing, eagle, bear, panther, elk, crawfish, wind, earth; turtle, meteor, snake, peace, water, cattail, deer, bow, night, fish, deer and hail. Additional totems mentioned are mouse, skunk, wolf, and more. It is obvious that this is a combination of several bands and villages and the clans represented in each, that all take part in the peace ceremony.

Clans are not what they seem. A thunder person can belong to the eagle clan. In one curious statement it is said that 'the Night gens' are 'a sort of bear people' (Dorsey 1884, p. 124); no explanation is given. Obviously a person can have a different totem from that of his or her clan, and the circle of clans in a village can be associated with a main totem but also with subsidiary ones. Ethnologists had no interest in explaining how the system worked; they just took down what was said – in itself important work.

The deeply intertwined relation of totems are indicated in the Osage texts: 'Seven willow saplings the beaver brought to the right side of his house' (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 100). This would represent the 7 clans in a moiety. Every story about a totem quest usually includes a number of other potential totems. This may inform on the relationship between personal totems, often called tutelary spirits, and clan totems.

In order to arrive at the totemic clan composition of former Osage villages, it is necessary to go below the 5 main divisions, and preferably below the subdivisions as well, to each local community and the totemic reference of every person's name who lived there. It is also necessary to go above the idiosyncratic level, that 'willows', 'beaver' and 'water' are not turned into a symbolic social system. As with kinship, social organization should be studied by mapping a community and its residents in order to determine the distribution of clans. Sadly this was something an ethnologist would never do. Instead an ideal model of the society would be elicited from amenable male informants, preferably of white descent.

This is where ethnology and archeology part ways. An archeologist would not like to be presented with an ideal image of a site. The interpretations should depend on the excavation. Hence archeologists may dig up a village with houses placed in a circle, without having a clue

about what this structure represents or how it was organized. Usually some ad hoc explanation will be offered about site structures, such as defense or rulership. An ethnologist on the other hand could describe an entire tribe as a camp circle, without having any inkling or interest in studying how matters looked on the ground. Archeologists and ethnologists could do research in the same area, such as the Missouri River valley, without having any agreement that they were looking at the same phenomenon. The exception would be if it became obvious that they were studying the same place, such as a Mandan village, when an archeologist might guardedly admit that house clusters could represent clans, and an ethnologist would gruffly comment that the number of houses does not correspond to the ideal clan structure he has posited. The mutual level of learning is marginal.

What is interesting is that the listing of clans in one tribal group, Washashe, provides an almost complete set of complementary clans: snake, turtle, fish, crow, eagle, deer, rodent, star, road, cattail. Only a few clans are 'missing', wolf, bear, buffalo and rabbit. It is as if the names of the clans were taken down in the actual order they would appear in a village, though ideally referring to a symbolical organization of the tribe as a whole. If the Washashe configuration represents a former village structure it may be used as a model for social organization, supplemented by clan references from other bands.

As a summary, the following group of clans can be suggested around the plaza of an Osage village, starting clockwise from the west: (sun or thunder), snake, crow, bear, deer, gopher or rodent; turtle, eagle, panther, buffalo, porcupine or marmot, (earth). Or alternatively: (honga), turtle, crow, bear, deer, gopher; snake, eagle, panther, buffalo, porcupine or marmot, (washashe).

The clans are activated during ceremonies. In a mourning ceremony it is said that 'from ten to twenty' kettle-bearers are selected; in an accompanying diagram, 24 are shown, 12 on each side of the village (Dorsey 1884, p. 123). It seems impossible not to imagine that they represent village clans, though this is not in the scholar's mind. Much remains to be found out about the social organization of the Osage tribe; what can be discerned is that native villages were constituted of a set number of complementary totemic clans.

The Quapaw tribe is the least known Dhegiha society in terms of social organization. This once powerful tribe, perhaps counting 20,000 people in 1500 AD, by 1890 counted 300; 1.5%. A number of totemic clan names can be found in various sources: turtle, fish, snake, crawfish, bird, small-bird, crane, eagle, wolf, dog, panther, raccoon, bear, deer, elk, buffalo, beaver, squirrel, rabbit, earth, peace, sun, star, thunder, leader, etc. An identification with or fascination with stars is also something we find in neighboring Caddoan tribes.

One description has 2-3 tribal halves or thirds: Hanka, including: Big Hanka (ancestor, crawfish), small-bird (2 clans), Small Hanka (buffalo), elk, eagle, buffalo, dog or wolf. The other 'moiety' is unnamed: fish, Nikiala, turtle. And behold, there is a third tribal section, labeled 'uncertain, but not Hanka': panther or lion, Tishu (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 229-30). To top this, one informant listed different clans: deer, black-bear, grizzly-bear, beaver, star, crane, thunder-being, snake, sun, and panther. That two kinds of bear are given, may indicate that two dwindling villages went through the painful process of amalgamating into one, a 'fusion' of communities. Both want to be the bear in the new village. The scarce records lead to a tentative suggestion of how a Quapaw village could be organized: (thunder), turtle, crane, raccoon, deer, squirrel, fish, eagle, bear, buffalo, rabbit, (star). This impression must be compared to that of other Dhegiha tribes.

Dorsey managed to persuade survivors of the badly reduced Tutelo and Biloxi tribes to give up some clan names (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 243-44). The Tutelo, ancient residents of eastern Kentucky, supposedly had two moieties in each village. On 'one side' were bear (3) and deer (4), perhaps with snake (1), turkey (2) and beaver (5) as well; on the 'other side' were wolf (8) and turtle (6), perhaps with hawk (7), elk (9) and rabbit (10) besides; additional clans and a suggested clan order (by numbers) have been added (p. 244). This would form a perfect 'Siouan' layout of ten clan houses around a village plaza (as numbered). The Biloxi aka Annocchy aka Nahyssan named: deer (ita-anyati), bear (onti-anyati), and alligator (nahotottha-anyati) (p. 243; Bull 22, p. 14). Once there may have been totems such as: fish, turtle, snake, frog, bird, blackbird, redbird, finch, hummingbird, turkey, crow, snipe, duck, swan, eagle, hawk, buzzard, bear, raccoon, otter, wolf, dog, fox, wildcat, panther, deer, elk, buffalo, squirrel, woodrat, rabbit, opossum, caterpillar, earth, water, sun, moon, thunder, Frenchman, etc.; there are no alligators in West Virginia, where the Biloxi may have come from. Clan stories include: 'The Rabbit and the Bear'; 'The Brant and the Otter'; 'The Opossum and the Raccoon'; 'The Wildcat and the Turkeys'; and many others – a surprising diversity for a defunct tribe (Bull. 47). Based on such data it is tempting to reconstruct a Nahyssan clan structure: (sun), turtle, turkey, bear, wolf, deer, woodrat, fish, hawk, otter, wildcat, elk, rabbit, (earth). Needless to say this is a tentative reconstruction; yet the Eastern Siouan material tends to confirm a village organization of a set number of totemic clans.

Biloxi or Nahyssan may have had 3 phratries, indicated by 'one, two, or three arrows' 'painted on the shoulder' (Bull. 22, p. 31). Chiefs may have been counted as a fourth phratry, but probably were generally identified with totems or 'arrows' in the other three group. Each phratry had its own burial ground (p. 33). Descent was in the 'female line' (p. 17). 'Marriage within the clan was regarded as incest' (p. 33). A third tribe, Saponi, represented by a hunter called Bearskin in 1729, may have had totems such as fish, turkey, goose, buzzard, bear, otter, deer, beaver and paint (p. 46).

If the reader has followed the exposition thus far, it is gratefully appreciated. The perusal of opaque ethnologic reports has not been easy, and most interpretations are tentative. What has hopefully been shown is that Siouan tribes had a social organization based on local totemic clans, and that these clans formed an encompassing and complementary system, exemplified by the organization of villages into a number of residential groups settled around a plaza. Beyond this a suggestive vision is presented of a 'Siouan system' of 10-12 clans settled around a village plaza and organized into 2 moieties or village halves and 3 phratries. To what extent this pattern was actually followed in native communities is a matter of conjecture, but also a question of sorely needed research and perusal of sources. The suggestion is that Siouans, though central to totemic clan research, cannot be seen in isolation, and the reader is asked to carry on reading before settling on one or more definitive view.

The southern matrilines

The tribes that once occupied Tennessee, such as the distinctive Yuchi people, are mostly absent from BAE writings, though ethnologists conducted archeological digs there (Bull. 118). Potential Yuchi clan totems could include: fish, turtle, snake, alligator, bird, turkey, hawk, eagle, buzzard, bear, badger, raccoon, skunk, otter, wolf, fox, dog, panther, wildcat, deer, elk, beaver, rabbit, squirrel, woodchuck, opossum, wind, salt, acorn, hickory-nut, sweet-potato, etc. (Bull. 30, pt. 2, p. 1005; Speck 1909, p. 71). Apparently Yuchi clans were influenced by Creek systems in modern times. There are indications that pre-contact Yuchi villages had 12 totemic clans, though this must remain conjecture at this point.

Turning south to Florida, Timucua villages consisted of matrilineal clans in 2 moieties (Bull. 73, p. 369-371). Clan totems included: fish, snake, partridge, buzzard, bear, panther, deer, rodent, earth, sky, etc. Other clans could be: alligator and wolf. A list of 6 'phratries' presumably were geographical bands. Early depictions indicate villages organized into clusters of clans around a village plaza (Bull. 137, pl. 57).

Seminole totems could include: snake, rattlesnake, alligator, bird, owl, horned-owl, bear, raccoon, otter, wolf, tiger, deer, buffalo, monkey, corn, earth, wind, etc. Clans found in the 1950s included bird, little bird, tiger and deer (Bull. 151). A tentative clan structure could be: (wind), alligator, bird, bear, wolf, deer, snake, owl, otter, tiger, buffalo, (earth) (cf. MacCauley 1887).

A list of Kasihta clans – a Lower Creek band – could include: fish, alligator, bird, bear, fox, wildcat, panther, deer, beaver, squirrel, etc. Late information noted Kasihta clans around the village square, starting with the second or 'vice chief' to the west, fish, wildcat, fox, panther and others to the north, bird, bear, deer and beaver to the south, and ending with the 'town chief' and associated clans, bear, alligator and wind, to the west. The accumulation of clans near the chief in 1888, may indicate that the old village distribution of clans had disintegrated due to depopulation (Ann. Rep. 41, p. 511).

Highly conflated information on Creek Indian social organization is provided (Ann. Rep. 42). Here an almost limitless presentation of Creek clans is presented, running to several hundred pages. Creek clans and totems might include: snake, rattlesnake, alligator, turtle, fish, gar-fish, toad, bird, blackbird, partridge, woodpecker, turkey, raven, heron, crane, swan, pelican, eagle, hawk, buzzard, owl, bear, raccoon, skunk, otter, mink, wolf, fox, dog, wildcat, panther, tiger, deer, buffalo, elk, horse, beaver, mole, squirrel, rabbit, possum, bat, insect, daddy-long-legs, earth, sand, salt, water, fog, sky, sun, wind, whirlwind, fire, tree, oak, hickory, cane, spunk, mushroom, potato, corn, red-paint, white, black, red, town, dance-ground, war-chief, warrior, Shawnee, Spanish, etc. There are indications of a dual clan organization, such as white or black earth. In purist or puritan fashion Swanton would omit non-native clan animals such as horse, pig or sheep. He carefully stipulated that Tiger was the same as Panther; not strictly correct. The large number of totemic clan designations in the Creek tribe does not mean that there are more local clans than are usually posited, but that there are many possible permutations of clan animals.

A quick summary of protagonists in Creek animal stories yields as follows: fish (1), turtle or terrapin (9), snake (12), lizard (6), alligator (4), bird (2), turkey (6), crow (1), hummingbird (4), duck (1), heron (2), crane (3), eagle (2), hawk (3), buzzard (1), owl (7), bear (7), raccoon (1), skunk (1), wolf (7), coyote (1), dog (6), panther (7), wildcat (4), deer (8), buffalo (1), elk (1), mule (1), cow (1), mouse (1), rabbit (35), opossum (5) and monkey (1) (Bull. 88, p. v-x). In parenthesis is the number of times each animal is mentioned in titles. 'Brere Rabbit' is the hero, inoffensive but clever; yet a full complement of totemic animals is included in the stories (cf. Harris 1909).

A confusing effort is made to elucidate the topic of Creek 'clans', along with phratries and moieties (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 97-358). The presentation here becomes extremely opaque and collated, starting with tentative traditions of personal names and clan origins, before becoming more and more lost in clan lists and details.

First Swanton presents a number of clans found in the Creek tribe – adding to the complexity he includes many non-Creek tribes (p. 115-117). Then he presents clans that are ceremonially represented at the square ground in every Creek town – omitting many local clans that are not represented or that he feels do not fit. In this way he is presenting an inclusive and exclusive view of clans, with random complications.

Of the 28+ Creek clans, 21 are found in the town lists, though for some towns as few as 8 clans are listed. For the Lower Creeks 18 clans are listed, but adding clans actually in the town lists the number would be 21+; some groups are in the clan list but not in the town lists, and vice versa (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 123-298).

From this confusing array some observations can be made. The basic clan list pairs animals such as: snake and fish, bird and eagle, bear and raccoon, wolf and panther, deer and buffalo, beaver and rabbit, in addition to wind and potato. This is based on an assumption that the buffalo and rabbit have disappeared, and mole has come in, conceivably in the place of buffalo. The town lists, for their part, give a more local picture, dominated by specific pairs, alligator and bird, bear and raccoon, wolf and panther, deer and beaver, wind and potato. This would then be a modified reduction of the fuller clan lists. It is highly significant that a Koasati census lists 26 wildcats, 21 turkeys and 1 wolf, while none of these clans are in the town list (p. 124, 150). For the Texas Alabama, Swanton prissily excludes the Wolf clan members from his census because they used to 'properly' belong to another tribe (p. 150). The member-based Alabama clan list is completely different from the square ground list.

Remnants of old local clan systems can thus be found in Creek towns and villages. One problem is that Swanton only records clans at the square grounds, that is, clans represented among ceremonial leaders and roles. For Tuskegee he lists 11 such clans, while among town members in general Speck found at least 7 more clans (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 124). Clan seating in the square is exclusionary, focused on leaders, sacred paraphernalia and ceremonial roles. On the opposite side from the leaders are the 'meanest' seats (p. 210). People on the south platform are spoken of as 'clans mixed together' or 'almost any clan' (p. 220, 222, 236, 239). The seating does not reflect the village clan structure. In particular the 'foreign' clans were not well represented, though forming half the village.

Old Swanton's problem is mainly that he considers the clan to be the basic unit instead of the village. If the clanship distribution of all the people in a village had been outlined, endless comparisons of clans such as 'Raccoon and Potato' would have been less random (p. 146).

Swanton mixes up many levels of social organization, from individual local clans to phratries, moieties, 'red' and 'white' towns, and up to former bands and traditional tribal divisions. The location of clans at square grounds seems fairly random, due to past depopulation and relocations (p. 123-7). Yet taken as a whole a general impression emerges of how totemic clans can have been distributed in a pre-contact village.

Every clan had its origin story, going back to an ancestral animal or being (Ann. Rep. 42, 107). Ethnocentric scholars fought hard to dismiss the idea of totemic clans. Like Mooney, Speck dismissed totems as 'certain traits' people had that resembled animals, not animal descent as such (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 110).

One statement about Creek society is exceptionally clear: 'All the clans in the nation take their family descent from the mother' (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 114). Probably it was necessary to be this specific when addressing white audiences. In addition, clans were exogamous. The importance of marriage rules was stated as: 'clans have everything to do with marriage'. That people from the same clan in 'unrelated towns' could marry, was 'denied by everyone' (p. 166). Also marriage into father's clan was prohibited, as a kind of incest, falling 'into his own pot' (ibid.). 'In ancient times the prohibition' was 'more rigorous', banning marriage with 'blood relatives' including second-third cousins (ibid.).

Clan joking was related to intermarriage (p. 168). Men would pretend to disparage their own clan, and 'speak well' of their father's clan (p. 168). Men would pretend to be insulted by jokes about their clans, demanding compensation, and the jester would pretend the joke was made 'in honor' or 'respect'. The same applied to killing clan animals (p. 169). A deer man could complain of deer hunts, but the hunters could say they did it in respect.

Swanton, already befuddled, got hopelessly confused on the topic of moieties and phratries. 'Bear, Salt, and Wind may have belonged to the same phratry or clan moiety' (p. 153). He tended to interpret everything as originally distinct, such as moieties being two kinds of towns, rather than seeing that each town consisted of moieties and phratries. Moieties would be the two sides of a Creek village, usually north and south, while phratries were groups of similar animals on both sides of the village, such as Alligator and Bird – both egg-layers, or Fox and Raccoon – both meat-eaters. 'Bear and Wolf did not intermarry', presumably because these were similar animals and hence in the same phratry (p. 126). Other groupings, such as 'Raccoon, Potato, Fox, Aktayatci', probably refer to clans located on one side of the village, a moiety (p. 126). – Since Swanton did not separate these groups clearly, he ended up with a confusing array of phratry-moiety mixes.

Mentioned in an egg-laying phratry were: Alligator, Snake, Turkey, Eagle. Mentioned as a potential meat-eating phratry were: Bear, Raccoon, Wolf, Fox. A herbivorous phratry could include: Deer, Buffalo, Beaver, Rabbit. Remaining was a residue of non-animal clans, such as Wind and Potato. Their relevance was mainly in terms of moiety distinctions.

Describing two moieties, two sets of clans on opposite sides of a village, should be straightforward. Yet Swanton complicated this in a number of ways. As noted, he conflates moieties with tribal groups or bands. Furthermore, he does not distinguish moieties from phratries, he identifies clan not by local residence but by ceremonial positions at the dance square, and he interprets the random positioning of clans at a square as a definite moiety-phratry distribution, leading to hundreds of varieties and uncertainties. On top of this Swanton

would select data that fit his views, or rather, omit some clans that did not, adding to the inscrutability of his material.

Since there is no room to reproduce the myriad moiety plans, a few main variants may be noted. In one version there is a sky moiety represented by: Wind, Alligator, Turkey, Bear, Wolf, Deer and Beaver. Next there is an earth moiety represented by: Potato, Fish, Eagle, Raccoon or Skunk, Fox or Panther, Buffalo and Rabbit. Other clan names and an overlapping distribution can be: Sky, Wind, snake, fish, turtle, bird, turkey, bear, skunk, otter, wolf, panther, fox, dog, deer, beaver. And: Earth, Potato, alligator, snake, fish, bird, eagle, raccoon, skunk, fox, wildcat, panther, wolf, deer, beaver, rabbit.

In part the uncertainty Swanton documents about moieties may be based on historical upheavals. Much of the native social organization broke down in post-contact times, not least local moieties and phratries. As would be expected, in view of historical depopulation, phratry and moiety links are weakly preserved (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 128-144). Swanton's exposition is mainly about his 'perplexing confusion' (p. 146). Once depopulation had taken its toll, local clans were rearranged, perhaps following the 'fusion' of decimated villages. One group of clans became known as native or 'White', and others became known as foreign (p. 113). The moiety designations 'white' and 'foreign' may stem from post-contact upheavals, such as tribal movements, rather than original clan distinctions. It is as if moieties changed places following depopulation; black became white; white became foreign or demoted. Following an early depopulation, where the old leadership may have taken the brunt, it was the sky moiety, with the 'vice chief', who took precedence and hence became 'White'.

The post-contact alignment appears as: 'White' moiety: (wind), fish or turtle, bird or turkey, bear or skunk, wolf or fox, deer, beaver. 'Foreign' (tciloki) moiety: (potato), alligator or snake, eagle, raccoon or otter, buffalo or mole, rabbit. Swanton itches to identify the 'foreign' moiety with 'red sticks' and 'war'; his informant says no. By permutation, the pre-contact system could be: Sky moiety: (wind), fish, bird, bear, wolf, buffalo or deer, beaver. Earth moiety: (potato), snake, eagle, raccoon, panther, deer or elk, rabbit.

In this scenario the moieties kind of 'shifted', so that the earth moiety originally was white and had the main chief, as it continued to do, while the sky moiety originally was black, but took over the 'white' or peace function of de-facto leadership, though continuing the role of 'vice chief'. The 'second' chief's place at the dance square was the 'peace' platform; perhaps this was always the case, as he sat next to the main chief (p. 191-2). Swanton has some relevant observations on this. White people were 'assigned to a White clan' for 'obvious reasons'(!), 'particularly the Wind' (p. 167). The Wind clan may have become prominent because whites were adopted into it; they stood above tribal laws (p. 169).

If there was a (partial) shift, this offers possible permutations. If the 'foreign' clans originally were (ethnically) white, then the 'White' clans may become 'foreign'; a kind of 'double take'. The labels are touchy; nobody wants to be called 'foreign'. In this double take, clans such as Wind, Bird, Bear, Deer and Beaver can be called 'foreign', something Swanton dutifully doubts (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 162). And vice versa, 'foreign' clans can be 'White', such as Potato, Eagle, Raccoon and Panther. In one statement, Panther 'was a White clan which had been turned over to the Tciloki to make their numbers even' with 'the Whites' (p. 164); quite perplexing, but meaningful in a totemic context.

It has to be reiterated that the positions of clans in a village were complementary, e.g., based on their relations with each other. Such relations included clans in a moiety, and similar animals in a phratry across the moieties; these were crisscrossing relations.

One intriguing question is the position of each clan in a village. In one scenario, clans in opposite moieties paralleled each other; in another they followed in a circle, like two sides on a clock; a diametrical correspondence. The latter seems more likely.

A clockwise order, from west and north to east, south and back to west, could be as follows: (wind), fish, turkey, bear, wolf, deer, beaver; snake, eagle, raccoon, panther, elk, rabbit, (potato) (cf. p. [67] here). Vague examples could be the square grounds at Abihkuchi and Tulsa Little River (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 213, 221). An alternative, perhaps later, alignment could be: (earth), turtle, bird, bear, wolf, deer, beaver; alligator, eagle, raccoon, panther, buffalo, rabbit, (sky) (Bull. 123).

It is known that the moiety distinction was operative in ball games. They formed opposite sides in games (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 165). Fathers 'always played against' their 'sons'; a strong indication of moiety exogamy (p. 166).

The post-contact breakdown came to affect marriage rules. Originally exogamy extended to moieties and phratries, such as 'Alligator and Turkey' (p. 108). Moiety members could not marry; but this exogamy broke down (p. 108). As people became decimated by Old World diseases, the larger exogamous groups broke down, their 'fire went out', both symbolically and physically. In one story, Bear and Wolf were sisters who separated, each saying 'I will go this way'; their sisterhood was weakened, allowing offspring to marry (p. 110). Yet this was against the rules, and would remain an exception even after phratry groups fell apart or died off. Moiety exogamy broke down after a social upheaval when some clans were classified as 'foreign'.

Whatever it was that Swanton tried to achieve with his confusing clan lists, it seems clear that he was onto something. He saw a repeated system of local complementary clans in each town and village, and wanted to document it (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 114-295). What also shines through is the generality and pervasiveness of the clanship system; from Florida to Tennessee people have similar clan designations; they were part of the same social organizational universe.

Old Swanton vehemently denied that the Choctaw had totems, considering all such references as 'questionable' (Bull. 103, p. 79). He complained of informants confounding moieties, clans and local groups; the word for 'clan' is iksa (p. 80). Yet only 10% of the people remained; conditions were bound to be mixed up. A list of Choctaw clan totems could include: fish, alligator, snake, bird, quail, turkey, chicken, duck, crane or bustard, eagle, owl, bear, raccoon, wolf, panther, deer, buffalo, wind, crawfish, fly, ant, tree, holly, reed, corn, potato, etc. The reed totem was associated with birds. Totems were represented by dances: alligator, turkey, bear, buffalo and more; some of these could be borrowed from other tribes (p. 221). The invasive French started preventing certain dances before 1750, and probably interrupted other traditions as well; their huffing ridicule made native people embarrassed (p. 222).

A moiety system was found among the Choctaw. One side was called inhulahta, translated as stockade, beloved, chief or leading man, and perhaps associated with war. The other was imoklasha, meaning residents, seated people or friends; also called kashapa-okla or divided

people, and associated with peace. Moieties were exogamous; in fact, totemic clans, moieties and villages seem to have been basically exogamous; e.g., local exogamy.

By contrast to the Creeks, the ethnologist claimed that Chickasaw clans were 'completely discarded', due to their pro-American attitude (Ann. Rep. 44, p. 190). This does not preclude speculation. Unfortunately white people served as informants; hence there was a claim that only 'Spanish' or white people could be chiefs. For the same reason, 'skunk' was 'the least respected' clan, apparently with racist undertones (p. 192). In tribal councils, Skunk was a leading band (p. 193). As usual, ethnologists mix up local clans with village, band and tribal names and totems, making analysis difficult; they consider everything to be 'clans'.

Chickasaw clans and totems included: turtle, fish, snake, alligator, crawfish, bird, woodpecker, pigeon, quail, whip-poor-will, blackbird, crow, turkey, goose, crane, hawk, eagle, owl, bear, raccoon, skunk, wolf, dog, fox, red-fox, wildcat, panther, tiger, deer, buffalo, elk, horse, squirrel, rabbit, dung, earth, river, sky, sun, day, oak, hickory, flower, corn, house, shoe, man, chief, warrior, Spanish, etc. Buffalo, elk and rabbit have been added by default, as animals found in the native land. There may have been a dual clan system, represented by colors such as white and black, red and green; e.g., 'Red Skunk' (p. 208).

A Chickasaw clan structure could be: (war-chief), fish, bird, bear, wildcat, deer, squirrel; (peace-chief), alligator, eagle, raccoon, wolf, buffalo, rabbit. Phratries would be egg-laying, meat-eating and vegetarian animals. Many local variations were possible; skunk could take the place of raccoon, wildcat could substitute for panther, fox for wolf, and so on; probably the alligator clan was also known as snake. Yet the clan organization, the set number of clans, would remain the same from village to village. The war-chief could be Panther or some other animal; peace-chiefs were 'Spanish', but in pre-contact time perhaps a fish or alligator.

Chickasaw descent was 'hereditary through the female side'; this also applied to chiefs (Ann. Rep. 44, p. 191). There was clan, phratry and moiety exogamy. A supposed exception was the 'Raccoon clan' who 'married indifferently'; no doubt a joke or myth that served to confirm exogamic rules (p. 195).

Mention is made of clan mythology, such as clan origin stories, animal tales and clan jokes. 'Stories about the Raccoon, Panther, Wildcat, Bird, and Red Fox clans' were well known in 1924; so the view that clans were 'discarded' is dubious (p. 198). Swanton got confused; clans were exogamous, but animals were not. He started fussing about if clans were 'endogamous', or if moieties were; since he took all information literally, he could not clearly distinguish animal figures from people; one source of confusion would be that in the stories animals are talked of as people; as personae (p. 199).

The clan system was very strict. People could not move into a village who did not belong there. Only the dozen or so village clans had local residence, and their membership was restricted. People who 'married into' or were 'adopted' in a clan or 'house group' were taken care of as members; 'but if they found a man among them for some other purpose they would send him away'. People who had no business to stay met suspicion and rejection; they would get no 'help in any manner' and 'not infrequently such people died' (Ann. Rep. 44, p. 206). This situation was real; only by being incorporated in the (restricted) clan structure could a person live in a Chickasaw village. This reflects on the issue of ostracism, which was a life and death issue in Indian villages, cf. the Wyandot case (p. [107] here). People could not

simply move to another village; they had to be included in the social structure. This was the flip side of environmental adaptation; that outsiders were excluded from local resources.

For the Chitimacha tribe mention is made of 4 clans, wolf, bear, dog and lion; obviously this was one phratry out of perhaps three (Bull. 43, p. 349). Other material, such as personal names and myths, points to several other clans: fish, snake, rattlesnake, catfish, bird, bluebird, canary, flycatcher, woodpecker, pigeon, duck, goose, eagle, owl, deer, spider, earth, sky, night, tree, cypress, flower, pipe, bead, etc. Names such as 'White-goose', 'white lion' and 'white deer' may point to clan dualism (p. 353). 'A person belonged to the same clan as his' or her 'mother' (ibid.). A remarkable story about totemic origins was found in a mouse-eaten manuscript. It said that animals made fun of humans because they were naked, so people started killing the animals for food and clothing; at the same time humans were embarrassed because the animals were right, and a close relationship was formed, in which 'animals took part with them in their councils' and gave 'advice'. Unfortunately the white man writing this down was no totemist, and added: 'Even now each family' has 'attachment for a certain species' and 'pretends to receive' help from it (p. 356-7).

In spite of claims to the contrary, the social organization of the Natchez was nearly unknown. The French were completely ignorant of totemic clans, leading the ethnologist to think they did not exist, a sort of double ethnocentrism (Bull. 43, p. 108). Some Natchez clans and totems may have been: turtle, snake, rattlesnake, alligator, bird, turkey, chicken, eagle, bear, raccoon, wolf, dog, panther, deer, buffalo, beaver, sky, sun, wind, cane, corn, etc. The head chief's clan, often identified with the sun, may have been snake, such as his brother, 'Tattooed Serpent' (p. 106). A line-up of local clans could be: (sun), snake, bird, bear, wolf, deer, beaver, fish, eagle, raccoon, panther, buffalo, rabbit, (earth). Seven of these were elicited after 1880. One interesting observation is that the Taensa, a Natchez ally, made corn cakes with totem figures, buffalo, deer, alligator and turkey; this practice is preserved today in ceremonies in other tribes (Bull. 43, p. 261).

Natchez society became known for its fixed rulership and its classes or 'castes', which may have been illusory. The system was based on the presence of one man, a self-appointed head chief called 'the great Sun' (Bull. 43, p. 100). From him a system was imagined that included Suns, nobles, Honored ones and commoners; other versions had three groups, suns, nobles and commoners; and the basic organization had two, chiefs and ordinary people. The French sources superimposed their own feudal organization on the tribe, using words such as 'nobles' and 'stinkards' or 'obscure' people, while the Sun was equal to the French king. French anthropologists in turn, enthused by the Francophone sources, would turn this into an elaborate caste-like system. Natchez themselves would strongly object to these terms, in particular the word 'stinkard', that was derogatory.

Basically this was a simple system of exogamous matrilineal clans, as found among neighboring tribes. It is claimed that Sun men married commoner women and their children were commoners, Sun women married commoner men and had Sun children, noble women married commoner men and had noble children, and commoners married each other and had commoner children. What all this boiled down to is that children belonged to the clan of the mother. For extra complexity, it was claimed that children of 'Sun fathers' and commoner mothers were 'Nobles', and children of 'Noble fathers' and commoner women were 'Honored People' (Bull. 43, p. 107). This basically shows that these groups did not exist; nobles and honored people were local chiefs and war chiefs, and their children all belonged to the mother's clan. Because of exogamy chiefs could not marry their own kin or relatives, and

their successors would be a sister's son whose father came from a totally unrelated clan. This the self-centered French interpreted as their own feudal castes.

In a Tunica 'thunder myth' all the totem creatures work together to save a boy; a good simile of their complementary organization (Bull. 43, p. 319-322). Possible clan totems include: turtle, snake, alligator, fish, catfish, garfish, bird, woodpecker, woodcock, eagle, osprey, owl, buzzard, bear, raccoon, wolf, dog, wildcat, panther, deer, buffalo, squirrel, rabbit, opossum, earth, hill, river, sky, thunder, lightning, tree, cane, corn, bow, trail, etc. A 'white squirrel' mentioned may hint at clan dualism. A potential clan distribution in a village, starting clockwise in the west, could be: (thunder), turtle, bird, bear, wolf, deer, squirrel, snake, eagle, raccoon, wildcat, buffalo, rabbit, and (earth).

The Atakapa were presented as of 'lower' culture than their neighbors, with no 'clans' (Bull. 68, p. 9). Probably Atakapa people had totems such as fish, mussel and snake, to name a few; the topic was simply not investigated. This was culture by default, like saying Americans have no classes.

Caddo designations for clans and totems may have included: fish, turtle, snake, alligator, bird, crow, eagle, bear, raccoon, otter, wolf, dog, coyote, wildcat, panther or lion, deer, buffalo, horse, beaver, nutria, muskrat, mouse, squirrel, rabbit, earth, water, sky, sun, moon, thunder, fire, wind, tree, pine, corn, bead, house, bread, etc. As usual the ethnologist is reluctant to mention totemic clans. There is a 'hint' of people being 'descended from bears, others from dogs, beavers, coyotes, etc.' (Bull. 132, p. 132). This is more than a hint, it is a native statement, with the Spanish observer in 1761 denouncing it as 'caused' 'by the Devil'; seconded by the ethnologist (p. 164). Listed in 1763 were beaver, otter, wolf and lion. As late as 1910 White Bread gave 5 clans, buffalo (tânaha), bear (nawotsi), panther (kishi), wolf (tasha) and beaver (tao) (p. 164). One more list in 1890 gave bear (nawotsi), wolf (tasha), buffalo (tanaha), beaver (tao), eagle (iwi), raccoon (oat), crow (kakahi), thunder (kakahanin), panther (kishi) and sun (sûko). The buffalo and alligator clans were linked, because both 'bellow in the same way'. While whites frantically denied the existence of totemic clans, the Caddo held on to them. More information could be added if old Swanton had followed this up.

A tentative local clan distribution could be: (sky), turtle, crow, bear, wolf, buffalo, beaver, snake, eagle, raccoon, panther, deer, muskrat, (earth). A variant could be: (thunder), alligator, crow, bear, dog, deer, beaver, snake, eagle, otter, coyote, buffalo, rabbit, (earth). The possibilities for permutations were limitless, while the clan system remained the same. Swanton's twisted logic made him think that Caddo clans had to be endogamous, like the McCoys, but they were of course exogamous. Descent was matrilineal (p. 165).

Some Pawnee totems appear in a work on the pipe ceremony and eagle dance (Ann. Rep. 22, pt. 2). They include bird, turkey, woodpecker, eagle, fox, weasel, wildcat, buffalo, deer, rabbit, earth, sun, day, morning-star, fire, wind, corn, drum and more. There is an interesting story in which it is explained why the turkey was replaced by the eagle as chief. The explanation was that foxes and weasels ate turkey eggs, hence the turkey clan was 'continually reduced'. Woodpeckers, on the contrary, built their nest in a 'tall oak' and hence survived, and saw fit to replace the turkey with an eagle (p. 173). This would be a typical clan story with a dark background; depopulation explained through totemic characteristics. Such stories can be reciprocated; this is what stand-up comedians call heckling. The anthropological term is 'joking relationship'. If two clans gang up on another, it can in turn

reciprocate to both. One retort could be that woodpeckers are rare because their red heads make them an easy target, and eagles have too nice feather for their own good. The ethnologist does not understand that joking is involved, and that such clan stories are reciprocal and complementary. All clans joke each other. They share the same setting and context; in this case that of historical depopulation. Eagles survived and became chiefs. In another account, buffalo gave way to deer, because wild buffalo were exterminated. Such switching of totem animals due to natural changes and effects of white colonization can be found in many tribes.

A fuller list of Pawnee totems included: bird, crow, raven, turkey, bluebird, woodpecker, swan, hawk, eagle, owl, bear, weasel, wolf, fox, wildcat, dog, buffalo, deer, elk, horse, buffalo, rabbit, earth, sky, thunder, sun, day, star, morning-star, fire, wind, corn, drum, tree, knife. How such clans were distributed in a village must remain a topic for future investigations.

On this negative note the attempt to peruse totemic systems in the east is ended for now. As before, the reader is asked to bear over with the many tentative views and claims. Imagine if you will the thousands of American Indian villages that once covered the eastern parts of North America. Their organization remains largely uninvestigated, but it should shine through by now that a pattern of complementary clans made up the communities of different tribes. A 'typical' Southeastern village could have roughly 12 clans distributed across 3 phratries and 2 moieties – with local variations. Hidden right beneath the surface is the possibility that patterns of clans, phratries and moieties can be identified in the villages of many tribes, opening the potential for a wider understanding of Native American social organization. At least, the material is there to be examined.

Further research on social organization

The Kiowa is a highly distinctive tribe. Their language and traditions differ from neighboring groups on the prairie. One negative distinguishing feature is that a ‘clan system does not exist among the Kiowa’. At the same time people had names such as Kicking Bird and Sitting Bear. How could people have totems but no clans? Needless to say the ethnologist would not explain this; he simply made an authoritative statement. And the statement is explained: It is an attack on the ‘disciples of Morgan’ who assume that clans are found in all tribes (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 227). It is also Mooney’s ethnocentric way of saying that the Kiowa are similar to Anglo-Americans.

It may be that the Kiowa numbered 40,000 people in prehistoric times, occupying parts of Montana and Wyoming. By 1890 they counted 1200 persons in present Oklahoma; 3%. Such population loss would change the social fabric completely; practically rip it apart. But the totemic designations remained in people’s names, regardless of Mooney’s proclamations. It is significant that Mooney, in one of his infamous population ‘estimates’, claimed the Kiowa never numbered more than 1400 people, ignoring an 1873 count of 2000. He had to show that they had always been as he posited, with none of Morgan’s ‘colored’ views (p. 227).

Before whites arrived the Kiowa may have been divided into 4 regional divisions with roughly 10,000 people each, subdivided into 10 or so regional bands and numerous local settlements. By 1890 two bands were left, called ‘Cold Men’ and ‘Comanche’, obviously later designations.

Kiowa social organization is briefly noted. The tribe around 1850 had at least 7 bands, Kata or Ree (biter or dog), Kogui or Elk, Kaigwu or Kiowa proper, Kinep or Big Shield (buffalo robe), Semat or Apache (thief or coyote), Kontelyui or Black Boy (blue), Paitomeko (sun), Sindi (culture hero) and Kuato; the last four almost gone (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 228-9; Ann. Rep. 14, p. 1080). Interestingly several bands are named for other tribes or ethnic groups, Comanche, Arikara, Apache and black. This could be an example of interethnic contact, where a perceived relationship with another group would trigger the name.

Traditional Kiowa names had a totemic reference: Coming Snake, Snake Head, Kicking Bird, Black Eagle, Eagle Heart, Little Bear, Sitting Bear, White Bear, Black Bear, Stumbling Bear, Fast Bear, Red Otter, Lone Wolf, White Wolf, Black Wolf, Sleeping Wolf, Middle-Track, Buffalo, White Horse, Little Mountain, Sun Boy, Big Tree, Big Bow, Woman’s Heart etc. Mooney carefully avoids using totemic names in his description, to bolster his view. In a section on names he claimed there were ‘no clan names’, without listing any names (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 231). One interesting aspect is a hint at dual names among the Kiowa, such as white and black bear, white and black wolf, pointing to what may once have been a complicated system of clans, phratries and moieties; men called white or black wolf would be in the same clan but indicative of different moieties.

Kiowa clans may have included: snake, lizard, bird, raven, hawk, wolf, dog, coyote, bear, otter, buffalo, deer, elk, horse, wild-sheep, beaver, rabbit, earth, mountain, sun, tree, bow, shield, war-club, blue, culture-hero, boy, woman etc. Since clans did ‘not exist’ it is difficult to get a full view of the distribution of clan names.

Curiously Mooney states that the Kiowa social system was 'heraldic'. There were 'fifty shield patterns'. These patterns belonged to 'families' and the 'hereditary descent was as nicely regulated as property ownership among the whites'. Apparently Mooney thought these were like Scottish tartan patterns. He failed to note if shields had a totemic reference, and did not specify what was meant by 'descent' (p. 231). But later, in relation to marriage, he notes that 'shield' and 'band name' 'descend in the male line' (p. 233). Every bit of Indian culture was tricky to Mooney, since he wanted to appropriate it ethnocentrically. Then it is an open question if the Kiowa had matrilineal or patrilineal clans; probably the latter, possibly both.

Mooney dismisses the Kiowa-Apache as similar to the Kiowa, an allied tribe (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 1081). Hence he also dismisses the topic of totemism, anathema to his American views. Similar vague information is given about potential Apache clans: eagle, horse, etc. Yet it can be assumed that these tribes would connect to the cultural universe of their neighbors, Crow, Dakota, Pawnee and so on.

Across the Rockies was another world. One of several Tlingit studies tried to unravel their 'Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship' (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 391f). The tribe was tentatively divided into 14 or more 'geographical groups'; and at least 39 'towns, ancient and modern', were named; probably a shadow of what once was. This complexity immediately led into a simplified description of Tlingit clans. There were 'two sides or phratries' or moieties, 'exogamic' and matrilineal; Raven and Wolf or Eagle. In addition there was a small 'outside' group that could marry in either moiety. 'Each phratry was subdivided into clans or consanguineal bands'; this would be like dividing it into apples and oranges, local settlements and local complementary clans. 'Finally the clans were subdivided into house groups'. The befuddled ethnologist conflates all these groups into one, phratry, clan, village and tribe; he concludes that moieties originated in 'racial difference', low and high 'caste', like the Deep South; a wildly ethnocentric idea (p. 407). To solidify the confusion he tries to identify each clan with one place, as if all wolves come from Toronto; what he refers to is depopulation and displacement over the last 500 years, forcing local communities to move and integrate with other towns in a 'fusion' process. The pre-contact situation was different; each community was stable and populous.

The main problem is that the ethnologist mixes together local communities and totemic clans, as if they were the same phenomenon. Instead of viewing each local community or town as consisting of a series of complementary clans, these are seen as coeval phenomena. Fortunately several totemic names are revealed in between: fish, dogfish, sea-bass, halibut, herring, sculpin, salmon, king-salmon, dog-salmon, devilfish, shark, skate, starfish, crab, frog, worm, slug, mussel, abalone-shell, seal, sea-lion, whale, killer-whale, porpoise, dolphin, bird, flicker, puffin, murrelet, cormorant, petrel, duck, mallard, goose, swan, raven, hawk, eagle, wolf, gray-wolf, red-wolf, dog, bear, grizzly-bear, sea-otter, land-otter, marten, weasel, wolverine, moose, deer, cow, mountain-goat, beaver, mouse, groundhog, earth, stone, iron, copper, sand, clay, island, mountain, valley, glacier, iceberg, water, spring, river, sea, tide, wave, foam, sky, cloud, wind, thunder, sun, star, Big Dipper, fire, winter, tree, alder-tree, cedar, hemlock, bush, stick, cane, rush, reed, rhubarb, grass, black, red, blue, green, house, shelf, fort, road, paddle, box, basket, pack, drum, monster, human, head, chief, high-caste, lookout, gambler, captive, Russian, etc. Some animals not recorded, like fisher, ground-squirrel and hare, may still have been used as totems. There are indications that a clan can be dual, e.g., white and red deer, or black sea-bass (Ann. Rep. 26, pl. l, lv). If actual clanship was to be examined, the name, house and family membership of each individual Tlingit would

have to be collated and mapped for each community, to find some kind of pattern; and this would have to take into consideration that the tribe had lost 90% of its population.

Supplementary information on Tlingit clans come from myths (Bull. 39). A basic type of texts is animal tales or clan stories. Animals, plants and objects noted include: fish, salmon, halibut, devilfish, killer-whale, porpoise, dolphin, sea-lion, clam, slug, frog, raven, crow, duck, auk, puffin, eagle, owl, screech-owl, bear, grizzly-bear, wolverine, land-otter, wolf, mountain-goat, beaver, groundhog, earth, mountain, sky, star, fire, wind, thunder, tree, blue-paint, arrow, giant, etc. Clan jokes may or may not involve moieties; some may refer to phratries, e.g., Beaver and Porcupine. Other stories referred to persons, events and relationships; 'Wolf-chief', 'Four Brothers', 'Runaway Wife', 'Spirit Land', and so on. 'The Origin of Copper' relates to the importance of trade: 'Even lately a copper plate used to cost two slaves' (p. 261).

One significant observation is that once a village had been decimated by epidemics, the few surviving clans living there would not accept people moving in as part of the village, even if they filled vacant houses. Two eagle families at Kâkwantan were 'said' to 'have been claimed only in very recent times, the eagle not properly belonging to them' (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 404). The tendency would be to say that only your own clan belonged there, even if a village of necessity had to be made up of many equal and complementary clans; the same would be said by any other clans, even newly arrived ones; they were the only true clan. The poor ethnologist would conclude that only this or that clan 'belonged' in a village, and all others were intruders; even though all villages were made up this way, and epidemics had forced everybody to move and consolidate with other villages and other clans.

Based on the very composite distribution of houses in Sitka, the following clan structure can be suggested: (sun), fish, bird, wolf, bear, moose, beaver, (water), whale, eagle, dog, marten, deer and hare. The only provision is that hare or rodents, except beaver, are not listed among the clans; the surmise is that they became extinct during the post-contact epidemics. Yet mouse and groundhog are listed among 'clan emblems' (p. 417). A great variety of face-paint underlines the complexity of Tlingit totemism.

Morgan's simple model, somewhat modified, had: eagle, auk, dolphin, shark, dog, bear, (wolf chief), (raven chief), goose, owl, salmon, killer-whale, frog, sea-lion (Contrib. 4, p. 17). These would occupy houses in a fixed order along the shore.

Based on material from Angoon, the following pattern is suggested: (from the left facing the shore): eagle, hawk, porpoise, killer-whale, wolf, grizzly-bear, (second chief), (first chief), raven, woodpecker, dog-salmon, shark, deer, beaver (Bull. 172, p. 176-192). As can be seen, the different village patterns do not 'fit'; depopulation, mixing of villages and local variations has led to very different clan distributions in modern times, making any pre-contact reconstruction difficult. Yet a certain pattern can be perceived; a set distribution of totemic clan houses along the shore in pre-contact times, magnificent and enduring.

One fascinating aspect of Tlingit and other Northwest Coast cultures is totemic symbols or 'clan emblems' (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 415). These belonged to different levels, individual, house, moiety and village, and had different expression, such as art, dress and monumental 'totem poles'. But these levels are rarely clarified. A number of totems will appear, murrelet, devilfish, shark, seal, whale, killer-whale, porpoise, raven, eagle, wolf, grizzly-bear, mountain-goat, and many more; a few special ones are petrel, woodworm and crab. Of special

significance here is the appropriation by each local clan of a number of totems: ‘The Kiksadi’, in addition to frog, ‘claimed also brant, owl, and dog-salmon names’. Yet other clans would use the same totems. Probably this as well goes back to a time when epidemics reduced the population so that a few survivors from different clans came together in one house.

Clans had mythical origins: clan stories. The grizzly-bear clan was the result of a hunter who married a female grizzly. The ethnologist could not figure out where this happened, at Teqoedi or Kâkwantan; needless to say the story belonged to every bear person (p. 455). Otters could become men; these ‘land-otter men’ lived ‘at various points along shore’ (p. 456). Somehow this occurrence was ‘dreaded’, but it was exactly how clans were distributed, one by one in different villages alongside other clans. Every animal had its own story, and that story could be found wherever the animal lived and where people could use it as a totem.

Potential Haida totems can be found in stories: fish, salmon, devilfish, seal, sea-lion, killer-whale, bird, raven, eagle, bear, marten, otter, wolf, deer, beaver, sky, cloud, etc. (Bull. 29). Typical clan stories would be ‘The man who married a killer-whale woman’ (p. 286f) or a woman married to ‘land otters’ (p. 269f). Clans could be differentiated by color, e.g., ‘red feather’ (p. 330f).

In Tsimshian myths villages belong ‘to one particular clan’, that of the chief. The ethnologist would interpret this literally, that only one clan is in residence, and gets bewildered when many clans turn up (Ann. Rep. 31, p. 395). The answer of course is that a village is identified with its chief, much like among the Yanomamö (Chagnon 1968). The same would apply to bands and tribes; each had a totem represented by its chief, or vice versa, the chief held the totem of the band. Other band members would have other totems, and each could claim to represent the tribe.

The ethnologist gets confused about Tsimshian ‘clans’. He speaks of ‘four clans’, then of each clan ‘divided into four clans’ (Ann. Rep. 31, p. 411, 413). This would depend on whether the totem belongs to an individual, a clan, a village section, village or band. Possibly Tsimshian was divided into 4 bands, at Nass, Metlakatla, Skeena and further south. With population loss these bands would be reduced into one, but retained their old names. As always, only a mapping of each person, each clan and each village could throw light on what remained of the clan system.

The confusing complexity becomes apparent when the ethnologist tries to describe ‘Tsimshian society’ (Ann. Rep. 31, p. 478f). Here 3 dialects, 8-10 ‘tribes’, and 14-20 ‘towns’ are indicated, apparently a current situation. The 4 bands noted above would then be: Nass, Tsimshian, Gitksan and Kitetsu aka ‘half Bellabella’. These in turn would encompass at least 10 sub-bands, each in turn comprised of one or more towns. Rather than describing each ‘village’, a conceptual description of sub-clans within each clan is made. The justification is that historical villages have become mixed, while once they hypothetically were ‘blood relatives’ ‘by maternal descent’ (p. 482). Actually villages always had many clans with separate totems, since the social organization is based on a number of local and complementary clans. The ethnologist bravely goes on to list clans within clans: eagle has beaver, halibut; wolf has grizzly, crane; raven has whale, shark, starfish, bullhead, frog, mussel, abalone; killer-whale has seal, abalone, grouse, bear, black-bear, grizzly, weasel, mountain-sheep, fireweed, grass. The killer-whale group is also called the bear group (p. 483). From other pages it would appear that all 4 clans have a killer-whale ‘crest’ or totem; and apparently all have a bear totem, as well as eagle and wolf. The 4 clans are not clans but

bands with a full range of totemic clans represented; a parallel to the Ponca and Omaha cases. Rather than trying to clarify this, Boas mystifies it, alternating English and Tsimshian words without translation, and presenting new versions of 4 clans, clans within clans, and clan or clan groups within villages. He writes: 'It seems to me that these groups … need corroboration'; obviously (p. 485).

For good measure Boas adds a list of totems or 'crests' on p. 500-513, where the 4 clans have a full complement of totems. For the 'Eagle Group' he lists: eagle, beaver, halibut, skate, hawk, dogfish, beaver, weasel, cormorant, dress, crawfish, whale, eagle, grizzly-bear, sea-lion, cane, whirlpool, earth, woodpecker, summer, monster, squirrel, lake, frog, etc. The Raven Group had: raven, bullhead, frog, starfish, sea-lion, abalone, bullhead, dog, lizard, bird, jellyfish, bird-dog, weasel, spring, grizzly-bear, canoe, white-bear, shark, and presumably more – a full complement as well. It is curious that Boas insists on a 4-clan system, and eventually presents dozens of totems; a kind of schizoid analysis. This becomes even more confusing in a section on 'Comparative Notes'; with unlimited speculation (Ann. Rep. 31, p. 515). If Boas spoke to many Indians, he did not always listen to what they said; his armchair did the talking. These may sound like grumpy notes, and they are. If Boas had used his considerable resources to elicit information on the ground, such as asking about the totems of people living in different houses in a village, he would actually have something to present. This was not a part of Boas' agenda, and unfortunately it was not a part of American ethnologists' agenda either. (Here I sit in my armchair criticizing another armchair).

Tsimshian clans and totems included: fish, halibut, skate, seal, sea-lion, killer-whale, starfish, snail, raven, grouse, eagle, wolf, dog, bear, including grizzly, black and red bear, raccoon, mountain-goat, deer, beaver, porcupine, marmot, mouse, squirrel, earth, stone, sky, fireweed, etc. There are indications of dual clans, such as white and black killer-whale. The tribe was divided into 'exogamic groups of maternal descent', specified as 4, but presumably more. There might be a 2x2 moiety and phratry system. Apparently Porcupine and Beaver belonged to opposite moieties, since they joked each other in stories; Porcupine did not like water, and Beaver could not climb trees, a source of endless jesting (Bull. 27, p. 73f).

Boas' treatment of Kwakiutl clans is opaque and inscrutable. In one place he published materials on 'Social Divisions' and 'Names of Chiefs' (Ann. Rep. 35, p. 795f). All names are in Kwakiutl without translation. One question is if the opaque material is due to Boas' approach or some other reason. Conceivably the catastrophic depopulation of the tribe in historic times would cause havoc to the social structure and would make people sensitive about discussing clan details. Some totems noted incidentally were: fish, halibut, whale, killer-whale, snake, bird, sea-bird, sparrow, raven, goose, eagle, grizzly-bear, sea-otter, wolf, deer, beaver, earth, sky, sun, cedar, red, ochre, house, property, etc. Some clans in the 'Gwetela' group could be: fish, eagle, bear, beaver, whale, sun, snake, bird, wolf, deer.

Nootka clan totems may have included: fish, codfish, salmon, shark, seal, whale, snake, woodpecker, snipe, duck, crane, hawk, bear, sea-otter, wolf, deer, cedar, war-chief, etc. The extant study does not mention totemism (Bull. 144). It is somewhat of a paradox that Northwest Coast tribes, known for totem poles, are not carefully studied in terms of their totemic clan organization in BAE publications.

Further south information on social organization grows sparce. Based on basketry designs, Thompson totems can be suggested: snake, bull-, rattle-, striped-, garter-snake, fish, lizard, bird, swallow, crow, grouse, duck, goose, eagle, owl, bear, otter, dog, panther, deer, sheep,

horse, beaver, insect, fly, beetle, spider, caterpillar, dragonfly, butterfly, sun, mountain, etc. (Ann. Rep. 45).

It is very difficult to get a grip on the social organization of Interior Salish tribes, since the ethnologist saw it as synonymous with family life, American style (Ann. Rep. 45, p. 63, 261, 373). He would recognize 'no clans, phratries, or societies'; more significantly, his basic, ethnocentric view was of nuclear families, and 'clan' would not be a category to explore. Even if Salish tribes had clans, he would not recognize them. He accidentally noted totems in the Coeur d'Alêne tribe: fish, eagle, coyote, wildcat, deer, buffalo, rabbit, stone, water, sky, moon, day, cloud, etc. For the Okanagon tribe he noted a 'guardian spirit dance' and dances imitating 'animals and birds', but without connecting this with totemism. Apparently he thought that if totemism was not explicit, like a totem pole at the door, it did not exist. Other totems noted were: salmon, eagle, hawk, owl, bear, grizzly-bear, coyote, elk, horse, heart, earth, stone, mountain, sun, star, knife, bow, canoe, chief, etc. Possible clan duplications are indicated by adjectives such as white, black, red, blue, big and small (p. 379). He repeats the lack of clans in the 'Flathead group', then lists several totem-like names (p. 376f). The question is, how could hundreds of totemic references be ignored? The answer may be 'ethnocentric blindness'. Teit would never admit totemism; instead he duly notes a man who had '15 wives' – a feat, along with bloody war deeds (p. 268). Sad to say these were unsavory but typical white obsessions.

Kutenai totemism is difficult to assess. In the tribal mythology most stories have animal protagonists, but many of these are of the culture hero type, featuring the exploits of Coyote, and cannot be easily interpreted as clan stories (Bull. 59). Other stories seem more to fit into a pattern of clan jesting and story-telling, such as 'Beaver and Turtle' or 'Skunk and Panther'. Yet some of these stories may have been borrowed from other tribes, and need not reflect a local social organization. The range of potential clan totems includes: fish, trout, salmon, turtle, frog, bird, sparrow, grouse, partridge, raven, duck, eagle, hawk, chicken-hawk, owl, bear, grizzly-bear, wolverine, skunk, wolf, coyote, dog, fox, lynx, panther, deer, elk, antelope, buffalo, caribou, beaver, chipmunk, rabbit, locust, mosquito, wasp, sky, sun, star, thunder, bow, arrow, etc.

As with the Salish, Chinookan totems are poorly known. Kathlamet stories mention: salmon, seal, sea-lion, crab, robin, swan, owl, bear, raccoon, badger, mink, coyote, panther, wildcat, deer, elk, rabbit, sun, wind, berry, copper, etc. (Bull. 26). A related universe of Umatilla totems might include: salmon, bird, hawk, bear, coyote, deer, antelope, elk, beaver, rabbit, and more (Bull. 166).

Alsea was a small stable tribe occupying a coastal valley in Oregon (Bull. 67). The Alsea and closely related Yaquina tribes had 7 villages; 3 in Yaquina, Otter Rock (120 people), Michulstik (230) and Thief Creek (140), and 4 in Alsea, Kutau (160 people), Tlkuhuyu (240), Chîk (140) and Yachats (170); all together 1200 people; later 25; 2%. Each village may have had a summer and winter location, as well as 3 fishing camps and 3 inland camps; a total of 56 named locations are known (New Handbook 7, p. 569).

Based on information such as myths some Alsea totems can be suggested: fish, salmon, seal, fur-seal, whale, snake, bird, woodpecker, robin, wren, kingfisher, snipe, crane, hawk, buzzard, bear, black-bear, grizzly-bear, wolf, coyote, dog, elk, beaver, insects, earth, mountain, sky, sun, moon, thunder, wind, tree, berry, etc. Since the tribe was small it did not have the same clan system as the larger tribes. There would be minor but constant adjustments in the clan

organization of different bands. Probably there was a basic system of 3 phratries, perhaps based on animals laying eggs, eating meat and eating grass; epitomized by hawk, bear and elk. How many clans were in each phratry could vary, and, as noted, there would be minor adjustments. In one place there could be many birds, wren, woodpecker, hawk and more, in others not so many. Another place might have not only elk, but beaver and perhaps deer as well. A major consideration was that one phratry should not outnumber the other two, so as to dominate the resource use. The access to resources had to be limited on the phratry level. The number of clans would depend on the resource allocation in an area. If resources were scarce the number of clans would be limited, down to 6 or 7. If resources were plentiful, clans could increase to 12-14. But there would always be a tendency to keep the number of local clans tightly restricted, so as not to over-exploit the natural resources.

There are hints about the social organization of all of these tribes in BAE publications. But ethnologists convulsively draw the analysis down to the level of families and individuals – e.g., men with '15 wives'. This entails that a student of social organization, be it Kwakiutl or Thompson, would have to go back to raw data, censuses, maps and genealogies dating back to the 19th century and beyond, and painstakingly note the occurrence of every clan name and totem that can be placed in a local context with other clans. In this treatise the issue is left in mid-air; probably every community was organized in terms of complementary totemic clans, but how this was done in pre-contact villages and settlements is left to conjecture. Yet the topic is compelling: how similar were Tlingit, Tsimshian and Kwakiutl villages in terms of totemic clan composition? Apparently not very similar, but the local variations are worthy of careful study.

The California conundrum

Information on California tribes was fragmented in two ways. First of all, native Californians went through terrible post-contact experiences, losing 97% of their people, and becoming fragmented in the process. Secondly, ethnographic representations portrayed each tribe as different, adding to the image of fragmentation. This allowed ethnologists to fix their own image on what California tribal cultures were like, with strong American ethnocentrisms.

The Yurok was a kind of testing stone for California ethnology, perhaps because they were located near the northwest corner of the state, a logical starting point, but also because the tribe had many survivors and became a place for ethnologists to make slightly contentious claims. Kroeber said decisively that they were American-like, with no clans, weak marriage rules and concerned with wealth, class and status; kinship was of the Yankee type. Material that did not fit this description was dismissed as 'errors' (Kroeber 1917, p. 374-5). He tried to refute claims to exogamy by claiming they were endogamic. In spite of evidence to the contrary, Kroeber put all his authority into saying that the Yurok were 'devoid in their social thinking of the clan-group category'. This was 'in accord with the precision of their economic-legal system' and the 'intense' localization 'of their whole life' (Bull. 78, p. 6). They were hometown people.

Yet Yurok resisted giving information to the probing American, and became deeply offended when he asked about their names. Kroeber fixed his own categories on Yurok society, calling small groups of houses 'towns', averaging 45 people, and local communities he labeled 'districts'. This allowed him to construct a pulverized and individual-based image of the tribe. As noted earlier, there were roughly 10-12 Yurok communities, each with 150-200 people; these local communities in turn were divided into moieties and phratries, with phratry-like hamlets of 25-50 people as lesser units. A phratry would be made up of 4 clans living in one or two hamlets. A typical clan would have 3 houses and a sweat-house, covering an extended kin-grouping of 3 generations and 2 siblings. Each community would have a central gathering place (Bull. 78, p. 9-12). Each phratry, and basically each local community, was exogamic. People were only allowed to marry people who were 'not traceably' kin, that is, with no great-grandparents in common.

It is highly significant that 'Yurok avoid addressing each other by name', and were offended when 'so addressed by an American'; read: Kroeber (Bull. 78, p. 47). The Shawnee have the same view. Since Kroeber never elicited names, it is remarkable that he bans totemism and clans from the culture. Since people's names are not known, totemism is 'hidden'. The only names he gave were 'woodpecker', 'coyote', 'yearling deer' and 'thrown upstream', perhaps a beaver; all of these seem to have a totemic reference (p. 48). Other probable totems could be snake, salmon, porpoise, bear, raccoon, marten, wolf, dog, elk, mole, larva, earth, sun, thunder, etc. References such as 'white coyote' and 'white deerskin' may point to dual clans (p. 74). The main Yurok ceremony, the White Deerskin Dance, abounds in totemic symbolism; but Kroeber describes it only in local terms, noting that 'formulas' are spoken at specific places 'about the village'.

To take speculation one step further, the 3 phratries would be distinguished as fish-bird-animal, with attendant clans such as fish, snake, woodpecker, hawk, bear and deer. Local

permutations could be turtle instead of snake, beaver instead of bear, and so on. These local clans would not be explicated in any other way than through personal names; names such as 'salmon' and 'woodpecker'; names that would never be voiced. The system was socially potent and secret. The ethnologist would decide totemism did not exist; but secrecy and the protection of group membership is a central element of totemic clan organization. People knew to what clans they belonged; but they didn't tell.

For the Karuk some totems can be suggested: fish, spring-salmon, redfish, snake, racer, bullhead, lizard, bird, robin, blue-jay, dowitcher-bird, whippoorwill, pileated-woodpecker, nighthawk, raccoon, skunk, coyote, elk, squirrel, chipmunk, etc. (Bull. 94, p. 263f). A basic Karuk hamlet may have consisted of 3 houses with a sweat house, assembly house and outdoor square, perhaps occupied by a clan (pl. 4). No doubt there would be more composite settlements and central places as well. A basic phratry system could be: fish-bird-animal, such as salmon and snake, woodpecker and hawk, and raccoon and squirrel; each pair would represent alternate moieties.

BAE information on social organization often is meager. Klamath-Modoc totems could include: fish, eel, snake, bird, wren, raven, duck, coot, crane, eagle, bear, badger, weasel, skunk, dog, deer, antelope, elk, mole, squirrel, porcupine, etc. The information on the social organization of these tribal groups is scarce (Contrib. 2, pt. 1). Yuki clan totems may have included: fish, snake, spider, eagle, bear, coyote, panther, deer, elk, squirrel, snow, earth, oak, acorn, snow, sky, sun, thunder, etc. A local configuration would include 6 clans in 3 phratries and 2 moieties, like snake-eagle, bear-coyote and deer-elk. Nomlaki clans or totemic groups could include: fish, bird, deer, elk, rabbit, etc. When writing of the Pomo, a favored tribe, Kroeber carefully avoided all mention of totems. He barely noted 'a few animals' in ceremonies and myths, naming none (Bull. 78, p. 261, 270). Some clan totems could be: turtle, bird, yellowhammer, bear, coyote, water, sky, thunder, acorn, etc. Maidu clan totems could include: fish, salmon, turtle, bird, woodpecker, duck, goose, vulture, grizzly-bear, coyote, deer, pine-nut, etc.

In central California the information gradually changes. For the Coast Miwok it was noted that they had moieties called 'Land' and 'Water'. Moiety membership supposedly was reflected in personal names. In a quaint remark it was noted that people could change their name and moiety affiliation, which were termed 'inconsistencies', but which was a logical practice (New Handbook 8, p. 419). Coast Miwok totemism is poorly known; clan totems included bird, bear and rabbit. A suggested system can be: (second chief), deer, bear, quail; (head chief), rabbit, fox, eagle – or similar.

Once the main Miwok tribe is reached, a fuller picture emerges. They lived in 100+ villages. Each community had a central large town plus outlying minor villages or hamlets, organized in 3 phratries (Bull. 78, p. 444). For the first time Kroeber concedes to speak of 'totemic' moieties; the dreaded topic of totemism (p. 453). He petulantly adds that the 'totemic aspects' have 'extreme tenuousness' but are 'undeniable'. With much reluctance Kroeber records two moieties among the Miwok people. One was called Water (kikua) aka frog; the other was Earth (tunuka) aka blue-jay. He goes on to note that: 'Associated with each' moiety is 'a long list of animals, plants and objects' (p. 453).

Suddenly he gives a 'partial' list of more than 100 totems: turtle, fish, salmon, snake, water-snake, lizard, salamander, frog, bird, quail, jack-snipe, blue-jay, meadow-lark, woodpecker, dove, killdeer, yellowhammer, hummingbird, goldfinch, kingbird, creeper, bluebird, magpie,

raven, kingfisher, water-bird, goose, swan, crane, eagle, hawk, chicken-hawk, falcon, owl, great-owl, burrowing-owl, buzzard, condor, bear, badger, raccoon, otter, dog, coyote, fox, panther, wildcat, deer, antelope, beaver, tree-squirrel, jack-rabbit, mussel, snail, katydid, caterpillar, cocoon, butterfly, bee, wasp, ant, plant, tree, pine, pine-nuts, oak, manzanita, tule, jimson-weed, berry, pea, wild-cabbage, tobacco, earth, sand, mud, salt, rock, water, ice, lake, cloud, rain, fog, sky, star, sun, night, lightning, fire, arrow, bow, drum, football, game-bones, ear-plug, apron, headdress, etc. (p. 455). Since Kroeber is not a fan of totemic clans, he swamps the reader with potential totems, in no particular order; like hurling information at the reader: You wanted totems? Here are totems! What he does not realize is that there is nothing new here. If he had listened to totemists, instead of dismissing them, he would learn that totems form the basis of a composite and versatile type of social organization.

What Kroeber does not describe is the local distribution of clans; instead he fixates on whether totems 'fit' with moieties or not (p. 456). There is no 'connection' 'between a man's totem' and his 'guardian spirit'; a bear man can have 'the bear for his protector' or 'any other animal' (p. 456). One totem is individual, the other is on the local clan level of organization.

From the mixed lists it will appear that Miwok had 2 moieties and 3 phratries, probably fish-bird-animal. The water-moiety had frog, hawk and bear, and the land-moiety had salmon, blue-jay and coyote; potentially supplemented by snake, owl and beaver, or turtle, woodpecker and deer, respectively. The possible permutations are endless, but the basic system of 3 phratries and 2 moieties seems clear. This meant that the Miwok could always reconfigure their society in a clearly recognizable way. No-one could question how many clans there were in a community; there was control of population size and resource use. There could even be a decision to limit clans; such as a small community having only 2 clans, frog and deer. This was similar to the Iroquois and Chickasaw cases; the social system would limit the complement of clans in a village or town, depending on its resources base.

Moiety exogamy was 'definitely formulated by the Miwok', but Kroeber did not approve (Bull. 78, p. 456). Descent apparently was patrilineal (p. 459). Moieties compete in games, assist in funerals and 'mourning anniversaries', 'adolescence' initiations, 'and the like' (p. 457). This could be extended to clans and phratries, if Kroeber had acknowledged such entities. All in all this was a forceful and versatile type of social organization; bewilderingly so. Unfortunately this was not the ethnologist's cup of tea; someone else will have to work out the operation of Miwok totemism in detail.

Yokuts villages had moieties, phratries and clans. Noted clans included: dove, magpie, raven and eagle; presumably a bird phratry (New Handbook 8, p. 454). Somewhat lightly Kroeber claimed the Yokuts had the 'same' totems as Miwok, but 'beaver and antelope, and hawks and owls, are transposed to the opposite moieties'; he resisted listing the totems (Bull. 78, p. 456). Yokuts moieties were called 'upstream' and 'downstream'; old Kroeber interpreted this literally, that 'upstream' people lived in the sierras while the others lived in the lowland, not seeing that these were relative terms; in a community houses can always be viewed as 'up' and 'down' from each other, even if they are level (p. 457). Even in American cities, 'uptown' does not have to be on a mountain.

Among the Yokuts there was a 'hereditary totem of every paternally descended family'; a local, complementary clan (Bull. 78, p. 494). A totem was called 'dog', a pet animal. A reasonable way to ask who people are is: 'What is your dog?' (p. 495). The moieties were: tohelyuwish aka 'downstream' or earth; and nutuwish aka 'opposite', 'upstream' or water (p.

494). Kroeber finds it strange that upstream is water; again this is a relative position. In addition to exogamy, moieties were activated in contests, games, body paint, mourning rites, an eagle ceremony, etc.

Clan totems include: snake, rattlesnake, water-snake, king-snake, fish, spider, blue-jay, woodpecker, roadrunner, yellowhammer, meadowlark, killdeer, hummingbird, quail, raven, crow, magpie, duck, eagle, hawk, falcon, buzzard, condor, owl, bear, skunk, otter, coyote, dog, fox, wildcat, deer, antelope, beaver, woodrat, jack-rabbit, earth, mountain, rock, water, lake, rain, sun, fire, centipede, tree, pine-nut, tobacco, arrow, etc.

A local clan composition among the Yokuts could be deer, skunk and quail in one moiety, water; while eagle, fox and rabbit were in the other, earth. Local permutations could include bear, antelope and beaver in earth, and snake, skunk and beaver in water. Clan totems and their location would be an endless topic for discussion in tribal society; but not for Kroeber. Again, we are left with the hope that somebody will study California totemism in detail.

Further south totemic systems again dwindle from ethnologies. Costanoans, a huge tribe exterminated by missions, may have had totems such as: fish, seal, bird, hummingbird, quail, pelican, eagle, chicken-hawk, coyote, deer, rabbit, jack-rabbit, earth, mountain, ocean, sun, mussel, redwood, acorn, etc. But no closer information is given.

Kroeber noted that the Esselen was a small but distinctive tribe that became ‘extinct’, guessing it was the ‘remnant’ of a much larger people (Bull. 78, p. 544). But the stable forms of social organization in California could allow small distinct groups to live peacefully for an indefinite time. The related Salinan people, reduced from 3000 to 40 in 1925, may have had totems such as: fish, lizard, bird, kingfisher, eagle, coyote, deer, pine-nut, etc. Lacking information, Kroeber resorted to stereotypes such as a ‘rude civilization’ where people demanded ‘100 per cent interest per day’ on shell money; probably a mission influence (Bull 78, p. 549).

Coastal Shoshonean tribes included Gabrielino and neighbors; totems might include: porpoise, seal, bird, crow, eagle, coyote, ladybug, water, star, fire. The neighboring Luiseno went from pre-contact 4000 to ‘less than 500’ people in 1925 (Bull. 78, p. 649). With other coastal or near-coast groups, Diegueno, Cupeno and Coahuilla, it is possible to discern a totemic organization. Clan totems in this area could include: fish, snake, rattlesnake, lizard, horned-toad, turtle, frog, pigeon, mud-hen, quail, raven, duck, eagle, buzzard, owl, bear, wolf, coyote, dog, fox, panther, jaguar, deer, elk, mouse, woodrat, gopher, ground-squirrel, chipmunk, tree-squirrel, rabbit, spider, ant, butterfly, wood, root, earth, water, ocean, sky, sun, moon, star, night, etc.

There were ‘patrilinear family groups’ or descent groups of 25-30 people (Bull. 78, p. 686). Communities had 2 moieties, coyote and wildcat or earth, and probably 3 phratries, egg-laying, meat-eating and plant-eating animals. Such a system could have snake, wildcat, deer, and owl, coyote, rabbit, for instance. Spanish mission influences led people to disguise all clan references in their names (p. 691, 707).

Serrano had ‘exogamous and totemic moieties’, or more simply, totemic clans (Bull. 78, p. 617). A ‘wildcat’ moiety had crow, wildcat and panther; the ‘coyote’ half had buzzard, coyote, wolf and jaguar. Additional totems were: frog, eagle, bear, badger, pine, etc. Moieties

would joke each other; wildcats are ‘lazy’, coyotes ‘restless’. Local groups were either ‘wildcat’ or ‘coyote’ (p. 617). They reciprocated services such as funerals.

Farthest south in California were the tribes Diegueno, Kamia, Mohave, Halchidhoma and Yuma (Bull. 78, p. 709f). A list of clan totems among these tribes would include: snake, king-snake, rattlesnake, garter-snake, turtle, frog, bird, quail, pigeon, roadrunner, raven, goose, night-hawk, eagle, hawk, buzzard, owl, screech-owl, wolf, coyote, fox, wildcat, panther, deer, mountain-sheep, beaver, woodrat, earth, sand, salt, rock, wind, cloud, sky, sun, moon, star, insect, ant, grasshopper, butterfly, beetle, worm, brush, cactus, mescal, mesquite, sedge, tobacco, corn, drum, basket, rope, etc.

Here a remarkably straight statement is made: ‘The Diegueno were divided into exogamous patrilineal clans’. Then it is added that the ‘system’ was ‘vestigial or rudimentary’ (Bull. 78, p. 719). It is as if Kroeber lets himself go since he reached the end of the state, and then catches himself. Kroeber finds the ‘lists’ of clans very ‘divergent’ (p. 743). What he is looking at are local camps with complementary sets of clans: e.g., lizard, eagle, deer; also: ant, eagle, deer. And its moiety complement: snake, quail, coyote. In this way different tribal camps can locate each other as complementary, each with a reptile (or insect), bird and animal component, but of different moieties, so that marriages can be entered into with an appropriate clan, and help sought in matters of games, ceremonies and councils. Kroeber, almost by chance, makes an apposite statement: The Yuman tribes ‘adhered’ with ‘rigid uniformity to the scheme of the system, but varied its precise content freely’ (p. 744). That is, there are permutations, substitutions, of totems within a camp moiety, but it retains its structure of totemic clans and its relations with a complementary moiety camp.

A work on the Kamia people in programmatic fashion noted ‘no true villages’ (Bull. 97, p. 18). That the tribe had been decimated from 500-600 people did not seem to matter. The tribe had clans such as snake, lizard, woodpecker, eagle, coyote, wildcat, tiger or ocelot, rabbit, grasshopper, black-cloud, etc. There once were 5-6 bands of perhaps 100 people each, consisting of 2 or more camps with 6-10 houses and roughly 3 clans in each; a kind of phratry and moiety system. For instance, lizard, woodpecker and coyote could be in one moiety, snake, eagle and wildcat in another; other totems could substitute in some places. Probably each band was exogamous, so that a woodpecker from Hachupai could marry a wildcat from Hamechuwa, a snake from Hatawa could marry an eagle from Espayau, and so on.

The 2-moiety 3-phratry system was very stable. It spanned California and was found in tribes that lived in the same areas for hundreds and thousands of years, developing distinct languages and persisting as tribal groups. In some tragic way it perhaps was too stable; because when change came, in the form of Spanish and Anglo intruders, the tribes would be wiped out. A long peaceful existence was crushed in one century, up until Ishi the ‘last Yahi’ emerged in 1911 (Wikipedia). One task that remains for future research is to look back at the great tribes in California and try to gain a better understanding of how their societies were organized – without reducing their existence to a contrast with modern America.

The desert and plateau tribes

The region or regions designated desert and plateau are pivotal to understanding North American totemism. Social organization in this area may seem simple, but is fundamentally intricate and basic. What may appear like a system of three clans, such as snake, eagle and coyote, is actually quite transformative and dynamic. In a fantastic story a person moves through the desert landscape and its totems (Kroeber 1951). The totemic movement can be sideways, becoming successively snake, coyote or eagle, and it can be alternating, turning from snake to lizard, eagle to roadrunner; in sum showing the persistence of a flexible social organization. This is a textual record; what is sorely needed is a record of totemic clans on the ground.

What is at stake is organization in a primal landscape. How do people know who belongs in an area and can use its scarce resources – a vital knowledge. The answer is to ask each other what kinds of animal they are. If the totems complement each other, they and only they can have access to local resources. People who come in will have to fit the system, without supplanting one of the three local totems, or they will have to move on. Perhaps brutal, but totally necessary; and the system is inherently transformative and flexible. A newcomer will not be asked his or her clan. He or she will be received hospitably, until gradually a clan position will be established, and it can be determined if that person can stay or not. A bit like the new kid in town, but with an animal on the back.

The Shoshonean or Uto-Aztecan language family reaches from Idaho to Nicaragua and includes such diverse peoples as Comanche, Ute, Hopi and Aztec (Bull. 78, p. 576). These hardy desert dwellers developed some of the most vital peoples in America. They became 'the largest' group in California when most other people were exterminated, although 'an un-Californian people' (p. 574, 582). Not least the immigration from Mexico might make their descendants the largest Indian group, un-Californian or not. In spite of this prominence BAE publications reveal little information on pre-contact desert dwellers. Getting a grip on Shoshonean culture seems next to impossible. Descriptions often are reduced to landscapes, deserts and plateaus. Kroeber contented himself with noting that desert people are 'little known' (p. 587).

Still Kroeber falteringly tries to describe the social organization of Shoshonean peoples; with discouraging results. He notes 'totemic moieties' that 'are not exogamous'. Descent was 'in the male line', and 'a group of animals' were associated 'with each moiety' (Bull. 78, p. 587-8). The 'entire scheme' can be conceptually envisioned as: a 'water' moiety with fish, buzzard and coyote, and an 'earth' moiety with lizard, crow and fox; supplementary or permutational totems could include: bird, magpie, eagle, hawk, chicken-hawk, rat, rabbit, jack-rabbit, etc. Hawk could be in either moiety. Kroeber tries desperately to fit this into a California scheme, but sees Shoshonean totemism as 'looser': 'it is said that a person may change his moiety', tut-tut (p. 588). As a true American ethnologist, Kroeber thinks in individual terms; if a person can marry inside a moiety and even change his totem, then the system does not exist. In the desert the view is opposite, the system defines people's relations to the environment, and individuals must find their place in the system. If each person did as she pleased, there would never be enough resources for everybody, and endless strife. Either a person is a

buzzard or she is out; hunker down and stay down. With a clan system in place, the entire society can be organized; a chief could lead thousands of people.

Some tribal information can be scrounged from the sources. One Shoshonean tribe, Chemehuevi, may have had totems such as: bird, yellowhammer, coyote, panther, deer, mountain-sheep, louse, mountain, salt, sun, etc. Tubatulabal had 'traces' of 'totemic manifestations', including: snake, lizard, crow, goose, eagle, hawk, condor, coyote, etc. An indication of phratry-like camps serving as moieties to each other is the statement that funerals are put 'in charge of visitors from other localities' (Bull. 78, p. 608-9). Walapai phratry-like totems could be snake, eagle and coyote (Bull. 34, p. 23). The desert and plateau tribes apparently carried quite a dynamic form of totemism.

Basin-Plateau clans and totems may include: fish, lizard, snake, bird, woodchuck, hawk, owl, bear, badger, skunk, wolf, coyote, dog, antelope, deer, mountain-sheep, rodent, woodrat, rat, chuckawalla, rabbit, sky, etc. Several 'villages' are estimated to have 'included some 200 people' (Bull. 120, p. 51-52). Smaller camps were given '25 people' (p. 51). The population figures given are impressionistic, based on landscape features and water access. Even so, the social complexity was far greater than might be assumed. Bands held 'Six-day festivals' organized 'by the band chief' (p. 54). People from different villages would visit each other's festivals, that were held on different dates or in alternate years. This meant that 1000+ people could visit a desert festival with dancing, rabbit drives and, significantly, 'gambling' (p. 54).

In the Basin-Plateau area, marriage 'between any relatives was forbidden' (Bull. 120, p. 56). This would indicate exogamy on all levels, family, clan, camp and village; spouses must be found from other bands. Marriage was difficult to contract; a wife cost $50 (p. 56). There was a 'preference for matrilocal residence', or rather a mix, patri- and matrilocal (p. 57). Both men and women could shift their residence. Clans made local building blocks, from minimal groups of 2-3 families, to clan pairs and phratries of 4-14 families, up to larger settlements and villages with 20-60 families. The complexity is intriguing, but conditions on the ground are missing from the records. There should be a documentation of the residence and genealogy of all Plateau Indians throughout the 19th century, for a proper survey of social organization.

Ute totems included: fish, rattlesnake, turtle dove, yellow bird, sage cock, duck, crane, eagle, bear, weasel, otter, coyote, dog, sheep, rabbit, sun, day, willow, knife, awl, bonnet, god, and presumably others (Bull. 75). Dual clans are indicated by names such as black otter, blue otter and white bear (p. 19f). Yet 'little is known of the social organization of the tribe'; totemic affiliation was secret – as it would be in other tribes, from California to Virginia (p. 24).

All in all the area from Arizona to Idaho indicates a crucial and basic form of totemic social organization. Yet totemism is all but ignored in Bureau publications. The view instead is of individuals, families and loosely formed bands, fitting nicely into ethnocentric American views. Once again it is necessary to get down on the ground and see what totems and clans people in each community belonged to. The limited information that can be teased out is that desert and plateau tribes were made up of local communities that consisted of 2 moieties and 3 phratries, typically lizard and snake, eagle and bird, and coyote and fox; or variants. On the ground the social system would be flexible, with many permutations, adapted to the seasons and events. At the same time it would be definite; everybody found their place in the social system. To facilitate such qualities the system would be kept secret towards inquisitive

people. You do not ask people their clan. To ethnologists this gratefully meant that there were no totemism. To desert people it meant that totems defined their universe.

Social organization in the Southwest

Determinism was an ethnological disease. One scholar claimed that the 'lowly minds' of the Seri Indians meant that they would be totally formed by their environment. If forced to move to a new place they would mold into that location 'perfectly' but 'with some added intelligence' based on past experiences (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 269). The inference seemed to be that forcing Indians to move was a good thing, since they would get 'added' smartness. Basically, an ethnologist had limited capacity for understanding desert Indians.

Seri 'social relations' were 'esoteric' and based on 'instinct' and 'usage'; partly racist views. Yet Seri people lived in settlements, 'rancherias', with a social structure and leadership. Women had a strong position; 'elderwomen' served as local leaders. Another word was 'clanmother'. A house was occupied by a 'matron', her brothers, and her husband camping outside (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 268-270). Apparently the ethnologist did not count women as a part of social structure. 'The matrons' decided when to move camp. A camp would be established by 1-3 older women, followed by 'other matrons and their children' and later by the men (p. 270). This would imply that a Seri camp had around 5-12 houses. In prehistoric times there may also have been larger meeting grounds where hundreds of people could camp. The Seri were reduced from 5,000 people in pre-contact times to 200 in 1897. The social structure consisted of 'family, clan, and larger group', presumably of several levels such as camp, meeting ground, band and tribe (p. 271).

Seri clans demonstrate the complexity of the culture. Those noted were Turtle, White Pelican, and Red Pelican; other totems were not recorded (p. 271). Textual hints indicate a large number of totems: fish, shark, whale, seal, snake, rattlesnake, duck, hawk, dog, lion, deer, rabbit, sun, moon, and more. Apparently there was a system of dual clans, labeled 'white' and 'red', resembling a moiety organization. The reason given why clans were not studied was that there were 'troublous' times in 1895; apparently tribal members were killed by Mexican colonizers (p. 109, 272). This coincided with the ethnologist's squeamishness about recording the 'savagery' of clan organization (p. 275).

Pima clans and totems included: snake, rattlesnake, lizard, black-lizard, gila-monster, frog, scorpion, ant, spider (black and yellow), centipede, black-beetle, butterfly, fly, blue-fly, bird, flicker, hummingbird, bluebird, swallow, parrot, quail, roadrunner, raven, duck, eagle, hawk, buzzard, owl, bear, badger, coyote (sandy and yellow), wolf, dog, wildcat, panther, antelope, deer, blacktail-deer, mule-deer, mouse, rat, gopher, beaver, hare or rabbit, earth, sand, dust, ashes, salt, grease, stone, turquois, mountain, sky, wind, whirlwind, water, rain, foam, cloud, snow, fog, dew, rainbow, thunder, lightning, heat-wave, sun, moon, star, Milky-Way, fire, reflection, shadow, light, day, night, log, cactus, willow, bush, saltbush, stick, reed, fern, water-grass, leaf, flower, corn, wheat, bean, squash, tobacco, south, west, gray, blue, house, knife, basket, ball, drum, rattle, bow, arrow, shield, culture-hero, monster, corpse, Apache.

A tribal census in 1858 listed 4635 Pima and Maricopa people in 11 villages ranging in size from 200 to 1000 inhabitants; the largest perhaps were composite communities; an average village size could be 350 people. By 1905 there were 17 villages; no population figures were given (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 23). A village might hold 10-20 clans. Pima claimed a relationship to the ancient Hohokam culture, but ethnologists were loath to acknowledge this (p. 24). In the

case of Casa Grande, a ruin in the middle of Pima territory, ethnologists would give half an ear to their claim of having originated it, but also referred to wild speculations about Aztecs and Mexican migrations (Ann. Rep. 28, p. 33).

One extraordinary claim is that the Pima were organized in 5 patrilineal clans. 'Descent is traced in the male line' in 'five groups that may be called gentes'; Akol, Apap, Apuki, Maam and Vaaf (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 197). Presumably these were former geographical divisions of the tribe that were dissolved and mixed after an early historic depopulation. Each such division had a totem; red buzzard, white coyote, and red, white and black ant. Apparently 'white' divisions were in the east, and 'red' in the west; akin to white-black distinctions other places.

A tentative distribution of clans in a Pima village could be: (sky), bird, dog, snake, rabbit, deer; hawk, coyote, lizard, gopher, antelope, (earth). Other configurations and permutations can be envisaged. A village could be divided into a north and south moiety; or possibly a 3-section system, east, south and west.

Moving on to the Athapaskan speakers, Navaho clan totems could include: snake, horned-toad, bird, bluebird, swallow, turtle-dove, magpie, crow, turkey, owl, bear, badger, wolf, coyote, panther, bobcat, deer, antelope, elk, goat, beaver, gopher, chipmunk, squirrel, earth, rock, salt, water, sky, sun, dawn, lightning, rain, black, red, locust, tree, spruce, yucca, reed, tobacco, corn, etc. There were some signs of moiety divisions; one side could have snake, magpie, crow, bear, badger, wolf, deer, antelope, beaver, etc.; the other side perhaps had horned-toad, turkey, owl, badger, panther, bobcat, elk, gopher, chipmunk, squirrel, etc. Earth and sky presumably would be on opposite sides (Bull. 163, p. 65-69). Somehow the totemic system was considered obsolete by 1954; rather this could mean that it was not studied (Bull. 188, p. 61-62).

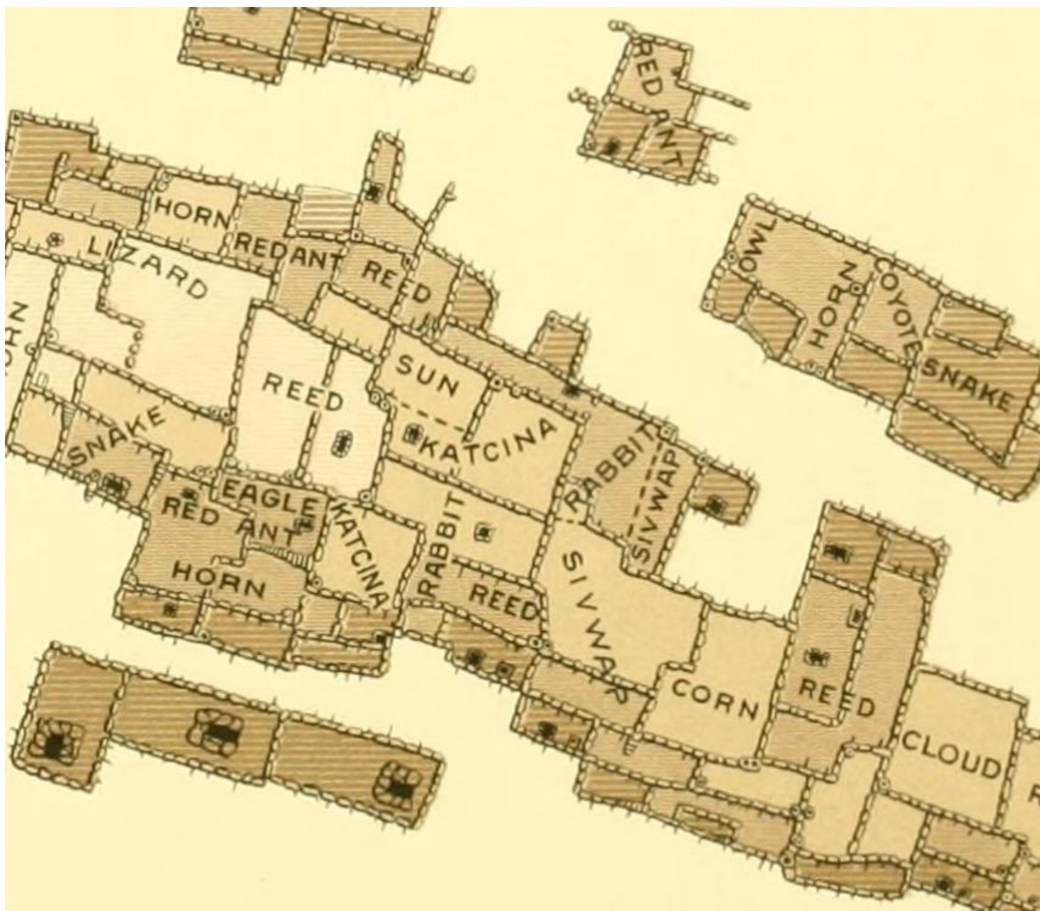
The Hopi Indians are of Uto-Aztekan stock. They were referred to by ethnologists as 'Tusayan', and are famous, among other things, for the 'Tusayan' Snake dance (Ann. Rep. 16, p. 267f). One Snake dance was held for 9 days in August, focused on 4 central days, a ritual number. The practice of dancing with live snakes in the mouth attracted intense American attention, also from ethnologists. The totemic reference in these dances went unnoticed. It was the live snakes that drew attention, and the 'mystery' of their handling such as in 'secret rites' in two kivas, sacred round buildings (p. 276). The kivas might represent a form of moiety structure.

One curious approach saw a link between ruins, environment and clans. Hopi clans were 'said to' have lived near Winslow, called 'Water-house', 'Squash' and 'Rabbit', further on counting 'clans' and 'totems' that were partly 'aquatic'. Apparently what was 'said' was a myth locating totems in different places; reminiscent of Australian 'dream-time' myths. Such clans included frog, duck, water, cloud, rainbow, lightning, agave, rabbitbrush and corn (Ann. Rep. 22, p. 24). Nearby another group of clans 'once lived' including sun, cloud, reed, squash, etc. One ritual would place rabbit families nearby, as well as fire. Unfortunately such scattered notes are of little help in describing social organization.

Other sources provide a plethora of information. Hopi clans and totems include: snake, rattlesnake, lizard, horned-lizard, frog, spider, ant (red, black, big, small), paroquet or parrot, bluebird, blackbird, pigeon, chapparal-cock, magpie, crow, turkey, duck, crane, eagle, hawk, chicken-hawk, pigeon-hawk, sparrow-hawk, falcon, kestrel, owl, buzzard, batkin, moth, butterfly, bear, badger, raccoon, skunk, coyote, fox (yellow, gray), wildcat, panther, deer,

antelope, mountain-sheep, elk, mouse, mole, marmot, squirrel, rabbit, jack-rabbit, porcupine, horn, earth, sand (white, red), mud, water, cloud, rain, rainbow, snow, lightning, sun, star, fire, tree, cottonwood, oak, cedar, fir, spruce, juniper, willow, reed, thistle, cactus, shrub, grass, flower, corn, bean, squash, tobacco, pipe, mescal, mustard (asa), war, bow, flute, rope, kachina, etc. There was a distinction between 'black bear' and 'gray bear', hinting at dual clans.

A hint at totemic complexity is the statement that 'Flute-maids' were 'a sacerdotal totem name', no less, but also that 'Flute-maids' represent 'Corn or Germ maids'; totems intersecting each other (Ann. Rep. 16, p. 300). Corn maids in turn carried 'rain-cloud ornaments'. They could also be a 'Snake virgin' or an Antelope girl. Hence corn, flute, germ, rain, cloud, snake and antelope were 'the same' totem, but different. The ethnologist's explanation is that the totems have the same mythical origin, without showing how this would work out in practice. Maybe people could change totem at will. How totemic clans would be worked out in practice was not something the ethnologist would tangle with; it was enough to refer to a mythic past. It seems more reasonable that modern clans and phratries were remnants of clans from former communities, such as badgers 'from the extinct village of Awat'owi' and other places, 'distributed among the other Hopi villages' (Whiteley 1998, p. 74).



Clan names in a part of Walpi pueblo (Ann. Rep. 19, pl. xxiii)

A significant attempt was made to link Hopi clans to houses, both in existing settlements and in prehistoric ruins (Ann. Rep. 19; Ann. Rep. 22, p. 24). In some cases ruins were less than 100 years old, dating from the Spanish-Mexican period. Yet ethnologists were not able to place any clan or family in a definite location or house cluster. Instead they relied on mythical

information about what clans may have lived there. It would take a major effort of perusing records, genealogies and family histories to identify where different people may have lived; an effort the ethnologists did not have the resources to make. With existing villages the task was simpler; they could ask white agents to canvas the settlements.

A fairly thorough survey was made of 6 villages, Walpi, Sichumovi, Hano, Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi and Oraibi (Ann. Rep. 19, p. 639f). Not surprisingly the clans showed no clear distribution in the village. The same clan could be found at either end, in the middle, and on both sides of the village, such as Cloud. Rabbit was at the west in Walpi, but also east. Owl was in the west, Lizard in west center, Horn or Antelope in east center, and Coyote in the east. In Sichumovi badger was in the northwest, followed by Lizard and Bat; in the southeast was Lizard, followed by Water, Rabbit and Sun to the west. Hano had Bear, Corn, Sun, Coyote, Lizard and Cloud. Mishongnovi had Water, Paroquet, Bear, Deer, Snake, Hawk, Badger and Corn; if Squash can be interpreted as Deer and Rope as Snake. Shipaulovi had Sun, Bear and Water. Oraibi had Sun, Lizard, Paroquet, Bear, Antelope, Mouse, Snake, Owl, Badger, Deer, Rabbit, Sand – if Corn can be Mouse, and Antelope and Deer can be postulated, in no particular order.

The ethnologist was in a quandary. The hope was to find residential patterns based on clanship. Instead the paper reverts to a description of architecture, why villages were built for defense and in other ways adapted to their surroundings. The extensive material on local clanship is left without comment. It is noted that people move ‘from house to house and from row to row’ (Ann. Rep. 19, p. 646). ‘In the olden days each phratry occupied its own quarters in the village’ (p. 647). In other words, the system was more regular before.

‘In the pueblo social system descent and inheritance are in the female line’. This was a ‘widely distributed’ custom ‘all over the world’ with ‘an obvious basis’: a man who married ‘goes to his wife’s home’ (ibid.). This begs the question why some residence is patrilocal.

Then an interesting observation follows. The Hopi lived in large villages during the winter and smaller branch villages during the summer. One summer village had 21 rooms in 3 rows housing perhaps 5 families or clans. Its modern equivalent at Moenkopi had 2 rows of houses, roughly 15 rooms and perhaps 3-4 families (p. 648-9). These would then represent a different aspect of the clan structure. Unfortunately no clan data are noted; instead a frustrated comment says the new village is ‘not nearly so regular’ as the prehistoric one. What perhaps can be witnessed is that the main village was tied up with seasonal part settlements, and that the social system was a combination of smaller clan units that lived separately part of the year. The conclusion was ‘that in ancient times the localization of clans was rigidly enforced’, leading to a distinct clustering of houses in ruins. Each cluster represented a clan headed by a ‘priestess’, who could determine ‘marriages and other social functions’; a unique statement by an ethnologist (Ann. Rep. 19, p. 653).

Pueblo society brings out the complexity of social organization based on totemism and formal positions in a bewildering profusion. Here are well-established towns and villages, pueblos, with hundreds of years of dramatic history and a struggle for cultural and social survival. Sedentary life may lead to a more fixed and ceremonial type of totemism. Pueblo clan lists have a tendency to sound definitive and confusing. They are attached to particular houses or house group, but the mobility of people possessing totems complicates matters.

Works on Tewa culture included ethnobotany and ethnozoology (Bull. 55 & 56). Interestingly there are no associations drawn to totemic clans, presumably because ethnologists did not see totems as actual plants or animals. Mention is made of a native distinction between 'black and white-tailed deer'. There is also mention of a Taos myth in which animals live in a communal dwelling and come out to help humans, but the obvious totemic connection is not drawn (Bull. 56, p. 10).

Picuris totems may have included: snake, pigeon, blue-jay, magpie, crow, turkey, crane, owl, wolf, coyote, deer, buffalo, jack-rabbit, sun, fire, ant, moth, cricket, elf, etc. Some Tewa clans and totems could be: snake, turtle, mussel, bird, parrot, eagle, hawk, redtailed-hawk, panther, wolf, bear, badger, gopher, earth, mountain, water, rain, thunder, sky, sun, moon, star, white, black, red, green, yellow, tree, corn, etc. (Ann. Rep. 29).

Sia clans are listed as Corn, Coyote, Squash, Tobacco, Bear and Eagle (Ann. Rep. 11). Almost as an afterthought a number of 'extinct clans' are noted: star, moon, sun, deer, antelope, panther, cloud, crane, oak, fire, parrot, mussel, ant, granite, cactus; also knife and other totems are mentioned in passing. Suddenly a situation that looked straightforward, 6 clans, becomes very complex, with more than 22 clans. Another work listed: dove, tobacco, bear, corn, eagle, coyote, pumpkin or squash, washpa (plant), etc. In 'the 1950's' there were: Acoma Corn, Sia Corn, Water, Bear, Tobacco, Antelope Washpa, Sia Washpa, Cochiti Washpa and Coyote (Bull. 184, p. 184). To muddle the matter the earlier ethnologists wanted to reduce the 6 clans: 'there are virtually but two', corn and coyote. As with other pueblos, house residence was as important as clan membership. Clans were exogamous, but because marriage choices were few breaking the rule was 'inevitable' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 19). In order to survive as a tribe, people rejoiced at every girl born, 'legitimate or otherwise' (p. 20). Needless to say this description says nothing about the social organization of the pueblo. As late as 'the 1950's' people adhered pretty strictly to the rules of clan exogamy (Bull. 184, p. 190).

A fuller summary of Sia clan totems would be: snake (several), lizard, bird, wren, killdeer, pigeon, parrot, fowl, turkey, road-runner, duck, crane, hawk, sparrow-hawk, eagle, owl, bear, badger, wolf, coyote, panther, lion, wildcat, deer, antelope, buffalo, elk, horse, shrew, rat, rabbit, cottontail-rabbit, jack-rabbit, earth, stone, granite, turquoise, flint, salt, water, cloud, rain, rainbow, ice, sky, sun, moon, star, fire, lightning, ant, spider, mussel, shell, tree, oak, spruce, bush, cactus, tobacco, corn, pumpkin, squash, knife, flute, giant, war-chief, etc. Personal names are not given. The ethnologist was perplexed that people refused to give their names; like other ethnocentric scholars he did not understand the potency of totemic names (Bull. 184, p. 203). Totemic references will appear in ceremonies, feasts, dances, kachina masks, societies, altars and in other connections. The turquoise and deer totems apparently are linked (Bull. 184, pl. 3).

Based on the somewhat mixed and incomplete material Sia may be said to have had 2 moieties and 3 phratries. The intriguing map of the town may hint at a reptile-bird-animal distribution, such as snake, turkey and wolf clan groups to the north of the plaza, and lizard, hawk and panther clan groups to the south (Bull. 184, p. 48). Each phratry, such as the wolf and panther clan groups, can be supplemented with dozens of totems, everything from bear, deer and antelope to stone, turquoise and more. In pre-contact times there would be a definitive link between house, clan, house group, phratry, plaza side and moiety, up to the integration of the town itself under a chief and assistant chief, seconded by clan

representatives in the plaza circle. This was a fully developed totemic clan type of social organization.

A late report was dedicated to the Pueblo and Zuni Indians (Ann. Rep. 47). In Isleta, as noted, the social organization was based on permanent houses, many identified with varieties of corn and birds, but without clearly complementary clans. At the same time people belonged to totemic groups. Some totems were painted on house walls: snake, rattlesnake, eagle, bear, badger, panther, deer, rainbow, sun, moon, star, lightning, fire, corn, etc. Among male names were: redbird, parrot, white-goose, eagle-wing, white-eagle, panther, white-panther, mountain-mark, medicine-water, rain, sunrise, star, cottonwood, spruce, water-pine, black-cane, sunflower, white-corn, road, bow, arrow, war-club, etc. Female names had: bright-prayer-feather, earth-circle, mountain-zigzag, water-grain, little-rain, rainbow, sun-zigzag, rising-day, star, spruce, yellow-corn, corn-stalk, corn-silk, etc. Noted nicknames were curly, 'nigger' and blond (p. 217).

For the Acoma Indians 14 clans were noted: parrot, roadrunner, turkey, eagle, bear, antelope, water, sky, sun, oak, mustard, yellow and red corn, pumpkin. Conspicuously missing are snake, coyote, deer, rabbit, etc. Clans were said to be 'exogamous'; in the populous sun clan there were 7 in-clan marriages (p. 35). There was strong local endogamy; almost 95%. Clans were not equal; the 3 largest clans had more than 50% of the people, 419 of 826. Local organization was by permanent house groups rather than totemic distribution.

Zuni clans are a part of the southwestern complexity. Contributing to the confusion was Cushing (Ann. Rep. 2, p. 9f). He would claim 'that all beings, whether deistic and supernatural, or animistic and mortal, are regarded as belonging to one system', 'believed to be related by blood', with humans as 'children' and 'all other beings' as fathers. The 'worship of animals' is universal, placing animals of prey as more suitable for fetishes than animals that become prey (p. 11). A fetish creates a personal relation with the environment.

In 1930 the 1900 Zuni Indians resided in Zuni proper, plus in 3 large and 1 small 'farming villages'. The settlement was beginning to grow and diversify after a period of historic depopulation. Social units were 'households, kinship groups, clans, tribal and special secret societies, and cult groups'; strikingly the main unit, the town or village, is not mentioned; American ethnologists would be loath to count a community as a unit, since their focus was on individuals, not collectives (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 476).

Cushing would make authoritative clan lists: snake or rattlesnake, toad or frog, bird, grouse or sage-cock, crane or pelican, turkey, parrot-macaw, eagle, buzzard (scavenger), bear, badger, coyote, dog, deer, antelope, sky, sun, stars or galaxy, fire, water, ice, wood or oak, cottonwood, spring-herb, tobacco, corn, knife, bow, priest, etc. To this can be added: turtle, jaybird, duck, sparrow-hawk, panther, lynx, rabbit, cactus, war, etc. Possibly even penis might be a totem; buffalo also is mentioned.

Another list made 'with the greatest care' had: frog, turkey, chaparral-cock, sandhill-crane, eagle, bear, badger, coyote, deer, antelope, cottontail-rabbit, sun, sky, wood, yellowwood, dogwood, plant, corn, black-corn, and tobacco (Ann. Rep. 23, p. 292). No 'care' was taken to suggest a distribution of clans. Totems such as barberry, nightshade and cockerel would be added, as well as flowery names for girls, similar to Lily, Heather and Rose (Ann. Rep. 30).

Among the Zuni people clans were matrilineal. Children belonged to the mother’s clan and were ‘the “child” of the father’s clan’ (Ann. Rep. 23, p. 291). That is to say, they could fill ceremonial and social positions in both clans.

The clans are placed in intricate mythical and ceremonial relations, making elaborations and reconfigurations possible. Cushing implicitly believes the story that bear, coyote and spring-herb belong in the West; probably much more implicitly than a native would do, since he is trying to bolster his ethnology. Some clans ‘belong’ in the west, like bow and coyote, others in the north, like ice, knife and cactus, and so on, for one reason or other. Cushing presents a very edited and definite version of a dynamic system, Zuni totemism. He liked the organized version of the universe; probably a contrast to himself.

The Zuni clans apparently can be arranged in a circle or square, with branches in the ‘upper’, ‘middle’ and ‘lower’ part of the village (Ann. Rep. 13). West: bear, coyote, herb; Upper: sun, sky, eagle; Middle: macaw; North: crane, grouse, wood; South: tobacco, corn, badger; Lower: toad, water, snake; East: deer, antelope, turkey (p. 368). The arrangement seems to be mostly conceptual, e.g., similar creatures are placed together, or placed together by default. If clans are contrasted instead, a list could be as follows: (sky), frog, bird, bear, coyote, deer; (water), snake, eagle, badger, dog, antelope. Dog has been tentatively added for symmetry.

If there were 3 ‘matries’, matrilineal phratries, a simple system could be: (sun), frog, grouse, bear, (water), snake, crane, coyote, (earth), lizard, hawk, deer. That is, there would be 3 village sections with a fish, bird and animal distinction. This would then immediately evoke a cross-cutting ‘matry’ system: sun, water, earth; frog, snake, lizard; grouse, crane, hawk; and bear, coyote, deer. Any ‘complete’ village would have to have all of these clans plus some ‘followers-on’ of visitors and offshoots.

One interesting restriction in Pueblo clanship is the fixed structure of native villages. Even though villages are built in sections that make room for moieties and phratries, with two contrasting kivas used in the snake dance, there is a cross-over between different units due to structural and spatial constraints. Pueblo social organization will remain an enigma. The villages are very material, they can be mapped and described. But the distributed clan membership of people inhabiting them is unknown, or at least not available in a ready-made description. The Hopi mapping of local clans is the exception that proves the point. It covers up an underlying regularity.

One conceivable social organization for Pueblo communities could be 3 phratries with 3 or more clans each. Part of the year the phratries would reside separately, part of the year they would fill house rows or clusters in a joint village. It is tempting to use the word ‘matry’ instead of phratry for Pueblo clan groups, since they were matrilineal, or possibly ‘sororatry’, sister clans. Such a matry or sororatry would be a group of conceptually and social related matrilineal clans.

Central and South American social organization

Mexico and Central America in many ways were off-limits to the BAE, except for antiquities. Most ethnologists did not go there, and Catholicism somehow prevented totemic studies. Hence our information is sketchy. In Mexico, Mayo-Yaqui totems may have included: snake, lizard, owl, coyote, deer, squirrel, etc. In ‘contemporary’ times they switched to ‘Christ and the Virgin’ (Bull. 142, p. 161). Some Warihio totemic clan designations are indicated: snake, bird, dove or pigeon, coyote, deer, opossum, tree, etc. Probably there were many more, but data are lacking (Bull. 186).

In an opaque work on Central American ‘languages’, there suddenly is a reference to Bribri clans (Bull. 44, p. 92). Not surprisingly only some totems were translated: deer, bird, monkey, river, house, broken, thunder and anteater. Apparently these were not ‘clans’ but geographical divisions, all belonging to a larger division called Tubor-uak; another main division, Kork-uak, had two untranslated subdivisions, Djbar-uak and Diu-uak. There would be different units with totemic names, clans, villages and districts, but this distinction went unnoticed by scholars.

All in all, Central American totemism is left basically unexplored. Potential clan totems can include: fish, turtle, snake, lizard, iguana, bird, chicken, pigeon, curassow, duck, coyote, dog, deer, anteater, peccary, opossum, monkey, sun, thunder, tree, and much more. Among the ‘Mosquito’ ‘elderly men’ served as representatives in village councils (Bull. 143, v. 4, p. 224). Whether these men belonged to totemic clans is not known. In fact, the whole layout of the social system is unknown.

South America is a different world; here totemic clans abound. Yet as usual the ethnologists were reluctant to acknowledge even the presence of totems. So this part of the treatise will have a hearsay appearance; hinting at what is not hinted. In the case of the Catio a local community had 10+ clans (v. 4, p. 317). The Amani and Palenque tribes had ‘exogamous matrilineal clans’, while marriage was patrilocal or rather mixed (v. 4, p. 344). How these clans were named is not shown.

Based on folklore and names, totems in Guiana could be: fish, crab, turtle, manatee, porpoise, snake, frog, bee, bird, parrot, toucan, aruresso-bird, hummingbird, cormorant, duck, turkey, goat-sucker, carrion-crow, eagle, owl, vulture, bat, jaguar, deer, tapir, bush-hog, armadillo, anteater, sloth, monkey, earth, sky, sun, dawn, fire, tree, flower, potato, tobacco, etc. (Ann. Rep. 30; Ann. Rep. 38, p. 677). Trio people had two names, ‘one reserved for friends, the other for strangers’; vide the reluctance of Sia and other Indians to tell their totemic names (p. 678). The custom of having two names is common all over the world, also among North American Indians; yet ethnologists did not explore the implications of this. One superior English scholar who asked about totemic figures, was told they had been made by ‘Jesus’, which he duly noted (Bull. 177, p. 210).

In most cases the information on social organization is meager. The Betoi had locally exogamous groups (v. 4, p. 395). In reference to the Goajiro a note was made of ‘30 odd matrilineal’ totemic clans, ‘each identified with an animal’ (v. 4, p. 374). Possible totems

were: lizard, gecko, bird, jaguar, rabbit, and so on. One moiety may have held lizard, bird, jaguar, rabbit and other totems.

The man writing of the Yaruro calls them 'primitive', with the 'family hunting group' as 'the basic unit' (Bull. 123, p. 215). He then notes that they are organized in matrilineal and exogamous moieties, jaguar and snake, which is a much more complex organization. Probably in the old days there were camps with several totemic clans that together with other camps formed moieties and phratries that seemingly could assemble in large settlements during parts of the year. By 1938, as the author writes, the Yaruro were on the verge of being exterminated (p. 216). Otherwise little information is provided on Venezuelan people. The Achagua tribe was divided into totemic patrilineal clans; possible totems included: snake, bird, fox, jaguar, bat, river, tree, etc. (Bull. 143, v. 4, p. 404).

The great Brazilian tribes remained outside the purview of Bureau ethnologists; perhaps this was for the best, as the scholars would have little to learn from intricate social categories. But it greatly diminishes the section on social organization. The Yagua had totemic clans 'named after a plant or animal', with few details presented (v. 3, p. 733). Local camps may have constituted phratries of 9-10 families each. Yagua totems might embrace: partridge, forest-hen, parrot, cat, tapir, anteater, sloth, monkey, ant, acorn, cotton, etc. (v. 5, p. 330). Among the Tucuna were found 36 totemic clans with 'tree names' and 'bird names', probably local designations (v. 3, p. 717). The 'Chebero village chief' had '10 assistants', probably local clan representatives (v. 3, p. 612). The Chiriguano people had patrilineal clans (v. 3, p. 472). The Maue tribe had 12 known totemic clans (v. 3, p. 249). The Yuruna had patrilineal clans (v. 3, p. 233). A Cubeo village was organized in totemic clans that 'own each a set of personal names (v. 3, p. 31). Their totems might include: bird, pigeon, mitu-bird, harpy-eagle, royal-hawk, tapir, sloth, earth, moon, flower, etc.

Perusals for other tribes are equally meager. The Macurap and Yabuti had patrilineal and exogamous clans; while the Arua had matrilineal clans (v. 3, p. 374-5). The Palicur people had 7 patrilineal clans, or perhaps 14, 'ranged in moieties' called 'lower and upper'. Totems could be: turtle, snake, caiman, frog, bird, hawk, dog, sloth, earth, flower, etc. The Tupi-Kawahib had patrilineal clans; no details are offered (v. 3, p. 303). Tupinamba villages may have contained clans with totems such as: fish, snake, lizard, bird, ibis, eagle, jaguar, deer, peccary, armadillo, opossum, capybara, monkey, earth, sun, moon, genipape, rattle, etc. A Bacairi village may have had 10-15 clans that were said to be 'matronymic' or matrilineal (Bull. 143, v. 3, p. 336). In the Munducuru tribe 34 matrilineal totemic clans were identified (v. 3, p. 277).

The Tapirape tribe was reduced from 1500 people in 1900 to 100 in 1950, following the arrival of whites in their area. In 1700 AD they may have numbered 5000+; reduced to <2%. Originally the tribe may have consisted of 7-10 village, each holding 500-700 people. A village may have been divided into 10-14 clans, each occupying a long house; one remaining village in 1939 had 9 houses. The totemic system broke down in recent times, but totemic names are preserved by societies and food taboos. The following are some suggested clan totems: fish, large-fish, eel, turtle, tortoise, snake, alligator, frog, dolphin, bird, fowl, crow, macaw, parakeet, duck, goose, stork, vulture, coati, wildcat, jaguar, large-deer, savanna-deer, forest-deer, tapir, pig, opossum, sloth, armadillo, anteater, small-anteater, capivara, paca, agouti, cebus-monkey, howler-monkey, earth, sun, moon, tobacco, etc. There seems to have been an idea of descent from the moon, an originator of women, via birds to different animals and clans (Wagley 1977, 176f). As people died off the totems disappeared one by one, until

the system became meaningless; but former totems were preserved as food taboos. Clans were matrilineal. A possible Tapirape clan structure could be: (moon), turtle or alligator, bird, jaguar, deer, monkey; fish, macaw, wildcat or coati, tapir, anteater or capivara, (earth).

Canela or Eastern Timbira may have had clan totems such as: fish, small-fish, piranha, stingray, anaconda, macaw, tucum, duck, falcon, otter, jaguar, deer, tapir, peccary, pig, anteater, agouti, monkey, bat, earth, ashes, hill, sun, moon, star, grasshopper, potato, corn, black, red, mask, festival, chief, clown, etc. Today only a ritual moiety system remains, though villages retain their circular structure, related to matrilineal clans and exogamy (Crocker 1990). Depopulation has modified the social structure. Dances such as deer and fish would quite likely once have been under the supervision of clans.

Matrilineal clans were found among the: Cayapo, Canela, Apinaye, Timbira, etc. (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 492). The Coroado people apparently had villages of 100+ people organized in 2 moieties and 3 phratries, each holding at least 2 matrilineal clans; all this is conjecture (Bull. 143, v. 1, pl. 110). Sherente totems could include: deer, sun, moon, and others. Sherente clans 'have each its recognized relative place in the peripheral arc of the village'; nicely put (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 491). Tribes with patrilineal clans included: Caingang, Sherente, etc. (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 461, 490).

Shavante clan totems might include: fish, snake, bird, macaw, eagle, dog, jaguar, deer, tapir, peccary, pig, monkey, sky, black, red, palm-tree, wood, straw, cotton, powder, necklace, baby, etc. One treatise identified animals such as fish, snake, jaguar, deer, tapir and pig as clans, hinting at a system of 6 clans in 3 phratries and 2 moieties (Maybury-Lewis 1974). This probably was much reduced from what it once was; for instance, birds are not mentioned, and they definitely would present themselves as totems. The same would apply to rodents and monkeys. Only 4 out of 15 Shavante clan designations are definitely associated with animals; the rest have opaque meanings.

On the whole ethnologists carefully avoid identifying people with animals. Ethnologists were reluctant to report totemic clans: 'Bororo clans commonly bear animal and plant names'. Yet their own 'claim' to 'totemism is disputed' by the ethnologist; as if it is up to the scholar to decide if people have totems or not, and falling down on 'nay' (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 389).

The Bororo became a classic example and a testing case of South American totemism (Lévi-Strauss 1983). A Bororo village had 7 clans on each side of the plaza. The clan totems could include: fish, turtle, land-turtle, snake, lizard, caiman, bird, hummingbird, blue-jay, pigeon, macaw, red-ara, dorado-bird, toucan, egret, harpy-eagle, vulture, jaguar, red-panther, deer, tapir, pig, peccary, armadillo, large-armadillo, mea-rodent, porcupine, rabbit, monkey, howler-monkey, caterpillar, larva, grasshopper, ant, earth, stone, sky, sun, moon, tree, palm-tree acuri-palm, potato, creeper, rope, wooden-trumpet, gourd-resonator, lower-chiefs, upper-chiefs, etc. Apparently the totem 'stone' is associated with turtle (Lévi-Strauss 1983, p. 43). Totemic references could be found in many practices, such as taboos and ceremonies. It was claimed that a taboo against eating deer 'is tribal, hence not totemic'; as if a tribe could not have a totem, such as the American eagle (Bull. 143, v. 5, p. 330). If people identify with an animal it is totemic; at least the relation has to be examined before claims to totemism are brushed off. As noted before, totems appear on different levels of social organization.

A possible distribution of totemic clans in an ancient Bororo village could be, starting in the west and going clockwise: (sun), fish, caiman, tapir, armadillo, vulture, eagle, turtle, land-

turtle, monkey, rodent, blue-jay, macaw, (stone). There would be roughly 14 clans in a village, with a minimum of 28 houses. Clans and moieties were matrilineal and exogamous (Wikipedia).

Moieties are found among: Canela, Apinaye, Bororo, Northern Cayapo, Sherente, Caingang, and others (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 388-9, 461). Moiety distinctions could be: north-south, east-west, sun-moon, upper-lower, weak-strong, friend-two, etc., or by untranslatable terms: chera-tugare, shiptato-sdakra, etc. (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 388, 426, 461, 483).

Many brief references mention totems and clans. The Mataco, Toba and Chamacoco had totems such as: fish, bird, dog, jaguar, peccary, sheep, donkey, horse, armadillo, rabbit, ant, locust, stone, plant, clothes, buttocks, etc. (Bull. 143, v. 1). A Charrua village had roughly 12 clans, indicating a totemic organization (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 194). Witoto clan totems included: leguan, deer, tapir, bee, etc. (v. 5, p. 330).

As can be seen, the South American handbook provides almost no information on specific totems. The exception, curiously enough, was a 'zootechnical' description of Inca totems. The assumption presumably was that in a civilization like the Inca the totems were 'decorative'. Inca totems were: seal, snake, lizard, alligator, toad, macaw, ostrich, vulture, condor, bear, dog, fox, cat, ocelot, jaguar, tiger, lion, llama, vicuna, sheep, monkey, sun, moon, etc. (Bull. 143, v. 6, p. 357). Most of these totems were also found in the forest tribes, but without being listed by the ethnologists.

The social organization of Tierra del Fuego peoples is all but unknown; observers and ethnologists were much too preoccupied with and prejudiced about their 'low culture' (Bull. 64, p. 45). Reports of 'a dozen or more Alacaluf seated in a circle' during a ceremony may indicate a totemic clan structure (p. 158). Totems related to the sea might include fish, seal and shells. Other totems might be bird, fox, deer, lama or guanaco, rodent (tuco-tuco), earth, stone, sun, moon, etc.

Ona communities had roughly 10-15 clans (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 117). Groups of 8-20 men could represent moieties or phratries, each with 2-6 clans. 'The Onas have quite a number of animal and plant tales'; suggestive of totemism (Bull. 64, p. 163). White observers could see no 'clan organization', but 'groups' would occupy 'fixed localities'; which says next to nothing (p. 178). Tattoos could serve as 'a family identification mark' (p. 183).

That Yahgans did not 'go far away' to find wives was interpreted as 'endogamous'; but a 'clan' presumably was exogamous. Ona men 'prefer to take wives from distant clans', while parents preferred 'adjacent' in-laws (Bull. 64, p. 165). Yahgans and Onas supposedly were patrilocal (p. 166). At the southern tip of the American continent the conclusion so far seems obvious. Ethnologists were not very helpful in recording Native American social organization. But they looked at elements that were crucial for a wider and deeper understanding of what native life once was like. Only a closer examination of the collected raw data would help in determining the social organization of these southernmost people.

It would be tempting to conclude that there were recognizable patterns of totemic clan systems across the two Americas. These would include systems with 2 moieties and 3 phratries, for a minimum of 6 exogamous clans. Groups of associated clans could either be localized, as in the villages of Brazilian tribes, or scattered out, as in some peripheral areas.

Unfortunately the reluctance of ethnologists to write about totemic clans renders it difficult to make out how clans were organized on the ground.

Taken one by one the BAE publications say little about the social organization of Native American peoples, in particular when it comes to pre-contact systems of totemic clan organization. When viewed as a whole, as a corpus, there is tantalizing information about often bewildering and complex systems of totemic clans. The intricate grouping together of formerly distinct clan-based villages and bands among tribes such as Wyandot, Ponca and Osage, are only some examples of the extensive and rich material that underlies the often terse and opaque ethnologic texts. From the Eskimo in the North to the Yahgan in the South there are indications of communities based on a set of complementary totemic clans that engage in exchanges and alliances with other communities, often embracing large geographical areas in a web of fairly organized societies. How this wider organization came about will be our next topic.

Chiefly rule and alliance building

The handling of power in American Indian tribes is one of the most misrepresented topics in American ethnology. At the same time ethnologists were curious to know how Indians organized themselves politically. After all, they had lost their independence while confronting one of the most lethal armies in the world. If Indians had no power, how could they resist US expansion for a hundred years or more?

Ethnologists tried to get around this apparent paradox of seemingly little power and desperate resistance, by limiting their analysis to warfare. Indians were portrayed as warlike people. That this went against every speech made by prominent chiefs, could not distract American scholars from their monomaniac quest for violent behavior. In spite of this view Indian societies were predominantly peaceful. It was not warfare that held these societies together. Along with intricate systems of social organization there were often quite elaborate forms of political integration and negotiations that somehow slipped the purview of ethnological minds.

As before this perusal starts in the north. The Chippewa tribal organization is poorly known. One band at Mille Lacs around 1840 counted ‘100 persons of various totems’ (Bull. 86, p. 131). The band or community had a chief, whose duties included presiding at councils, contributing to decision-making, settling disputes and representing the band ‘at all large gatherings of the tribe’. He had 2 assistants, perhaps a second chief and a messenger (p. 132).

Northern Central Algonquian tribes were more or less loosely confederated. The Potawatomi called the Ottawa tribe ‘elder brother’ (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 44). This kinship reference points back to the existence of intertribal alliances in the North American heartland; most such confederative processes are poorly known.

A review of the Menomini tribal government pointed to the historical significance of Indian chiefs (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 39). In a succinct statement, the Menomini ‘claim always to have had a first or grand chief’, besides ‘a second or war chief’, and ‘subchiefs’ for each band and village. If a chief passed away without a grown son, the second chief could act as ‘regent’ until a grown successor appears. Two lines of tribal chiefs were pointed to, with ‘the Owa´sse, or Bear, totem’ as the oldest; the other line was recent and of French descent. This would relate to the pervasive nature of totemism in Indian society, and also pointed back to a giant confederacy, the Fire Nation, that existed before 1670 in the region between the Great Lakes and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers (Jesuit Relations v. 27, p. 25). The bear would be pointed to as a tribal totem of the Menomini tribe, such as in intertribal alliances. This totem in turn would be associated with the tribe’s sacred bundle or paraphernalia, as well as an origin myth. The bear became a tribal chief because he ‘came out of the ground’ near Menominee River and had ‘light skin’ (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 39). This may relate to people of white descent taking prominent roles in native society in historic times. But the bear chief had a native origin; he summoned all the other clans, eagle, beaver, thunder, sturgeon, elk and so on. The simple interpretation would be that other clans supported the status of the bear as a tribal totem.

To solidify his leadership the bear built a long lodge, ‘extending north-and-south’, like a council house or possibly a Mide lodge, tying in with ceremonial leadership. Here thunder

had a fire in the middle; another leader. From this fire 'all the families receive fire', a socially significant ceremonial element. All families must get their fire from the same village source (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 41).

In 1880 there were 11 Menomini bands, each named for its chief: Oshkosh under Niopet, the head chief, Aiamihta, Shakitok under Niahtawapomi, Menaposho, Le Motte, Piwehtinet, Peshtiko, Ohopesha, Keshok or Keso, Ahkamot or Mechikinew, and Shononiw or Shonien (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 44).

For good measure the scholar traces the genealogy of the ruling bear chief from 1763 to 1890: Chekachokima, Ekwinemi, Oshkosh, Oshihineniw, Ekwinemi and Niopet (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 45-50). The French contender, Carron, came in as an interpreter to the chief in 1763, and later claimed the chieftaincy. Yet the unified type of tribal authority still depended on the pervasive system of totemic organization and leadership in the tribe.

Tribes such as Sauk and Fox had powerful and well-known chiefs. They also had other public positions such as messenger or runner. Such 'ceremonial runners' or messengers are described in one text (Bull. 85, p. 1). They were called 'young men'. The text begins by noting that 'it is against their religion to tell of it'; passed over without comment. Runners were instituted because people became aware of their situation, 'how wretched they were'; that problems needed to be solved (p. 5). Fasting was involved in selecting runners, up to 3-4 people; a leader, assistant and backup (p. 7, 9). Runners had to go through initiations such as bleeding to be 'light' (p. 11). Speeches about 'rules' of conduct were taught to them. Runners could also serve as ceremonial attendants, and as public overseers, watching that people 'would be proper and not evil' (p. 9). Runners also brought news of game and visitors, such as buffalo sightings (p. 45). Perhaps the most important function was that runners 'were sent on errands any place far off' (p. 9). Runners could travel for days with messages to other tribes. Not without reason runners were advised to eat when traveling: 'if you are fed do not fail to eat'; an important rule of hospitality for visitors (p. 27). They must take care how they address people, and not offend women; these were simple but effective admonitions (p. 27).

Runners may have shared ceremonial duties with other people. One ceremonial attendant was a 'fireman', who took care of fire-making (Bull. 85, p. 9). Messengers were given separate bowls at all feasts. They were fed before setting out to announce feasts, events and councils; also announcing 'when anyone died' (p. 9, 11). The runners would go around in the early morning to announce events. They stood by at councils and could voice opinions at decisions (p. 17).

There was a 'head chief' of the Fox tribe (Bull. 125, p. 82). He 'calls the council together, and meets the chief men sent from other people'. But not alone: a number of officers and representatives would attend tribal and intertribal councils. Titles found include 'old chief' or diplomat, 'Quiet Chief', 'War Chief', 'councilman', record-keeper or man who 'keeps track', messengers, attendants and listeners (p. 82). The tribal chief was elected by general consensus; presumably based on his totem (p. 82-83). Every council was presided over by a head chief and a second chief, sitting side by side, one backing the other up (p. 83). The head chief represented 'public opinion' or the tribe as such. The second chief is the 'spokesman in council with another nation'. This led to the view that the second chief was in charge; but in the back the head chief would be in control; like the president and foreign secretary (p. 83). These few glimpses provide insight into fairly complex political roles and proceedings.

The Huron nation was a ‘confederacy’ ‘composed of four or five territorial tribes’ (New Handbook v. 15, p. 371). Chiefs belonged to prominent families with a ‘distinct armorial bearing’ or totem. Every social unit would have a totemic reference, including the tribe as a whole. At tribal councils matters ‘were decided by consensus’ (ibid.). It is important to add that considerable deliberations would go into the establishment of an agreement. At a tribal confederative council each band and village had its own seats ‘so that the chiefs and their advisers could consult with one another’. ‘Confederacy councils were usually held once a year’ (New Handbook v. 15, p. 372).

The Iroquois confederacy or Hodenosaune is not extensively treated in BAE works; the reader is directed to Morgan (1851). Describing the 5 tribes of the confederacy and their intricate alliance could fill a separate treatise. What can be noted is that there are parallels here to other tribal societies, such as the Huron. Tribal councils had procedures in place that facilitated reasonable decisions.

As for Siouan politics, the BAE material is of mixed quality. One work noted that the distinctive Mandan villages were governed by ‘a council of bundle owners’ or clan representatives, including a ‘war chief’ and ‘peace chief’ (Bull. 198, p. 12). This would be the barest of political analysis. Presumably every totemic clan had its representative in the village council.

Dakota leadership was male dominated, at least according to male ethnologists (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 224). A particular feature of Sioux communities was ‘dog soldiers’ or ‘policemen’, said to number ‘50 to 60 men’ in a ‘camp of 200 lodges’. These would then have considerable power in a community. Most likely this dog police got bigger in historic times, when bands became displaced and large intertribal camps needed policing to reduce friction.

Among the Winnebago, according to Radin, the head chief and second chief, that might be Thunderbird and Bear, have complementary ‘functions’. One deals with ‘peace’ and mediation, including adjudication at murders, which could be symbolically settled by smoking ‘his sacred pipe’ (Radin 1923, p. 162). The second chief had ‘policing’ and ‘disciplinary’ duties (p. 152). Other officers included a ‘public crier’. There could be several ‘minor’ war-chiefs in a village, from different clans. In addition, numerous ceremonial positions could be established. The ‘Fire-starter’ would start all ceremonial fires. Each clan had a ‘function’, thought Radin, such as the ‘Water-spirit’ helping people cross streams. Rather this was a part of complementary clan-stories, stories that clan members told to and about each other, often as jokes. Clans formed an interactive system, not least in relation to politics.

Every Winnebago village had a ‘council lodge’ or council house. Radin thought this was ‘where the clan finds representation as a political unit’ (1923, p. 163). Actually the village, band or larger social groups represented by a council were the ‘political’ units. The collectivity of local clans together forms the village council. In the council lodge the seating arrangement would follow the distribution of clans in the village. Clans were seated opposite a ‘friend clan’ (hichakoro) in a symmetrical fashion, so that the two sides of the village plaza, the moieties, sat opposite each other in councils (p. 115). This pattern was broken in recent times, as was the residential system, due to population loss. People no longer remembered the ordering or seating of clans in a council house. In some views the thunder clan entered the lodge first, while buffalo entered last; but the ordering was unclear.

The Winnebago tribe as a whole had a head chief. Supposedly the tribal head chief belonged to the Thunderbird clan, 'the most important of all Winnebago clans' (Radin 1923, p. 159). Members of contending clans might disagree, such as eagle, water or bear. Unfortunately Radin cannot (or will not) find any historical 'data' (p. 200). The chieftaincy was well established. The chief 'had a representative at every council, generally his brother' (p. 162). Perplexingly, even if the chief was a Thunderbird and engaged in peace matters, the clan as such was engaged in warfare and known for its 'war club' (p. 210). The explanation would be that local clans and tribal leadership were distinct levels of action.

There was a celebration or 'feast' honoring the tribal chief. Radin calls this a 'Winter Feast' or ceremony (1923, p. 159, 379f). He also referred to it as a Thunderbird or 'chief feast', said to be given to honor the chief of the whole tribe (p. 270f). He additionally identified it as a 'clan-bundle' or 'war-bundle' feast (p. 154). This was a tribal celebration, as well as a local one in the chief's community and possibly in other villages as well. At this feast 'all the members of the tribe', headed by 'the Bird clan', would 'prepare large offerings' and 'abundant food to eat'. The chief would invite people to a feast, b.y.o.-style, if 'an epidemic' was threatening; not a good idea in terms of contagion (p. 271). All local clans would perform in the ceremony, with '12 war rituals', all similar, and '12 performances', one after another (p. 379). The main difference was the contents of each bundle, and the clan stories and songs, but following the same pattern. First people attend a sweat lodge and offer tobacco and prayers. Next they prepare buckskin wrappings, do a dog sacrifice, smoke and sacrifice tobacco, followed by an eating contest, ritual speeches and songs. Finally there is more tobacco offering, used buckskins discarded, a feast, a warrior performance, dog ritual and more ritual speeches and songs (p. 379-502). Interestingly the 12 speakers do not mention their clan, they only address the host, the chief, in a honorific manner. Probably this would apply only to the tribal chief, the head of all Winnebago. In other villages the point of address could be different. What seems clear is that the general system of 12 complementary clans upheld the political system.

The Osage tribe had a 'head chief' who came from the Washashe or Osage division; the snake clan. When this chief died 'the leading men call a council' (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 235). Of four candidates they would choose one; probably this was a mistake based on a statement that the chiefs of four Osage divisions would be involved in the selection. The chief's instatement was done with solemn proceedings, such as pipe ceremonies. There were criers, guards and other functionaries.

The Osage political and social organization was described in a native but narrow manner (Ann. Rep. 36). For instance, it was thought that the late historic band composition resulted from one mythic element, a flood in 'a large river' that forced some people to seek shelter on a 'hilltop', another in a 'forest', a third group in a 'thicket', and a fourth 'below' (p. 45). The first three groups became the historical Osage bands. The story completely obfuscates the vast territory and historical complexity of the Osage tribe. It also reversed historical time: The tribal organization continued after the bands separated; actually the different bands constituted the tribe, and their decimation would reduce its organization. One salient statement is that 'in each of the villages all the gentes were represented' (ibid.). Unfortunately the text would mix up former villages and bands with totemic clans or 'gentes', so that the social structure is obscured. The work also claims that the 'Osage tribe' is 'approaching extinction' due to 'absorption into the white race'; a form of self-discrimination (p. 46). An 'obsolescence of the language' was predicted; this would come true in 2005 (Wikipedia).

The Osage tribal organization becomes textual, connected to ‘rites’ (p. 47). This was a ‘cryptic form’ of presenting tribal history. The description becomes a ‘mythical story’ interspersed with Osage word; beyond analysis (p. 48). The reader has to look between the lines to find information on chieftaincy, bands and clans. In willy-nilly fashion the author observes that little old men liked the ‘story’ about ‘Little-Old-Men’; no less (p. 47).

What can be gleaned from the source is that all levels of Osage society, villages, tribal divisions and tribe, had a peace chief and a war chief who represented clan moieties. All tribal divisions had hereditary chiefs. They presided over moiety houses (east and west, peace and war) that served as sanctuaries for anyone who needed protection (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 54). A chief’s duties included: to stop fights, adjudicate murders, and protect strangers and captives. The chief organized annual hunts and seasonal activities. The Osages were ‘a peace-loving people’ who were sometimes ‘forced’ into warfare; a pervasive view (p. 49).

An Osage village had a head chief, a second chief, two or more messengers, and several ceremonial attendants or ‘kettle carriers’ (Bull. 101, p. 207). As noted, the head and second chiefs represented village moieties, and the attendants may have been clan representatives at local councils. If something happened the messengers were sent to ask the men ‘to assemble for council’. Special pipe-keepers would be called to attend at major councils (Bull. 101, p. 4). In a village the first and second chiefs, or peace and war chiefs, were assisted by 10 or more ‘officers’, representing the village clans (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 68). They would help in the ‘enforcement’ of chiefly orders or laws. Other ‘offices’ included an ‘overseer’ who performed ‘tattooing’; a tattoo artist (ibid., p. 146).

A new chief is supposed to go out on a ‘vigil’ or fast to seek supernatural approval (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 69). His vision should include a pair of male and female wild gourds, symbols of his power to rule and also to heal. He would also have a ‘vision’ of the chiefly totem, such as a pelican if he was a Honga (p. 84). Other chiefly totems could be eagle and metal. This might raise the question, given that the tribal totem is snake, and a chief’s clan could be dog, why he would seek a pelican totem for his vision. The answer is that the pelican was a symbol of longevity. The chief might have a selection of personal totems depending on the occasion; snake as head chief, but pelican for longevity and eagle for bravery, as well as personal and clan totems.

A tribal council would consist of the head chief, second chief, and two chiefs from the other tribal divisions, as well as other attendees or delegates. The head chief as noted belonged to the Washashe or snake clan; whence the name of the tribe. At tribal councils a ‘spokesman’ organized the proceedings, giving participants ‘a place’ and citing their ‘office’, including caretakers of children (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 151). At the council house or ‘place of gathering’ the local men ‘met almost every morning’, formally or informally (Bull. 101, p. 3). Conversations often ‘turned to matters of importance to the tribe’; but they also talked about local problems, such as bad acts, and ‘approval of good acts’ (p 4). In large villages men may have assembled in two places, moiety houses, while the main council house, controlled by the chiefs, would be used for major councils; though this is unclear.

The arrangements sound professional, but also impromptu. There would be a fixed seating arrangement for band chiefs and councilors. Even the biggest council may have emulated a seating order by clan as in a village meeting, since this order later on (only) was remembered for the tribe as a whole. The persistent organization in turn allowed that a variety of issues could be addressed; everything from trade to disturbances.

The Osage tribal history in mythic form tells of the meeting of band chiefs at different places, such as after a pandemic, when 'bones' lay scattered 'around the village', possibly referring to an event at the mouth of the Osage River ca. 1700 (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 60). Chiefs would blame each other for such calamities, not knowing that the source was European. They would try to restore some order in the midst of depopulation, moving whole bands in trying to get away from epidemics and warfare. The chiefs had to restore some order in the midst of chaos; and usually they succeeded. The political system was persistent and versatile.

Turning to the Southeast early historical records indicate large-scale tribes and confederacies. Among the Cherokee clan membership 'was recognized in the seating arrangements in the council house' (Bull. 180, p. 91). In each town there was a peace chief (uku) and war chief. In addition there was a 'chief speaker'. A 'body of counselors' or elders from local clans took part in the council. There also were other roles such as religious officials, messengers and 'assistants' at events. There also were female representatives, such as 'War Women' (p. 91-92). All groups were represented in village councils, young and old, women and men, and each totemic clan.

In the case of the Creek nation, this tribe was composed of highly organized towns and villages. This is exemplified by the standard symmetry at village dance squares, the assembly area (Bull. 123). Swanton referred to the town organization as 'clan councils', based on the seating at square grounds. That the town council was made up of representatives from each local clan seems clear. It was stated that clan representatives or elders (pawa) formed the council (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 301).

A village would have a chief, second chief, 12 clan representatives, messengers, speakers and interpreters. Other roles associated with the council included fire-keeper, attendants, 'burden carriers' and medicine-men or priests (Bull. 123, p. 133-6).

Based on the complicated view of clanship, Swanton would try to fit Creek chiefs into a moiety mold. He noted that the main chiefs were both from the 'White' and 'foreign' side, such as the Potato or earth clan (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 196). He listed a large number of clans from which chiefs came, alligator, snake, fish, bird, eagle, bear, raccoon, panther, fox, deer, beaver, potato and wind; basically the whole range of totems, in both moieties. For the 'Second chief', on the other hand, it was noted that he would 'come from the White side', especially 'Wind' (p. 194). As noted, this could be a reversal of former practices. The 'vice chief' could be alligator, toad, bird, turkey, bear, raccoon, panther, fox, deer, beaver, potato and wind – actually the same totemic range as for head chiefs.

All positions could not be official. War leaders gained their position from 'warlike feats' (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 297). The most prominent such leader was titled or appointed as 'Big Warrior'; hence somewhat official (ibid.). He could summon war councils, led ball games, and was 'chief of police'; he could be the same as the second chief, becoming even more official (p. 298). Chieftaincy would reach from each town and village up to tribal divisions, tribes and the Creek confederacy as a whole. Anciently there was a tribal head chief and head warrior (p. 411).

Town councils 'began early in the morning' (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 306). Chiefs, 'counsellors' and 'warriors' would meet every day 'at the square ground'. Counciling took place 'in the big house' for policy matters and in the square for public meetings (ibid.). At formal councils

there were ‘lectures on conduct’, reviews of ‘the preceding year’, and ‘future prospects’ for the council. Such established procedures would go all the way up to the confederacy level.

The Chickasaw also had a well-functioning tribal government. There was a tribal chief and second chief, as well as band and village chiefs, who made up the tribal council. Additional positions included messengers ‘and waiters’ (Ann. Rep. 44, p. 191). Unfortunately the totemic structure of Chickasaw leadership was early forgotten; at least according to ethnologists.

The Natchez supposedly had a fixed rulership; or rather, a central leadership. The tribe had 3 main divisions, Natchez, Taensa and Avoyel, perhaps with a total of 20-23 villages and ca. 6,000 people. The confederative leader or head chief was called ‘the great Sun’ (Bull. 43, p. 100). He was succeeded by his sister’s son, something the French could not come to terms with. The head chief supposedly was despotic, wildly exaggerated by French imagination; yet his son was a common person, and someone outside, a nephew, would be appointed leader. On top of that the head chief’s sister was a ‘woman chief’, called the ‘female Sun’ or ‘white woman’; also something the French could not grasp. Other confederacy leaders and officers included an assistant chief or ‘great war chief’, village chiefs, 2 war chiefs, 2 ritual leaders, 2 speakers, 1 overseer, 4 ritual attendants and 4 messengers to take care of the tribal grounds, along with a group of old men as lawmakers (p. 100-107). Every village in addition had 2 messengers. Every year ‘tribute’ was collected at dances in the other villages and sent to the head chief for use at tribal councils; an economy based on redistribution (p. 100; Keesing 1981, p. 205). The main council ground held 1300 people; perhaps a square as among the Creeks or more likely the main village plaza (Bull. 43, p. 100). In spite of claims to ‘despotism’, the council ‘curtailed’ the head chief and war chief, by deciding what course to follow (p. 107). Nor was Natchez the main southern center, it was subsidiary to the sacred council fire at Mobile; something the ethnologist finds hard to reconcile (p. 165). Needless to say there were several confederative tribal centers, at Coweta, Black Warrior River, Tupelo, Mobile and Natchez, that all were in contact with each other, as they would have been with the Caddoan center at Spiro, the Fire Nation center at Mississinewa River, and beyond. The scale of things simply did not fit into Swanton’s mind, writing of ‘extinct’ tribes (p. 257).

West of the Mississippi, the Caddo nation had a paramount chief. The nation was organized as a group of allied territorial sub-tribes with a unitary confederative leader, shinesi. He in turn governed through a ‘subordinate’ chief who was a liaison to 4-5 sub-tribes consenting to live as confederates. On the local level there were ‘tribal’, band or village chiefs called ‘caddi’, who were hereditary; interpreted by the Spanish as patrilineal, but probably matrilineal. There presumably also was a second chief, as well as war leaders or ‘great men’ (Bull. 132, p. 170). There also were chief women, akitau; barely noted by the Spanish, but able to become nation leaders (p. 170, 173). In addition, each chief had 4-8 canahas, assistants or speakers; there were also messengers, chaya, and overseers, tribal police or criers, tama (p. 170, 173). There were representatives, ‘old men’, who together with other officers would all gather in council at the assembly house led by the chief. Presumably they represented local totemic clans. A tribal council would be similar, but on a larger scale. The political system was stable; there were no ‘quarrels’; ‘peace and harmony’ reigned (p. 170).

Tribes in the Caddo confederacy were ‘friends’ (texas) (Bull. 132, p. 170). The structure of the confederacy was quite complex. There may have been 3 main Caddo sub-tribes, Eastern (Adais), Central (Caddohadacho) and Southern (Hasinai). Each sub-tribe in turn consisted of 4-6 subdivisions or bands. There would be chiefs on all levels, village, band, sub-tribe and the confederacy as a whole. The word ‘shinesi’ was used for chiefs of sub-tribes, such as Hasinai,

and probably for the head chief as well (p. 171). Councils were highly organized, conducted with deference, deliberation and tact (p. 172). At the bottom of this stability was a society based on totemic clans, from the complementary set of clans in a village, to the chief's totem.

On the Northwest Coast BAE publications offer little on pre-contact political systems. All that can be noted on this point is that tribes such as Tlingit and Kwakiutl were large and well organized, with chiefs fighting but also negotiating over issues such as resources and status. Historical decimation would disrupt all these proceedings, and it would take a special study to unravel the changes of leadership in this area, starting with the research of Boas and other scholars (Boas 1966).

California tribal leadership is poorly known, mostly because most people were killed in post-contact times, but by ethnologists interpreted as a lack of leadership. Coast Miwok communities had a complex leadership system. There was a village chief, appointed by the 'old chief and four elderly women'; he was in charge of the assembly house or 'mixed' gender 'ceremonial house'. In addition there was a 'woman chief' and a women's ceremonial leader, who was in charge of 'the women's ceremonial house'. The female ceremonial leader 'bossed' all ceremonial events; she 'bosses everyone', including the chief. This smacks of matriarchy, yet the ceremonial leader's role would be strictly limited, even idiosyncratic; she was 'the best-looking girl' selected by a new 'doctor' (New Handbook 8, p. 419). Any political decisions would be left to the village chief. A claim of 'no overall tribal organization' can be dismissed; presumably all village chiefs would be in contact and have some shared assemblies (ibid.).

Pomo leaders and officers included 'great chiefs' and 'surrounding chiefs'. The first were at the head of the community or 'principal' village, the second would represent phratries or hamlets. Together they formed the 'council that cooperated with the head chief'. 'General consent' was needed for council decisions (Bull. 78, p. 250). The office of the main village chief was hereditary; he could be succeeded by his sister's son. Kroeber reacted strongly to this: 'California always reckons in the male line' (ibid.). He worked hard to claim that this 'matrilineal tendency' was exceptional and unique 'on the whole Pacific coast' of the USA (p. 251). There would be no woman power on Kroeber's watch. Somewhat petulantly he added that the Pomo had 'women chiefs' or 'queens', apparently a 'chief's children' (p. 251-2). The high standing of women in native societies would generally confuse ethnologists.

For the Yuki tribe some prominent chiefs are mentioned, such as Hunchisutak at Uwit, who was 'head chief' of a tribal 'division' including 6-7 villages or hamlets. 'The 'tribal' chief was more than the headman of the largest village' (Bull. 78, p. 164). A chief was succeeded by his son; if he had no son, by a SiSo or step-son. As an aside it was mentioned that villages also had a 'woman chief', who was a chief's daughter (Bull. 78, p. 210). There would then be a system of 8-9 divisional chiefs and women's chiefs who united the Yuki people. Other roles were war-chief and 'dance-director'. There also was a role called 'person-man', perhaps a term for phratry-hamlet representatives at village assemblies (p. 177).

A Yokuts village 'had two chiefs, one for each moiety'; head chief and second chief (New Handbook 8, p. 454, 466). In spite of the programmatic statement that there was no political unity, the political system seems to have been quite complex. There were 'official positions within the village' associated with 'totemic animals'. Such positions included an 'Eagle' chief; a 'Dove' messenger, a 'Magpie' crier, a 'Raven' warrior, and so on. This would imply

that there was a tribal structure of positions, where people identified each other by clan; Eagle, meet Wolf (op. cit., p. 454).

Yokuts chiefs were of prominent clans such as Eagle. Chiefs 'who headed tribes' were 'influential for several days' journey about'; an area of 2000+ square miles with 5000+ people. Regional bands and local communities had 'lesser chiefs and headmen' (Bull. 78, p. 496). Yet Kroeber arbitrarily dismisses reports of 'confederacies' of bands led by 'powerful chiefs'. A chief had 'respect' but could not head a 'league of tribes'; this would be like saying that a politician got 'respect' but could not lead a union of states (p. 496).

Each Yokuts community had a head chief and second chief, based on moieties. The chief was in the center. Other more or less 'hereditary' positions included 'the messenger or herald' at the end, the village 'clown', and 'transvestite sexual perverts' [sic] (Bull. 78, p. 497). Political correctness was not on the agenda in 1925.

Among California Shoshoneans it was known that the Juaneno communities had a chief, second chief, and woman chiefs, the chiefs' wives. Presumably there were two moieties, earth and 'coyote' (Bull. 78, p. 645). Beyond this little is known.

Basin-Plateau bands lived in settlements of 200 people that could be united in bands of 1000+ people; larger than expected (Bull. 120, p. 51-56). Each settlement or village had center features such as assembly houses, dance arenas and sweat houses (p. 54). This indicated a 'stable and clustered' population. People lived in stable relations to each other; possibly excepting gambling. An 'annual mourning ceremony' created 'band' cohesion (p. 55). 'Each band had a chief' who 'was succeeded by his son' (p. 55-56). On top of this, chiefs from several band could act 'united' in case of need, such as defense (p. 56).

A remarkably candid statement was the following: 'The Pimas are governed by a head chief and by a chief for each village', 'assisted by village councils' and 'tribal councils' (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 195). The tribal chieftaincy was not hereditary, 'though the present incumbent succeeded his father'; the head chief 'is elected by village chiefs'. Probably the strong tribal organization had to be described in an off-hand way, since it was not expected; the text then inadvertently became authoritative. Head chiefs from 1750 to 1910 were Tavanimo, Osivf, Rsantali-Viakam, Tiahiatam and Mavit-Kawutam. 'It is important to note that the tribe acted as a unit'; the example was defense against Apaches. 'With their compact territory and well-developed agriculture' the Pima were an organized society (p. 196). Furthermore, it would seem that the Pima tribe in pre-contact times had 5 geographical divisions, Akol, Apap, Apuki, Maam and Vaaf, all unified under a head chief. This was a pervasive political system.

It is interesting to read about the Seri Indians because they had a sort of 'matriarchy' (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 274f). Kinship followed women, clans were matrilineal, 'matrons' owned the houses and other property, and women decided everything except in warfare. 'Seri matrons seem to exercise formal legislative and judicative functions' (p. 274). They held their own councils, and were prominent in tribal councils. They also would take part in war parties, and operated as shamans. At the same time it should be added that Seri men were nearly exterminated by Mexican colonists; a genocidal assault on native groups. In formal terms, 'the executive power' of a social group 'resides in' a woman's oldest brother (ibid.). Perhaps this was because Mexicans and Anglo-Americans would only accept male leaders, regardless of women's standing. The atrocious fate of the Seri puts ethnology into perspective.

One curious work links tribal politics to 'fascism'. The case is modern, in which a powerful leader of a Taos kiva group dominates the whole community through his intrigues (Bull. 164, p. 306). Needless to say this could happen in native politics, as it could in presidential elections. The claim is that 'cooperation, unanimity, and considerateness' make room for exploitation. Probably extraneous factors, such as Indian agents, had at least as much to say in how power was used or misused on reservations.

In Acoma pueblo mention is made of 'officers and societies'; including a cacique or head chief, war chiefs, curing societies, 'Warriors' Society' and 'koshare' dancers. The chiefs serve as priests in association with the societies, leading to a view that Acoma is 'theocratic' (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 40-41).

Moving on to Mexico, the Miskito Indians had hereditary chiefs 'after the establishment of British influence', referred to as a 'king'. Somehow this was interpreted to mean that there were no 'supreme' chiefs in pre-contact times; after all, only the British have a 'king' (Bull. 106, p. 101). Chiefly 'insignia' included a 'wooden scepter' and a 'breastplate'; the British substituted metal versions, including a crown; this somehow implied that these were British inventions, rather than modifications of native traditions. A head chief 'was chosen by an assembly of old men', apparently only in war, but probably there always was a chief and council. Other power figures included 'chief-doctors' (p. 101). Modern rule was by Ladino 'comandantes', which in the ethnologist's mind somehow precluded pre-contact leadership (p. 102). He assumed that the past did not exist; an exclusive view of history.

In Guiana the clinical reluctance to discuss native life is extended to 'authority' (Ann. Rep. 38, p. 567). Even so village chiefs and 'the chief of all the country' is noted. The Makusi chief was 'waited upon' by attendants, 'dining in solitary state', and used the regal pronoun 'we' when speaking (p. 568). Also women could act in this role.

Most South American peoples were organized as tribes. This would be the case from the Ona in the south to the Caribs in the north. Among the Charrua the village council consisted of the 'heads' of the 12 or so village clans 'under a chief' (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 194). Unfortunately very little is known about the political workings of native tribes before they were 'pacified' or decimated. At least such systems do not figure prominently in BAE texts; with a few exceptions.

Each Araucanian 'village' had its patrilineal 'hereditary chief, who was controlled by a council of elders' or local clan representatives. 'The villages of a district' were 'ruled by a higher chief'. The tribe as a whole, with 'a number of districts', had a head chief, advised by a council of 'five district chiefs'. The 'total political structure was basically democratic' (Bull. 143, v. 2, p. 44).

The Tehuelche were divided into 6 tribal bands, each including sub-bands and local communities. Based on the extent of territory it seems safe to assume that Tehuelche 'bands' held 2000-5000+ people, for a total pre-contact population of 20,-40,000 people. Each community, sub-band and band had a 'headman' or chief, perhaps all the way up to the tribe as a whole (Bull. 143, v. 1, p. 150). There would be representative meetings of all 6 bands when they 'would foregather in one place' (v. 1, p. 150). All such organizations would be disrupted by white colonists.

The material on pre-contact Native American politics is too meager to make any conclusions on tribal forms of organization and leadership. Yet it is tempting to muse. A molecular political system would consist of 6 people, in most cases men, who based on their totemic affiliation could be divided into 2 moieties with 1 man each from 3 phratries, e.g., snake, coyote, eagle, and lizard, fox, crow, or some such alignment. This meets Barth's claim that a political system may have the outward appearance of two sides or moieties, but a dynamic alignment into 3 factions or phratries; a 'balanced opposition' (Barth 1965, p. 118). In Native America few if any societies counted less than 1000 people, and many counted in the tens and even hundreds of thousands. But the same system of political stability prevailed; two chiefs representing moieties, and a dozen or more council members representing the 3 phratries often found in clan systems. From the Fire Nation near the Great Lakes to the Inca empire in Peru, political consolidation prevailed. And the linchpin was the totem, all the way up to the ruling Sun. As said, these are musings; it would take a careful study to analyze how American political systems operated. But the stability that once marked both continents needs to be accounted for – before it is brushed off as illusory. The issue of wider political integration will be returned to in due course. As before, the reader's stamina is implored.

The female god and other spirits

Ethnologists loved esoteric matters, in particular material that could be discussed in theory without any reference to actual events. The different words people use for supernatural powers is one such topic. A typical example is the Siouan word 'wakonda'. Variants from different languages can be discussed, along with all kinds of derived and primary meanings. In a frenzied word play, synonyms include 'mysterious', 'lightning', 'serpent', 'wonderful', 'incomprehensible', 'holy', 'holy being', great mysterious one, God, god, thunder-being, powerful one, being, water-monster, horned-reptile, and so on. Word forms are 'wakan', wakanhdi, wakankdi, wanmducka, wakunze, takuwakan, wakantanka, wakanda, wakanta, wakandagi, waktceqi, and so on. Tribes mentioned include Santee, Yankton, Winnebago, Ponca, Kansa, Osage and others (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 366). What is worth noting is that none of the ethnologists believe in these concepts; it is a detached and condescending exercise, like describing the clothing of poor people. One ethnologist who also was a bigoted missionary denied that Indians believed in god, a mission dictum; Indians could not distinguish 'the supernatural' from 'the natural'; 'even man himself is mysterious' says one who worships a resurrected man (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 365). Different tribes get the same treatment: they do not believe in god (p. 431). Not only missionaries but other ethnologists as well would be engaged in depreciating native religions. This would not affect Indian belief; they believed as they did.

Religious expositions often worked best in an imagined realm, without necessarily referring to current beliefs or social implications of worship. An example of this would be 'Iroquoian cosmology', describing the rich spiritual universe of the Iroquois in an abstracted sense (Ann. Rep. 21). One highly constructed cosmology starts with the concept of 'orenda', a 'fictive force, principle, or magic power' suited to the belief of 'primitive man' (Ann. Rep. 43, p. 464, 608). Gods included sun, moon, earth, and her husband 'Earth-holder' or 'Master of Life'; these in turn created humans, plants and animals (p. 464-5). The main gods were Awenhai, the Mature Earth, and her husband-grandson, the 'Master of Life' (p. 465-8). Not surprisingly the ethnologist saw the male god as the 'dominant character', though both were important, taking alternate sides in games. Various spirits included evil, disease, wind and thunder. The tradition of false faces was instituted to drive away disease; similar traditions exist all over the world (p. 468). Worship of the 'Master of Life' at a New Year ceremony with a dog sacrifice was thought to be 'most important'; one more gender bias dictate (ibid.).

For some reason ethnologists saw the appearance of god as a crucial issue, perhaps even more crucial than the existence of god. In Shawnee belief god is an old woman, Our Grandmother, who lives in a traditional house on the moon surrounded by her people. She can be seen sitting on the surface of the moon bent over a cooking pot, two feathers on her head. People who visited Our Grandmother said she always received visitors hospitably, offering them food. Only the dish she presented was very small, it only held a few grains of corn, beans and other food. They thought they would have to go hungry, but once they started eating the food was plentiful. She said she knew what they thought, and this was a test of their belief in her. She had a tiny hiding place behind a pole to the right of the entrance to her house. When young people came to 'play with' or kill the visitors, she hid them in this place, and they became small enough to fit in snugly. In every way Our Grandmother was the same as an old Shawnee woman.

This means that god would have a different appearance in every society and for every individual around the globe. Not only that, god is everything and everyone. The Shawnee pantheon starts with the sun, the great god, kchimaneto. Next was his wife the moon, Our Grandmother. Their child was mother earth and her husband, the good spirit, wesimaneto, who happened to have a brother, the bad spirit, machimaneto. Everything else was the offspring of the earth and of Our Grandmother, plants, animals and people, as well as stars and every conceivable physical object. Everything was spiritual. There was a grandson, Our Grandmother's Boy, wâpôthiskilawe'thîtha, who shaped the earth during his play. He caused a flood that destroyed everything. Then god re-created everything the way it is found on earth today.

It is easy to claim that religion is universal. But every divinity in the Shawnee pantheon reflects their existence, including the animals and plants around them. God is a Shawnee woman who lives in a Shawnee village. From there divinity becomes a description of the world we live in. A parallel case would be Japanese divinity, shintô, where everything, even car factories such as Toyota or Mazda, have their own gods. When buying a car it is a good investment to sacrifice some money to that car's god. By extension, linguists could have letter gods, and chemists need the gods of the periodical elements. Religion is a reflection of human knowledge.

It makes sense that anthropologists use the term 'value and code' for the part system usually called religion. Apparently most people do not believe in god. Religious belief is an acolyte area, more so than medicine and law. The only claim to religious preferability can come from religious practitioners. Everyone else would have to meet this claim with a shrug. A problem occurs when religious people say theirs is the only valid knowledge. Religion becomes a kind of compulsive thinking, where an imagined reality is the only reality. Many Americans do not 'believe' in DNA or birth control, as if these phenomena are the willful construction of evil minds; but they (sometimes) believe in vaccines.

Overcoming the gap between religion and science is the task of socially conscious people. Areas of human thought cannot be excluded because they do not fit in with religion. A converse view would be that cars cannot have their own gods, before running into a fatal accident. A god was abused in this joke. Of course it is possible to believe in anything, but the upshot is that one also has to believe everything. The alternative is religious violence, that unfortunately remains an option in many parts of the world. Resisting such violence is possible only as long as skeptics are able to stay alive with some degree of safety. There has to be room for doubt.

'Value and code' is the culmination of social life. This is exemplified by the belief systems of Indian tribes. Among the Chippewa the main gods were: sun, moon, earth, and Winabosho (Bull. 86, p. 101). Sauk gods included the sun or Great Spirit, the culture hero Wisaka, Thunders and others (Harrington 1914, p. 131-2). Fox gods include: Grandfather sun or One-who-Shines, grandmother moon, mother earth or Mother-of-all-the-Earth, the Good or Gentle Spirit, the evil spirit, the Cultural Hero, Wisakeha or Wîsaka, his brother, god of the dead, and the Thunderbirds (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 417; Ann. Rep. 42, p. 381; Bull. 125, p. 13). Spirits came from the Milky Way aka White River (Bull. 125, p. 13). Spirits inhabit everything. Spiritual beings include animals, people, plants, trees, water, fire, mountains and so on (p. 13). In personal terms, 'fastings and visions' were 'normal religious experiences' (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 37).

Concrete examples are more relational. The Midewiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' is a cultural event that the BAE brought to the front (Ann. Rep. 7). This is a giant lodge in which local people meet to address medical and spiritual issues. Since the lodge encompasses all aspects of local life, from kinship and clans to religion and leadership, it is a difficult topic to presents. The format chosen is schematic, typical for many ethnologic presentations, in this case listing four 'degrees' of involvement, from first to fourth, followed by 'supplementary' material, all the information that would not fit into the scheme.

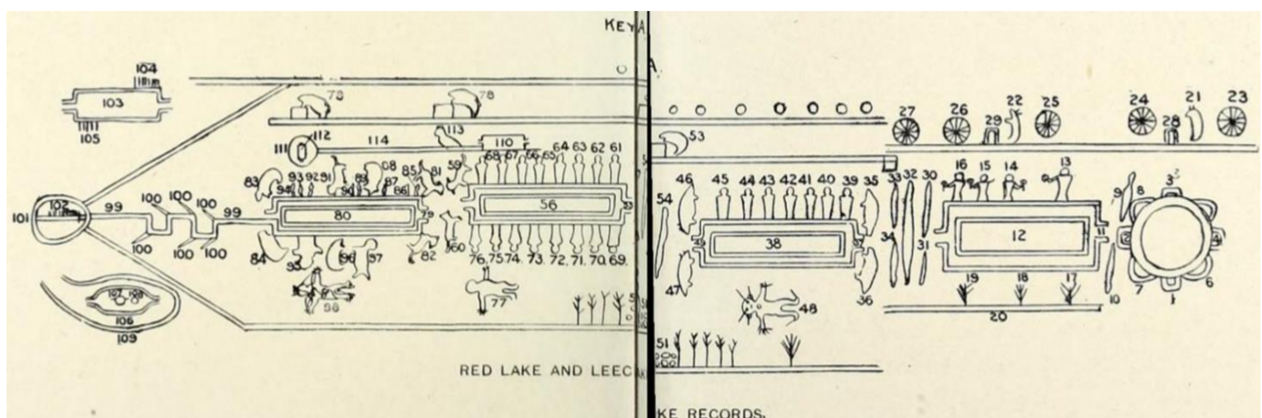
Midewiwin or mitewiwin is part of a much wider phenomenon, the erection of special houses in a village to provide for healing and spiritual companionship. The Midewiwin complex was reported among such peoples as Chippewa and Menomini. It was also found in other Algonquian tribes. A similar lodge was found among the Winnebago. Beyond this the 'war tents' of the Osage would fill a similar function, with healing, praying and mourning sessions.

The exposition dutifully starts by noting that Chippewa 'organization according to the totemic system is practically broken up' by reservations, Indian agents and missionaries (Ann. Rep. 7, p. 149). The implication is that this is a dead tradition. The text then turns around by saying that totems are found on reservations, 'presenting an interesting field for ethnologic research'.

Native healers or shamans included mite, wapeno and chêsakkit. Of the last two, wapeno was a night-time practitioner, and chêsakkit was a 'juggler' or visionary. Probably these were all the same kind of person, the mite getting his or her title from the mitewiwin. That the roles are not separate, is indicated by an accomplished mite practitioner being a chêsakkit or 'juggler', at most times performing in a juggler's or shaman's tent (p. 170).

Since mitewiwin was a communal event, it was totally 'mysterious' to ethnologists. Why would people meet to solve healing and religious problems? It would be like asking why people go to a hospital to meet doctors. After all, a doctor can practice anywhere, so the hospital is 'mysterious'. The mitewiwin was a social center.

It is almost impossible to discuss the mitewiwin without reproducing one of the birch bark scrolls depicting the lodge. It provides a map of a Chippewa community and its physical and mental needs. But the ethnologist seems to have no idea what it represents. He merely lists the different symbols found in the diagram; and there are more than 200 symbols, so the list gets endless.



Mide lodge drawing (Ann. Rep. 7)

As should be expected, the recital of numbers does not make sense. The large circle 'denotes the earth', while the 'Otter appeared at the square projections at Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4'. Semicircular appendages 'are the four quarters of the earth', 'Nos' 5, 6, 7, and 8.' This must be read as a formula that is not completely understood or explained. One entity can be referred to by several numbers in the diagram, such as the bear spirit (21, 22), or five snakes (30-34). Various healers are indicated by numbers, 13-16, 39-45; also a sorcerer or witch (50). Divinities and spirits mentioned include: great spirit, good spirit, evil spirit, ghost, heart, sky, sun, water, path, tree, post or pole, cross, drum and medicine. Of special interest are all the animal spirits: bear (21, 22, 51-53, 83-84, 88, 96), snake (30-34, 54), panther (57-60, 81-82), wildcat or lynx (97), owl (113), besides 'many others' (85-95) and 'lesser spirits' (Ann. Rep. 7, p. 167-173). Either the scholar did not bother to note all the animals, or, equally likely, informants refused to explain them.

Also of interest were all the people who attended the mitewiwin; the local residents. There were represented in the diagram 10 circles, presumably indicating different clans. The scholar is not interested in discussing these symbols; 'their import was not known to my informants' (p. 170). Quite possibly they did not want to say who took part. And in another place: 'The wig´iwams (Nos. 22, 23, 24, and 25) designate the village habitations'; no names or identity is given (p. 181). Participants other than practitioners are referred to simply as people or as a number, 'No. 8'. Nor is any link drawn between persons and animal spirits. Apparently informants were reluctant to explain to the ethnologist what each symbol meant. It is then up to the reader to interpret what each figure represents, such as they are reproduced in the text.

Perusing the figures, first of all there is a numerical sequence of people, in sums of 4, 7, 10, 8+8, 16; secondly there is an arrangement of animals and symbols that may represent totems, nos. 78-97, 112, 113. In another version 8, 12, 18 and 24 'spirits' are indicated in the lodge, divided in 2, 3, 4 and 6 groups, e.g., moieties and phratries. The fullest picture would be of 2 people in a clan, 2+2 clans in a phratry and 3 phratries in each moiety; a total of 24 people in 12 clans. In addition there are 2 'main' figures in the center, comparable to the chiefs in a village, and 2-4 additional figures or taggers-on. Totems noted include bear, panther, lynx, owl and ghost.

In general, between 10 and 20 local totems may be indicated, such as turtle, owl, fox, badger, deer, woodchuck, fish, hawk, panther or lynx, bear and moose. Simply looking at the pictures in the bark records, a number of animals can be tentatively identified: fish, sturgeon, snake, turtle, mussel, crow, duck, swallow, crane, heron, swan, hawk, goshawk, falcon, buzzard, owl, badger, bear, otter, wolf, fox, dog, panther, lynx, deer, horse, moose, goat, pig, beaver, groundhog, porcupine, earth, stone, mountain, water, river, whirlpool, rain, cloud, sky, thunderbird, sun, moon, tree, arrow, drum, whiteman, fort, and more; possibly even buffalo (p. 196). Some of these are noted by the scholar; most were Chippewa totems. It can then be postulated that the village or community assembling at the mitewiwin lodge included 14-16 clans, divided into 3-4 phratries of 4-6 clans each and distributed across 2 moieties of 7-8 clans each. The 3-4 phratries would include a fourth, chiefly group, indicated by one man sitting separate from the rest. These had separate seating locations in the lodge, but also mixed with others at different times during the ceremonial, such as when the 'bear spirit' was acting his role. Each clan would have its own ceremony. It seems telling that plate 5 shows the origin of the Chippewa, but apparently is a story of the bear clan. Other clans would have their own stories.

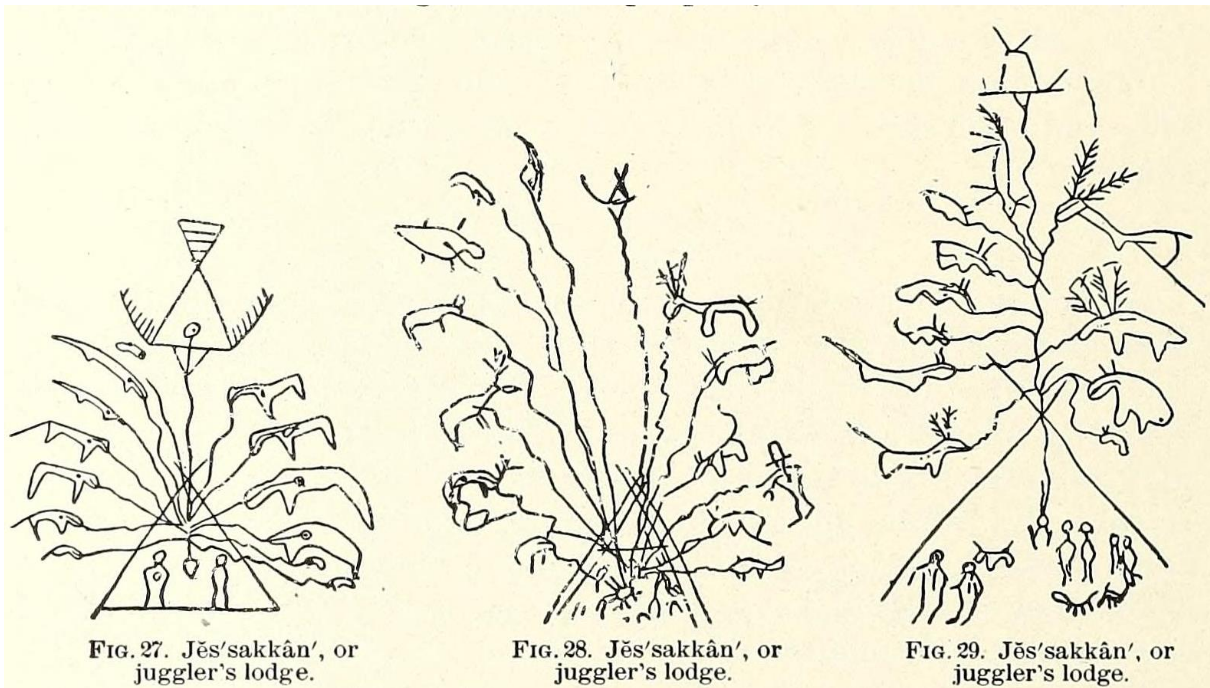


FIG. 27. Jĕs'sakkân', or juggler's lodge. FIG. 28. Jĕs'sakkân', or juggler's lodge. FIG. 29. Jĕs'sakkân', or juggler's lodge.

Particularly significant are three drawings of juggler's tents that seem to contain a 'client list' of all the clans in the shaman's village (Ann. Rep. 7, p. 252-3). This could even be seen as bark scroll advertisements, an early form of service marketing. An ad hoc interpretation of local clans would be: (left, 15 clans): turtle, bird, badger, rabbit or hare, wolf, otter, beaver, snake, thunder, horse, deer, moose, bear, fish, woodchuck; (center, 15 clans): turtle, bird, badger, deer, buffalo or bull, otter, woodchuck, heron, thunderbird, moose, elk, dog, whiteman, hare, fish; (right, 12 clans): deer, beaver, otter, fish or snake, bird, turtle, fox, thunder or eagle, elk, deer, bear, ground-squirrel. Inside, the tent looks comfy; there is a fire, chairs, a dog and happy clients. Of extra significance is the similarity of the three bark drawings. A Minnesota Chippewa village could consist of 12-15 clans.

A village obviously does not consist of just one lodge. The text provides a diagram of at least four structures, midewiwin lodge, ghost lodge, mourner's lodge and sweat lodge. From this it would appear that the mide lodge stood close to the north of the village, with a sweat lodge near the water's edge to the west, and a mourner's lodge some distance north of that. The ghost lodge may have been precisely that, a lodge only seen by ghosts but marked on the ground so that mourners could place food there.

Ethnologists served to mystify the medicine lodge enormously. Yet it was an ordinary structure placed adjacent to a native village, where people went to seek healing, guidance and spiritual companionship. It had seating space for all the clans in the village. By focusing on mysterious rites and initiations, the odd scholars turned it into something completely different, an isolated lodge with magic and juggling. It was not as restricted as that. This was where people could go during the summer when they had time to spend in each other's company.

The mitewiwin in some ways was like a public office or archive. There was an extensive and surprising amount of record keeping and sign communication. Mide practitioners 'always' kept 'birch-bark records'. The records were 'never exposed to the public view' and were 'brought forward for inspection only when a client 'had paid his fee' and made preparations 'by fasting and offerings of tobacco', pretty much as in a modern clinic (Ann. Rep. 7, p. 164-5). One such record had a 'very great' value as a document; it records the history of

mitewiwin, the 'positions occupied' by spirit helpers, and the 'order of procedure in study and progress' of practitioners (p. 165). Probably this significance cannot be over-emphasized. Through the communal lodge the Chippewa produced a mnemonic writing system and a way to transmit knowledge across the generations. The similarity to modern writing is obvious, yet no ethnologist would elaborate on this similarity. Written symbols play a huge role in mitewiwin traditions, but are not sufficiently recognized in publications. Symbols are reproduced, but without showing their overall significance. A parallel would be if lists of Maya hieroglyphics were reproduced, without recognizing them as parts of text.

What made the tradition of the healing house particularly obscure and mystified, was that the tradition disappeared in most areas where it used to exist through the intervention of whites. Jugglers were not favorite practitioners among bigoted missionaries and interfering agents. Only recently have people started returning to the community house for comfort and healing.

The Menomini word for the sacred lodge was mitewikomik, and people associated with it were mitewok. Menomini gods included Mashemanito, the Great or Good Spirit, Meneposh, Hare Boy, and others (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 39). There also were 'underground beings', anamakkiw (p. 42).

One study refers to what the Fox call wâpanôwîweni, shamanism and the medicine lodge (Bull. 105). In an origin myth the Great Spirit wants to prolong people's lives, so he sends them medicines, as found in the medicine lodge. The medicines are sent to a man who is roaming, wailing about 'the uncertainties of life' (p. 3). The man is fasting and seeking visions, and receives the secret of the medicine lodge.

In Fox accounts the practice of healing was 'held in a long wickiup similar to' 'Metäwiweni' (Bull. 105, p. 3). Connected to it was a 'sweat lodge' (p. 33). The 'Metäwiweni' or 'Wāpanōwiweni' lodge was a place for shamans, wâpanôwaki, people with spirit guardians and visionary power, and healers; often the same person (p. 21f). At the same time it was a gathering place for people seeking healing, connected to a village. The shaman would give people 'instructions', such as who they should accompany in a war party, as well as dispensing medicine (p. 29). Shamans had their own 'sacred packs' containing 'medicines', by others feared as witch bundles (p. 35, 37). Medicines were often plant based; there was poison kept in a mussel shell, a poisonous weed, perhaps snakeroot, mixed with urine, and much more (p. 3). One medicine was for erection stimulation (Bull. 125, p. 23). In addition to using medicines, shamans could perform conjuring tricks, such as putting the hand in boiling water; this was done by spitting medicine on the hand in order to pick up hot things (Bull. 105, p. 13). They could remove an object from a box without touching it; sleight-of-hand (p. 5). Perhaps most famous is the ability to suck out disease from a patient; or the still practiced art of moxa.

Healing was a mystery, but it was also a part of social life. Songs and dances were an important part of medicine lodge sessions (Bull. 105, p. 71f). It was a place people went to meet others in the same situation, and to solve their medical and daily problems. The institution would be remembered for a long time. The textual reference seems to be to something the Fox people practiced in the 1730s, when they were attacked by the French.

The ritual lodge found among the Winnebago is mentioned in various ways in ethnologies, also under 'Siouan Cults' (Ann. Rep. 11). It is referred to as a 'long and narrow' 'tent used for sacred dances', 20 feet wide and 50-100 feet long. In one case a fire was 15 feet 'from the

eastern entrance' (p. 427). The 'great mystery lodge' is the same tradition as the mitewiwin. People who want to become healers go through an initiation rite in which they 'fall dead to the old life', are covered 'as with a pall', and then raised to a 'new life' and new status. The ashes of four sticks placed in the fire are collected and formed into a small mound; hinting at a mound-builder past (p. 428).

Apparently the Winnebago lodge was used for a 'Buffalo dance' given 4 times in May-June. Women made two small mounds of earth east of the fire where they left the 4 male dancers' headgear; modeled on burial mounds. The male dancers 'imitate the buffalo' tramping and roaring, women following in a herd-like line. It is not clear if they danced inside or outside (p. 427).

The ritual lodge or 'Medicine dance lodge' was a communal lodge for villagers and visitors to visit for being together in healing and spiritual pursuits; somewhat like a modern community center (Radin 1923, p. 302). In the native accounts it is difficult to see what the lodge is about, since the mythical side is expressed, starting with Earthmaker sitting on something painful and from it creating the earth. Probably Radin never went to such a lodge himself. Ritual elements included: turtle and a knife referring to war, bladder relating to physical problems, 'twenty men' referring to villagers, a hare standing for peace, and so on (p. 303). This sets up the medicine lodge pretty neatly, as a place where people could go to ease their problems and worries. Several days of seeking healing and meeting healers are indicated. Five 'bands' or groups of people handle the 'medicine dance' or ceremony, each made up of a leader, assistants and followers (p. 308). Becoming a member of a 'band' was costly; $400 in 1910. People went through procedures to be able to touch healing objects such as an 'otter-skin bag', by taking sweat-baths and performing ritual initiations (p. 312). This was a medical fraternity; perhaps not one that Radin would attend, but quite powerful and knowledgeable.

Presumably in ancient times the Midewiwin lodge was found in many tribes around the Great Lakes. The Fox word for the mide rite was mêtêwîwena. If the largest house in a village was a place of healing, and if practitioners were trained there for several years, there must have been a fair level of medical skills in pre-contact native villages.

Ethnologists tended to have an esoteric focus. A study was made of Siouan 'cults', meaning 'a system of religious belief and worship', 'rites and ceremonies' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 361). Every Siouan tribe was worked through in this respect by the ethnologist, as they had been for social organization. Siouan people believed in wakonda or god. The main gods were listed as the sun, moon, star, sky, thunder, night and earth; the powers that rule over us. Other spiritual beings were water, fire and trees. Beliefs were based on spiritual experiences.

Interestingly the work on Siouan cults does not describe the belief systems of tribes, but instead summarily describes each god in turn, no doubt because the author was a missionary. These were the gods to be dealt with. So there are sections on god, names, myths, the devil, warmth, water, prayer, evil spirits, tobacco, wind, sun, sun dance, moon, transgender, stars, more winds, fire, thunder, subterrestrial beings, forest spirits, other spirits, fasting, trees, plants, vision quest, personal symbols, common symbols, corn, buffalo, chiefs, taboos, fetishism, sorcery, jugglery, death, and so on; like an insane person's catalogue, without any seeming coherence or meaning (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 430-500).

Dakota beliefs are soundly denounced by the ethnologist-missionaries. They do not worship 'one deity', so they worship everything; 'there is no object, however trivial, but has its spirit'

(Ann. Rep. 11, p. 434). At the same time they worship the 'Great Spirit', which is a sour pill for the missionary. It has to be shown that the Great Spirit does not exist, unlike the missionary's god (p. 433). Any observer who had a favorable view of Dakota religion is denounced. One who claimed that 'Wahconda' is a 'protean god' appearing in many forms, makes the mistake of referring to animals as 'Wahconda'. The mission-ethnologists caustically exclaims: 'It is plain that Say mistook the generic term, 'Wahconda', for a specific one' (p. 431). Another source noting that 'the Dakotas believe in a Wakantanka or Great Spirit' who is 'not alone in the universe', is rapidly debunked when the same author writes: 'No one deity is held by them all as a superior object of worship' (p. 432). The offshoot being that: Dakotas do not believe in god. That some Americans do not do so either, does not retract from the mission rhetoric. An even more sinister claim is that the Dakota Indians are devil worshippers; typical mission demonization (p. 431). Every description of native religion includes the ethnologist's denunciation.

Dakota divinities include the Great Spirit (wakan-tanka); the sun, moon, earth, rock, wind, water (unktehi), thunder (wakinyan); slso winds can be gods, such as the North Wind (Bull. 5, p. 9). Spirits can be found in trees, snakes and other beings. There also is a 'Spirit of the Medicine Sack' or sacred bundle (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 434). Gods and spirits can be both male and female.

Treating religion as a coherent practice obviously was taboo to the missionary. You do not want to convert people to a belief in Wakanda. What little can be gleaned from the many fragments is that people prayed to beings in nature. People prayed for the sun to pity and protect them. They could pray for favors from every being they met. As with the Chippewa they drew symbols of their beliefs; lines, zigzags, circles, crosses; perhaps representing eyes, tears, water, mountains, stars, sun, moon, earth and wind. A person who believed in thunder would blacken the upper part of his tent. The night 'is represented by a blue band on a coyote skin' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 398). Other symbols included cedar and rainbow. Creatures in nature could be painted or represented on skins or tents; chicken, horse, bear, buffalo, eagle, and others. The missionary was not eager to explain all the symbols; they formed a system of signs.

The same applied to taboos. Each clan had its taboos. Instead of recording this as a system of complementarity, where all the clans in a village could be distinguished by symbols, taboos, and most of all their totems, each taboo was presented as though it was primary. 'Buffalo skull' could not be touched by Tethinde, parts of Washape and parts of Neshta 'gens'. 'Buffalo tongue' was not eaten by Wathihishe, Hankahti, Washape, and parts of Nikapashna, Washape and Neshta 'gens' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 411). For good measure these 'gens' belong to different tribes, Omaha and Ponca. It would be like explaining street names by saying there is a First Street in Philadelphia, Orlando and Denver. Without a more overarching description the listing of taboos does not make sense. The same goes for objects such as fetishes and sacred bundles, an important topic in its own right.

The missionary ethnologist was very dismissive of Siouan beliefs. In 1871 he saw two Ponca shamans perform in a tent surrounded by 200 people, Indians and whites. In front of the crowd a chief shot one of the shamans, and the other shaman brought him back to life. 'This is told merely to show how the Indian juggler has adopted some of the tricks of his white brother'. He was a little more impressed when one shaman threw a rock at the other's face, who swallowed it and then spat out four smaller rocks (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 417).

This was part of a much wider cycle of healing practices and beliefs. The Kansa used to have ten healers who could shoot pebbles from their mouths at patients ‘in a mysterious manner’, so that they could be cured (p. 418). Shamans could swallow objects, pebbles, knives, needles, snakes, shells and beans, that they then used to treat people. They helped patients with all kinds of illnesses, including women who had difficulty getting pregnant.

Perhaps the missionary ethnologists showed his worst side when he denied that Indians has souls. ‘They have a very crude belief. Each person is taught to have a wanaxe or spirit, which does not perish at death’. ‘Nothing was ever said of going to dwell with Wakanda’. In other words, only Christians go to heaven. He quoted another mission bigot: ‘Their notions are exceedingly crude’; touché (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 419).

It is impossible to get an impression of Indian religion based on the views of missionaries such as Dorsey; people’s ‘value and code’. This was something he simply had to write about and dismiss. It would be like writing about ‘virgin birth’ for an atheist; not a pleasant task. Every aspect of belief, such as life after death, gets an unpleasant twist. That this supposedly was a cultural description shows the problems of ethnology in the face of ethnocentrism and prejudice. How do you present something that you aim to destroy?

Dorsey’s views should never have been published. He was demonizing the culture of a whole continent, the lifeways of American Indian peoples. As a missionary, his job was to destroy diversity. Unfortunately this was the prevailing view of culture, and in many ways still is. There were no advocates for Indian religions, except among the Indians themselves. They were doomed in the face of Anglo-American Christian supremacists.

To make matters worse, the second part of ‘Siouan Cults’ dealt with another missionary’s notes on the Iowa tribe; an ethnologist writing as a missionary quoting another man’s mission rantings. The Iowa do not believe in God; they are ‘idolators’; they are ‘totally ignorant’ of God; the Iowa notion is that God is like themselves, filled with ‘passion’ and ‘sin’ (p. 423). Ethnology becomes mission ridicule, hypocritical and racist.

Here Dorsey has a chance to reiterate the 7 Siouan gods, sun, wind, thunder and others. There are underground and underwater powers, animal spirits, divine people ‘like the Mormons’ and divine dwellings (p.425). The text hurries on to worship, tobacco, taboos and fetishes.

At that point the voice of a woman appears, Alice Fletcher. Her view is more accepting. Near Missouri River she mentions a round depression with an ‘elongated end’ to the east (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 428). To the south stood a cedar tree. ‘This was the sacred tree on which miraculous’ ‘visions lit’; spirits would stop here on their way across the country. ‘About every 50 miles there is one of these strange, supernatural resting places’. Instant worship. The Sami people in Norway have something similar, sacred spots such as standing rocks where sacrifices can be made to meet prayers. I once lost my way in bad fog and came to a peculiar rock; all I had was a packet of raisins, but I sacrificed some while praying for good weather; immediately the fog lifted and I could see far ahead. It is possible to write about culture without denouncing it.

Suddenly an entire report is devoted to the Fox Indians, as if by afterthought (Ann. Rep. 40). This work deals mainly with native texts, perhaps because the writer is a linguist, but also because texts without analysis are favored in BAE writings. The author, Michelson, was very reticent. He presents very little context for his texts, at least as far as society is concerned. He

was very careful, almost timid; for instance, claiming that texts were more 'ethnological' than actual observations. His somewhat contradictory view was that although ceremonies could not be observed, mythical texts about them had 'strictly ethnological' value. Subsequently he describes an actual Fox dance held June 13, 1924; the 'White Buffalo Dance' (p. 39). And accidentally adds: 'I had an opportunity to observe' 'a sacred pack' ceremony June 8, 1924; it had 4 dance rounds and 3 'eatings' as at other feasts (p. 504). Michelson's views strangely resonates with those of Gist in 1751, who witnessed a Shawnee winter ceremony but wrote as if he was not there.

Fox rituals were dominated by clan feasts, but at one time there may have been ceremonies for the whole village in spring, during summer, in the fall, and apparently in winter as well. The indications are numerous that the Fox once had ceremonial dances for whole village communities, in addition to the clan feasts observed in later years. It was said that runners used to go around early in the morning to announce village ceremonies in the spring and fall (Bull. 85, p. 17). This closely parallels Shawnee practices.

One account mentioned that owl clan songs were used in early spring, when the woman leader wore 'an oak leaf' in her hair; probably this originally was part of a village spring dance (Bull. 72, p. 15). The owl dance was said to be held twice, but probably there was one main feast, in summer (p. 17). The first time for dancing would be a spring ceremony for the whole village, where dances for all clans were held, owl, deer, and so on. An owl dance is also mentioned in relation to healing rituals at a medicine lodge (Bull. 105, p. 2, 21, 168).

Harvest festivals, summer and fall-time ceremonies among the Fox are hinted at but not clearly known. As with all village ceremonies they had been superseded by clan-based feasts following post-contact decimation and dispersal. It was noted that owl clan songs were used when corn ears are mature; possibly a remembrance of a communal green corn ceremony (Bull. 72, p. 15). A 'wolf dance' was said to be held in summer, but may actually have been conducted in winter. It was said that in the summer people performed this dance in a 'ring', together with swan, bear, fox and buffalo dances (Bull. 125, p. 95-96). This would fit with summer celebrations found in various tribes today, such as men's dances and green corn dances, not to mention powwows and stomp dances. A 'summer festival' is noted (Bull. 95, p. 60). In recent times it was held as a kind of extended clan feast, at a clan house in which one side is opened to comprise a wider dance area (p. 57). Originally it may have been a dance for the whole village.

The fall ceremony perhaps replicated the one in spring, somewhat like the Shawnee Bread Dance (Howard 1981, p. 224). Now people were preparing for the hunting season. The owl dance may always have been danced at the fall ceremony.

An obscure reference is made to a Fox 'winter ceremony', when 'only' men sang clan songs; possibly in connection with hunting (Bull. 72, p. 11, 19). Precisely how this ceremony was held is not clear. Possibly a village would assemble in the midst of winter for a celebration, though perhaps not every year; for the remaining years each clan would practice its songs. As noted, a wolf clan feast may have been included in what anciently used to be a winter ceremony (Bull. 114, p. 84f). This may have been known as a 'wolf dance' (Bull. 125, p. 95-96). People gathered in a round enclosure, either a village dance ground or a separate winter enclosure. The dance area opened to the east, with singers and a 'speaker' to the west and guests or participants sitting north and south. In the middle was a fire with food such as 'chickens'. The preserved speech resembled those at clan feasts, asking the fire for blessings

and protection (Bull. 114, p. 85-87). Possibly the wolf was seen as significant in the hunting season. It is quite possible that each phratry or winter camp had a ceremony in years when no communal winter festival was held. One drawing has only 4 kettles, as against 7 in summer (Bull. 114, p. 101). The 7 kettles would then represent two for each phratry and one for the chief, while the 4 in winter could be for the clans in a phratry. Another part of the winter festival could be false face dances, represented by a group that Michelson daintily called 'Dirty Little Ani' (Bull. 125, p. 148).

Kiyana offered a composite image of clan feasts (Bull. 125). Presumably each clan offered a feast and dance during the summer, so that the whole complement of local clans was activated, one after another. As the village clan system disintegrated in modern times, the separate performances became more mixed and difficult to hold apart.

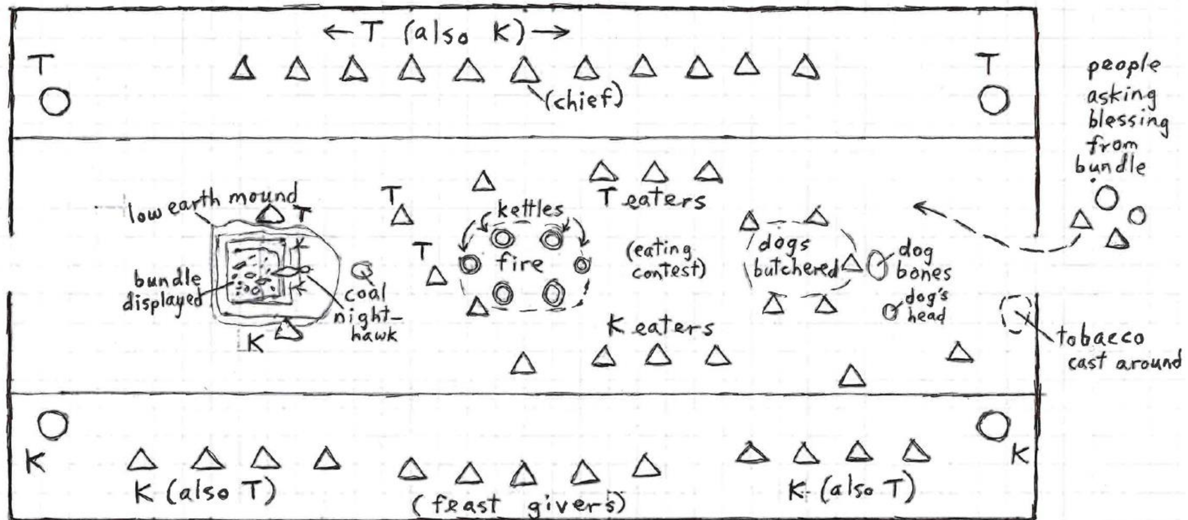
Clan ceremonies shared a basic pattern; once again perhaps derived from when they were held consecutively in a village. Clan feasts were preceded by a 'swim' in the river (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 245). At clan festivals 'women and men dance' 4 times in 'one day' (Bull. 72, p. 15). That women are noted first is not accidental; usually women would start a dance. Some ceremonies will be briefly outlined.

The 'Great Sacred Pack of the Thunder' clan is presented (Bull. 95). It may once have been opened, for initiates only, at a village 'summer festival' (p. 60). Now it is displayed at an extended clan feast (p. 61). In this and other clan feasts dogs are killed, singed, scraped and boiled with corn. The bundle is placed near the west door, away from the main ceremonies; it is fumigated with cedar four times (p. 95). A speech is made to the fire; tobacco is scattered. A flute is blown 'east, south, west, and north' to start the dance. First there is a moiety eating contest, to'kâna men on the north and kishko men on the south side. The people assemble for the singing and dancing, and also take part in the feast (p. 101). After eating, dancing and smoking, a bear clan member speaks, mentioning fire, lightning and 'Rock-Men' (p. 105).

There was a 'Thunder gens' clan feast celebrating a sacred bundle called Apeneweha. It included a speech noting the origin of the bundle or 'pack'. The feast lasted during the night, which was contrary to most feasts. The feast was held for the 'Thunderers' in the clan house, which had doors in either end (Bull. 85, p. 106). In the evening the 'head ceremonial attendant' kills five dogs (p. 107). An earth mound or altar was prepared for displaying the sacred bundle (p. 109). The dogs were cooked. Tobacco was sacrificed to fire-wood and fire. The sacred bundle was unwrapped, and the skin and head of a nighthawk displayed (p. 110). The clan leader made a speech, mentioning the origin of the bundle and its blessings. The ceremonial attendant cries 'at the top of' his voice for people to assemble. Guests offer tobacco to the bundle and ask for blessings (p. 111). A flute was blown to start the feast, followed by singing and dancing. Oshkasha or to'kâna people sat to the north, kishko to the south. They had an eating contest before the feast in general began. A kishko and to'kâna stood guard over the bundle all night, occasionally smoking it with cedar leaves (p. 113). There was an evening or night meal; people smoked. A speech to the bundle was repeated, mentioning its origin, blessings and protection. After some more singing, the bundle was 'covered up'.

THUNDER CLAN FEAST, Apenewenaa bundle:

(conceptual north side)



K = kishko T = to'kāna Δ = male O = female

(Bull. 85, p. 108)

Then there was 'the Buffalo-Head Dance of the Thunder Gens', a composite clan feast or ceremony (Bull. 87). The custodian of the 'most important sacred pack' of the thunder clan was a woman, who got it from her mother (p. 1). For several reasons women could be better at safe-keeping paraphernalia. The complex provenance, possession and handing-on of sacred bundles related to the historical minority situation. In this clan feast dogs and food are collected. Dogs are killed. The ceremonial attendant issues invitations. The food is cooked (p. 4). Drums are prepared (p. 11). The clan house is prepared; it had two doors either end; to'kâna sit to the north, kishko to the south. A small earth mound is made in the center for the sacred bundle. The bundle is displayed, unwrapped and smoked with cedar leaves (p. 5). Its content includes white and red feathers, placed to the south and north. Guests assemble; singers take their seats; tobacco is sacrificed. A flute signals the opening of the feast (p. 15). The feast director makes a speech, asking favors from the fire and manitos. Singing and dancing follows (p. 19f).

Of prominence is a buffalo dance, men and women acting as buffalos (p. 25f). Dance leaders of the wolf and bear clans are presented with a dog's head each (p. 26). The thunder and bird clan comes last, because the buffalo 'blessed' them last. There is a speech to the fire for the buffalos (p. 31). Apparently a popular dance, the buffalo dance is used to heighten the thunder clan feast. This would also relate to historic population loss and changing clan alignments.

A possible Sauk snake clan feast was a 'gens festival with a deer's head'; other totems could be water, fish and crow (Bull. 85, p. 61). People would have sweat baths first. The feast took place in a clan residence, and celebrated an unnamed bundle. Deer's head and meat was boiled. Tobacco was sacrificed to the fire, with a speech asking for favors and revelations, such as courage in war, being able to take care of bundle, and also 'that peace may reign'. This was followed by songs and dancing. Medicine from a beaded bag in the bundle was spat on a person who wanted protection in war (p. 63). There also was a woman's song, since both

women and men were associated with the bundle. The village ceremonial attendants served food (p. 91).

Mention was made of a turkey bundle and clan feast that in later times may have been united with the buffalo pack. Also an eagle clan feast and bundle may subsequently have been included with the buffalo pack. Separate reference is made to an eagle clan feast, in which the food included deer, dogs, pumpkin and sugar (Bull. 125, p. 88-91).

The owl clan feast was centered on a sacred pack found by Black Rainbow and niece. It may once have been the sacred pack of a village; now only a clan remained. The clan feast proper would be held in late spring or summer. Clan members start preparing for the feast at dawn (Bull. 72, p. 17). A cornstalk is set up in the 'lodge' or clan dwelling. The owl skin pack is laid out facing it, oriented east or west; possibly a reference to the two doors in the dwelling (p. 15). There was 'medicine contained in the pack'. The story of how the pack was 'found' would be told; that an owl blessed a man and his niece, who perhaps were adopted into the clan (p. 12). Everything would be prepared for the visitors, including a healing session.

When preparations are ready people are summoned by a hoot-owl cry, as well as by messengers and the chief. All invited guests and other visitors bring gifts, tobacco. They dine on a feast consisting of pumpkin, dog and other meat, with sugar, berries and nuts for desert; earth food (p. 15). There are 2 ceremonial attendants taking care of proceedings, 2 old men, tohkâna and kishkoa; no doubt clan elders. After people dance the first dance, the tohkâna man speaks first, followed by the kishkoa man; perhaps indicating that owls belonged on the kishkoa or south side of the village. After the second and third dance the tohkâna speaks again, followed by the 4th dance, and a final speech by the kishkoa elder. The old man prays to manito for a healthy life (p. 17). The visitors then give offerings, tobacco, to the pack, asking for long life, war feats, healing if crippled and for poor eyesight (p. 51). According to the story all were healed. This was followed by some more songs and a smoke.

It might seem that at the owl clan feast only men had fixed seats, those who were invited, and they comprised an exogamous group, e.g., a phratry (p. 19, 45). The owl bundle may have included elements from defunct clans, such as snapping-turtle and land-turtle; these would be in the same phratry. Perhaps also remains of a turkey pack were incorporated.

A 'Great Gens Festival of the Bear gens' of the Fox Indians was held to celebrate a 'sacred pack called Sāgimā'kwäwa', a chief woman's sacred bundle. This woman was an otter, and may have belonged to the Ottawa tribe. Perhaps for this reason it was explicated that this was a bundle 'belonging to the Bear gens'; otters and bears are related (Bull. 85, p. 119). As usual when secret and sacred information was revealed, Michelson 'withheld' the informant's name, but published the text (p. 121). Basic feast ingredients are tobacco and dogs. The feast is held in a clan house with doors either end. As early guests assemble a speech is made mentioning crops, fire and protection from enemies. Origins relating to an ancestor called Black Bear were told, relating to trees and rock spirits, a protection from disease (p. 129). The chief woman's bundle would offer blessings and protection from enemies and sickness as long as the clan feast was kept up (p. 132).

The bear clan feast followed a standard setup. Ceremonial attendants are summoned to announce the event (p. 140). Dogs are slaughtered and cooked with pumpkin, corn and seasoning (p. 141-3). Tobacco is offered to the corners of the dwelling and to the fire (p. 143). The feast gets ready and people take their seats, oshkasha or to'kâna to the north and kishko

to the south. The sacred bundle is taken down and displayed on a slight mound on the floor, 'where it was untied and exposed'; in later times the clan would 'untie' it every five years, presumably to protect it (p. 144). Offerings of tobacco are made to it. A speech is addressed to the fire. A flute is blown to start the feast. Food is served, first in 6 bowls, 3 to'kâna and 3 kishko, for an eating contest (p. 147). There is another speech, noting religion, tobacco, fire, dogs, war and blessings, followed by singing and dancing (p. 149).

Another description, or descriptions, of a bear clan feast somehow referred back to old-time practices when the Fox had a medicine lodge (Bull. 105, p. 109f). Dogs were clubbed. The ceremony was led by a bear man. The dogs were cooked. A young girl is asked to dance. A small mound for the bundle is made. The bundle is unwrapped, positioned and fumigated. Tobacco is cast around. A speech is made to the fire asking for blessings. A flute is blown to start the festival. The young girl dances; her youth has healing power (p. 119). She is followed by dancers who 'seek life' (p. 121). The feast includes sugar. A speech is made to the fire, tree spirits, and shamanistic medicines (p. 125-133). Dancing may go on until dawn (p. 139).

Of composite appearance was a 'Thunder Dance of the Bear Gens' (Bull. 89). This Fox clan feast was held in a bear clan house or dwelling, a 'summer house' with doors at either end, to'kâna visitors seated to the north, kishko to the south (p. 2, 45). Dogs were slaughtered and boiled. The dish included ducks, corn and seasoning. Purifying tobacco was cast about (p. 59). People were invited. The clan bundle or 'sacred pack' was placed near a small mound of earth and ashes west of the center. It was fumigated with cedar. There were clan speeches, such as to the fire, and asking for blessings from the 'Thunderers' (p. 37). Singing, dancing and smoking completed the feast. There are hints here at the sharing or transposing of clanship dances; such as a thunder dance for the bear clan; and a buffalo dance held by various clans.

There was a 'Buffalo Dance of the Bear Gens' (Bull. 95). The feast was held in the bear clan house with 2 doors. Dogs are killed; tobacco is scattered; and the dogs are boiled (p. 7). The bundle is placed in the center of the house. Visitors are placed on seating platforms along opposite walls. A speech is made to the fire, asking for blessings. Singing and dancing follows, represented by the buffalo dance (p. 7). The pattern follows other clan feasts, but there is a little more focus on sharing the dance by different groups, such as 'the Dirty Little Ani', as puritanical Michelson calls them; he is puzzled, because they represent the thunder clan, not bear; there also are onlookers at the doors. Also the moiety distinction is loosened up. The buffalo dance then resembles more a public village dance such as once was held in summer and at midewiwin festivals; subsequently becoming a part of the predominant Fox clan feasts.

What may or may not have been a Fox wolf clan feast is presented (Bull. 114). As usual Michelson is reluctant to interpret his material. Quite typically his presentations starts with an 'excuse' (p. 1). Apparently a 'blessing', a sacred bundle, was 'bestowed' on the wolf clan by a 'Green Buffalo' (p. 18f). As usual the modern feasts have a mixed clan origin, wolf, buffalo, eagle and so on. In the feast a 'ceremonial attendant' invites guests (p. 37). In one clan speech the wolf clan was said to own everything 'under this earth' (p. 37). A 'mound of earth' was made for the 'sacred pack' (p. 38). The feast consisted of 'game' such as elk, as well as boiled corn (p. 39; Bull. 125, p. 95-96). A wolf would not kill a dog brother (p. 64). A speech was made mentioning the blessing from Green Buffalo or from buffalos in general; also the fire was addressed (p. 39-41). This was followed by the feast, singing and dancing (p. 41f). Another speech of Green Buffalo and the blessings were made (p. 45f). More dancing, speeches and feasting followed (p. 46f). In this feast the oshkasha or to'kâna are noted to the

east, and the kishko to the west (p. 50). The story of the feast is repeated (p. 52-59). Incidental notes followed of war parties, children's teeth and nail cutting; perhaps the informant was drunk (p. 60-75). There were several restatements of the same feast, 'When the War Chiefs Worship the Wolf'; each a little different (p. 87-116). There also was a 'wolf dance' that originally may have been part of village-wide annual ceremonies (Bull. 125, p. 95-96).

In a related text the War Chief clan 'worship the wolf' through their sacred bundle (Bull. 114, p. 79f). This clan feast had a wolf as the 'ceremonial attendant' (p. 82). It was associated with the to'kâna division. The food was chickens, 'a hog, ducks, anything except dogs'; also sugar, berries and watermelons (p. 82). The 'sacred pack' was placed on matting, no earth mound. The pack was displayed during the feast, but only a 'wolf hide is in it' or visible (p. 82). 'Only recently' did men have 'coats'; formerly the to'kâna were painted black and kishko white (p. 82). Somehow this feast is related to what formerly used to be a winter ceremony (p. 84).

The Fox tribe had a 'White Buffalo Dance', also called a 'ceremony' and 'sacred pack dance'; a clan feast (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 23-289). As noted this was held June 13, 1924; yet the description, printed in 1925, was presented as a 'mythical origin' text. Michelson wanted to distance himself as far as possible from real events; reference to the actual dance is placed in square brackets, as if by afterthought. His jumbled description includes: 4 dogs are sacrificed to the corners of the earth; also more dogs are sacrificed for the feast, along with 4 puppies, 2 each on the north and south side of the lodge, no doubt representing the moieties (p. 41). Next moiety runners invite people 'all over the village' to come to the clan feast. The dogs are boiled. Singing begins. Apparently the clan bundle, the 'White Buffalo Sacred Pack', is left open in the center of the lodge; or it is placed on a buffalo skin. Four 'minor packs' placed around it may actually be relicts from other clans whose members have diminished.

The clan feast as such started with paraphernalia being arranged, guests arriving. A flute sounded 4 times. There were 4 + 4 + 5 songs; the last with dancing. A feast. Then 4 + 5 + 4 songs; the last with dancing. A feast and 4 + 4 songs, the last with dances. Then followed a 'chief feast' with 6 'eating songs' and 7 'dancing' songs (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 39). The number of songs and dances is included here to show the complexity of annual clan feasts.

In a related clan feast, 'Little Spotted Buffalo', members from the other village clans take part as 'attendants', 'smokers', and men and women dancers, in a diagram numbering 18, 13, 13, 1+10+8+14 people respectively; indicating roughly 14 clans. The women on the south side, 8+14, were kishko. Of clans indicated, eagle, buffalo and bear are on the north side, ringed-perch and peace-chief on the south side. The pack, laid out in the middle of the floor, represents the living clan animal; where it is placed is called 'where the little buffalo stands' (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 517). Rounds of singing, dancing and feasting followed, as at other clan feasts.

A deer bundle feast in later times may have been subsumed under the buffalo feast. Deer may also have been subsumed in a Sauk clan feast, tentatively identified as snake. The image that is evoked by all the Sauk and Fox feasts is of a complement of clans that once inhabited a village and held dances for each other in turn during the summer and occasionally in winter. The feasts kept the totemic clan system alive.

Feasts for the dead, also called spirit feasts and 'ghost-feast', are poorly known (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 472). For the Fox it is said 'there are a number of' 'ghost-feasts' (p. 357). The 'ghost-feast' is held in remembrance of departed relatives. The feast included wailing, black face

paint, tobacco sacrifice, fasting and a festive meal, sometimes held together with or at the same time as a dance or ball-game. At some feasts fertile women were not allowed to eat; at others people danced ‘all night’. Some were general food feasts, mâwatalôwena, ‘gathering fruits’. Some were parts of clan feasts.

Closely related were ‘adoption-feasts’; adopting a person to replace someone who passed away. Adoptees went through trying tests, such as being ‘painted red’, ‘standing all night’, or dancing ‘four times’ (ibid.).

Among many tribes winter celebrations are lost, but some remain. The Iroquois are known for false-face performances in winter; similar events were found among the Cherokee and other tribes (Bull. 180, p. 178). A Cherokee winter ceremony included an entrance, masked performance, ‘Bear or Eagle dance’, ‘clown pairing with women, and social dance’ (p. 178). This resonated with a former Shawnee winter festival, in which women and men joked each other.

True to form, Radin makes a definitive list of Winnebago gods. These include Earthmaker (manuna), sun, moon, earth, stars, wind, ‘Disease-giver’, Thunderbird and Water-spirit. Other spiritual beings included fire, light, night, animals, plants, humans etc. The culture hero or ‘Trickster’ is noted, but only in passing, perhaps because he is a part of modern cults such as peyote, and so does not fit the past-present divide. The same treatment is reserved for a prayer stick or ‘staff’. It is pictured but not commented (Radin 1923, pl. 30). Its symbols may include heaven, sun, horizon, water, four corners or winds, bird or woodpecker, fish, village, animal or bear, tree. Since this was related to historical prophecies, Radin may have viewed it as ‘from without’, and ignored it. Other religious features included a belief in rebirth. The most powerful form of prayer was using tobacco (p. 122).

Winnebago religion was tied up with local celebrations, called ‘feasts’ or dances. One type of celebration was clan feasts. A feast honoring the tribal chief has been noted elsewhere. There was a thunderbird clan feast in a lodge, by Radin conflated with a feast honoring the tribal chief. It is impossible to distinguish village, band and tribal levels in his account. As with the Fox, some notes on the clan feasts will be included, since they make up much of the ethnologic material.

There was a ‘Bear clan feast’ at some unspecified time, January, spring or summer. The food at this feast includes berries, bears’ favorite. The feast was held in a clan house, with hosts and friends, hawk, seated near the door, followed by wolf, thunder, eagle, buffalo and probably the rest of the village clans (Radin 1923, p. 273). The clan bundle was displayed. In another version the bear feast resembled that of the buffalo, below; perhaps also held in a medicine lodge with a small mound symbolizing a bear’s den. People attending would ‘ask for life’ and health; after all they were in a medicine lodge (p. 300). A main part of the feast was dancing the bear dance.

The ‘Buffalo Feast’ was something of an event. It was held in spring, perhaps summer, and was helped by a ‘Fire-starter’ (Radin 1923, p. 296). Apparently this event, also called a buffalo dance, was held in a medicine lodge, with a small artificial mound on which dishes of food were placed; food the buffalo liked and which would make her dance around. Among other events, the ‘Snake clan feast’ was in the fall, perhaps in summer (p. 277). Little is known, except that a snake bundle was included. Presumably there was a feast and a snake dance. A hawk bundle feast is also noted (p. 429). Probably each local clan held a ‘feast’ or

dance for the village during the spring, summer and fall, before people went hunting in fall and winter.

The yearly round of events is curiously missing from Radin's convoluted ethnology. He mentions a 'Greens feast' in early summer, when people got ready to eat greens; perhaps this was related to the beaver clan (1923, p. 336). Another event, a 'Begging ceremony', may have been related to the wolf clan (p. 339). It may seem as though different tribes have kept different parts of their annual gatherings and ceremonies. The Fox tribe, as already noted, kept their clan feasts, while the Shawnee have annual village dances, but no clan feasts. One interpretation is that tribes adopted different post-contact strategies to survive; some split into smaller groups, like local clans or families, while others maintained their village unity at all costs. Either approach was costly; all tribes were decimated by European diseases and settlers. Yet the totemic clan structure was preserved by ritual means.

A list of Osage gods has sun, great spirit (wakonda), moon, stars, day, night and earth (Ann. Rep. 36). Life is spiritual; people descended 'from the sky' (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 50). To obtain revelations people go on a 'vigil' (nonshinshon), also called a fast or vision quest, seeking 'seclusion' for 4-7 days to contact the spiritual world. Each prayer is a 'supplication'; every 'rite' is 'supplicatory' (p. 49). People pray to the great spirit during warfare, and to the sun at dawn, midday and sunset.

La Flesche presents a long work about the 'Rite of Vigil', ritual wakes, among the Osage Indians (Ann. Rep. 39). Apparently this was related to fasting and the vision quest, since the object was for a person to stay awake and receive spiritual messages from wakonda. Such vigil rites apparently were held in the council house, all the local totem clans taking part by singing and performing ceremonial acts to help the person stay awake and get a vision. Obscure clans noted include blue-jay, osprey and beaver. The text here becomes extremely opaque, esoteric and convoluted; probably no-one ever read it. There is a sense of urgency in the Osage texts. The Osage got money from oil, but were being abused, even killed, by whites. They could afford to have material put on 'dictaphone records', but would despair of how to transmit this to future generations (Ann. Rep. 39, p. 38).

La Flesche continues his idiosyncratic work in 'Rite of the Wa-xo´-be' (Ann. Rep. 45, p. 523-833). Only the patient reader will learn what the rite is about. What slowly appears, and La Flesche does not explicate, is that waxobe is a clan sacred bundle, and this is a kind of clan bundle ceremony, sacred and secret; one of many reciprocal clan feasts in an Osage village. The text is not meant to be read; it is meant to preserve sacred knowledge; the less the non-initiated reader knows the better. The dilemma of La Flesche is excruciating; he is publishing something that should never be divulged to outsiders; at the same time he desperately wants to preserve every detail; every syllable. His one option is to make the text as opaque and esoteric as possible. The BAE director has no comment on these works; he probably has no idea what they are about.

A ceremony was held for the sacred bundle of the Osage buffalo clan (Ann. Rep. 45, p. 523-834). It was presented in a detailed and inaccessible form. The clan feast is held in the buffalo clan dwelling. Guests from the other village clans are invited. The clan bundle is displayed. A feast is provided, with songs and dances. This is the outline of the feast. The text is different. It places the clan feast in relation to other Osage rites; presents each song in order; and proceeds from there, word by word. In the first song the 'Opening of the Shrine' is mentioned; that is, the display of the bundle (p. 541). Many ceremonial words are given in

Osage only. Somehow this one ceremony incorporated songs from all other clans; perhaps an emergency measure to preserve the songs, perhaps something that was actually done, that all clans sang at each other's clan feast. Clans mentioned are wolf, hawk, crow, buffalo, deer, bear, owl, and snake. The text also lists lynx, panther, bear, buffalo, elk and deer as providing skins for the bundle (p. 541-543). For extra complexity the rite was used for initiations and preparation of 'candidates' for further ceremonial duties. The clan house has two fires and seating for all clan representatives. The contents of the bundles are revealed slowly in the text: a sacred hawk (p. 564), a gourd rattle (p. 576), etc. There also is a renewal of the clan bundle. The text ends as follows: 'This concludes the Ça´ Tha-çe Ga-xe, or shrine-making ceremony. The A´-ḳi-ho/n Xo´-ḳa and the Xo´-ḳa depart with their fees and the candidate carries home his wa-xo´-be and hangs it up either at the right or the left of the door in his house', depending on if he is 'Ho/n-ga' or Ṭsi-zhu' (p. 727). Esoteric and opaque to the end.

A curious statement by a Saponi man, Bearskin, may have a bearing on clan feasts: 'venison and turkey' must 'never be cooked together' (Bull. 22, p. 47). The intention was to not offend 'the hunting gods', but totemic references may have been intended. The same man made a succinct statement about gods. There was 'one supreme God' with 'several subaltern deities under him' or her; sun, moon, stars, earth and thunder (p. 47-48).

Creek gods included the sun, moon, earth, Great Spirit or the One Above, and gods of war and healing (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 481). Spirits included fire, wind, water, thunder and other beings. Unlike clan feasts, the Creeks have nighttime dances representing most totem animals. There are dances named for: turtle, terrapin, snake, alligator, catfish, garfish, frog, tree-frog, blackbird, crow, quail, chicken, paroquet, duck, crane, buzzard, horned-owl, screech-owl, bear, skunk, wolf, fox, buffalo, cow, horse, sheep, beaver, rabbit, snow, leaf, corn, pumpkin, bone, double-headed, mosquito, wood-tick, ball, old-people, hair, scalp, war, bed, friend etc. The busk ceremony, held in summer, lasts several days, and brings much of the social life of the Creek Indians together (p. 546f). Priests may have carried symbols such as beautiful shell gorgets; one found in Tennessee had an earth symbol in the middle and a bird, woodpecker or kingfisher, on four sides, perhaps representing the four winds (Bull. 8, p. 34). The intricate relationship of social organization and ceremonies, such as dances, is a topic left unexplored.

The Choctaw nation had a rich ceremonial life. In historical times this was stunted by French ridicule. French clergy and officers stood for cultural interruptions; protesting loudly at ceremonies. The conceited French started preventing young people from dancing before 1750. People felt embarrassed, even experiencing 'horror' (Bull. 103, p. 221). The Choctaw had a variety of dances named from animals, alligator, turkey, bear, buffalo and so on. In spite of white prejudice the Choctaw continued to dance. They used bells to make leg rattlers, a well known element in 21st century stomp dances (p. 222). As with the Creek, the social context of dances is not investigated; their reference to totemic clans is not explored.

West of the Rockies information is limited. Kutenai gods and spirits apparently included a culture hero, Coyote, who figures prominently in native myths (Bull. 58). Coyote as a mythic hero would figure in many cultures in the American west, in contrast to hare or rabbit further east.

California tribes had dance houses aka assembly houses in central locations, with room for community dances inside and outside, sometimes called cult dances. There was a central California 'cult' called kuksu or 'big-head' dances, based on a 'male secret society'. This was a masked dance found among the Patwin, Pomo and Maidu. It was held in an assembly or

dance house (Bull. 78, p. 364f). In his description, Kroeber's main interest is in diffusionism and the distribution of cultural traits. The kuksu 'cult' consisted of a series of dances, including totemic ones, held in winter (p. 378-9). Dance names may include: snake, lizard, turtle, grasshopper, bird, creeper, duck, goose, hawk, condor, bear, coyote, deer, rabbit, thunder, cloud, ghost, spirit, bighead, woman, etc. There may then be a connection between dances and totemic clan, something Kroeber did not explore.

Among the Yokuts there were clan ceremonies in which an animal from the opposite moiety was killed and mourned. This was epitomized by an 'eagle-killing mourning ceremony' (Bull. 78, p. 495-6). The totemic nature of dances is called an 'intrusion of the moieties into religious activities', a reluctant but real observation of a connection between social organization and religious ceremonies (p. 496).

Navaho gods include: sun, moon, Earth Woman and he husband Sky; some would add coyote, light, darkness, dawn, twilight, west, east, mountain, and 'other members of a very numerous theogony' (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 509; Bull. 163, p. 14, 21). Prayers can also be made to evil beings, Evil, lung evils, sorcerers and anything bad, 'praying them not to come near the dwelling'.

The Pima creation myth presents an origin of people and clans (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 206f). Spirits mentioned include: earth (female), wind, sky (male), sun, moon, star, people, coyote, culture hero, south, cactus, bow, water, cloud, bird, flicker, hummingbird, buzzard, mountain, dog, log, reed, duck, snake, monster, rattlesnake, rattle, rabbit, sand, bush, shadow, fire, blue-fly, ashes, grease, panther, wolf, reflection, deer, antelope, stick, eagle, arrow, rock, fly, Apache, lizard, rainbow, turquois, parrot, ball, owl, hawk, thunder, gopher, fog, night, tobacco, whirlwind, raven, etc. A related myth includes sandy coyote and yellow coyote, perhaps dual clans, as well as ant, panther, black-beetle, duck, saltbush, fire, corn, bird, rat, rabbit, deer, mule-deer, bow, buzzard, corpse, black and yellow spider, etc. Most of these could be totems, but the connection is not explored.

Indian religion involves a direct relation between nature and the supernatural. Animal spirits are honored with dances, such as the Hopi Snake Dance (Ann. Rep. 16). Extensive ceremonies of this sort would bring local people together. Hopi dances had a moiety structure. The snake dance was supplemented by an antelope dance. By using two dances and two ceremonial houses or kivas, the whole community got involved. An ethnologist noted that the snake dance was a 'vigorous' and 'popular' ceremony, very much alive, but complained that 'the primitive character' of the dance was spoiled by colorful 'ribbons' bought 'from the trader'; as if this would ruin the whole performance (Ann. Rep. 16, p. 295). Cultural mixing was not acceptable in the ethnologist's mind, especially since Indian culture was supposed to be 'primitive' and scheduled to disappear. But people danced anyhow. The ethnologist was happy to report that the snake dance had a practical purpose; it was 'a rain-making observance' (p. 307). In Ann. Rep. 21 the fantastic and sacred kachina costumes, 'drawn by native artists', were exhibited in numerous plates. No consent from native practitioners was deemed necessary. As in other cases, the social embedding of religious practices is not fully explored, not least in relation to totemic clans.

Another contact with the supernatural in Southwestern Indian religion was the prayer stick, paho (Ann. Rep 16, p. 296). This was a small stick that allowed a person to direct prayers to the supernatural world. It resembled the whittled stick called inau used in ritual invocations among the Ainu people in Japan. Probably the idea that a religious supplication can be

conveyed by a sacred stick is an old and widespread idea. In East Asia prayers can be written on a piece of paper and left at a shrine or temple; partly the same idea.

A treatise on Zuni religion began: ‘Civilized man’s conceptions of the universe are altogether different from those of primitive man’ (Ann. Rep. 23, p. 20). Somehow this ethnocentric statement was mandatory; the Indian-American contrast had to be cemented. That Zuni religion was beyond ethnological understanding was not a question. Zuni divinities included the sun-father, the moon-mother, the earth-mother and an underwater horned serpent (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 487f).

In Zuni belief the ‘supreme’ god is ‘bisexual’, ‘referred to as He-She’, Awonawilona. S/he is the same as Sun Father, and manifested in Moon Mother; a holy trinity. Then follow Earth Mother, Man God, Culture Hero Boy and Corn Mother. Other spirits would be salt, Corn Father, shell, turquois, totems, Plumed Serpent and others, including ‘foreign deities’. Finally there were healers protecting us from evil and ‘subterranean’ forces. All of this could fit well in an ecumenical church. But the universe is Zuni: ‘the earth is supplied with water by their dead of both sexes’; dead ‘infants soon reach maturity after going to the undermost world whence the Zunis came’. The dead first go to ‘Dance village’, council town of the gods, and often return there to dance in ‘the great dance house’. The spirits go home to dance. That this resembles what Zuni people do is not strange; it is what people do (Ann. Rep. 23, p. 21f).

Kachina or masked performances are a major part of local ceremonial life in the Southwest, such as at Sia pueblo (Bull. 184, p. 256f). Perhaps such performances are related to masked winter dances elsewhere, such as the false-face ceremonies of the Iroquois and others. Pueblo Indians would turn masked dances into a world of ceremonial performances. In particular at Zuni ceremonialism has developed into a series of masked dances, kachina performances. The great number of kachinas brings the whole town together as a ceremonial community. Kachina dances are the most ‘spectacular’ and ‘beautiful’ ‘of all Zuni ceremonies’ (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 517).

Indian religion in South America is barely hinted at. A British man wrote of ‘animism’ in Guiana (Ann. Rep. 30, p. 103f). Here stories of various tribes were mixed together, and claims were made, such as finding: ‘No evidence of belief in a Supreme Being’ (p. 117). Much of the material was animal tales that may have a totemic significance, but social organization was not considered in relation to beliefs. Parallels can be found to other societies in the New World. As an example, Tapirape gods included: sun (male), moon (female), earth (female), the culture hero Apuwenonu, and other spirits. Myths and beliefs were preserved by shamans, who were killed when missionaries arrived (Wagley 1977, p. 176f).

The significance of religion, ‘value and code’, has to be sifted from the prejudice of ethnologists. This means getting down to the nitty-gritty details of local life and circumstances. There is an enduring link between social organization, totemic clans, moieties, villages and tribes, and the performance and expression of beliefs and values in different societies. Before the missionary onslaught Native Americans took part in a fantastic universe of beliefs and values that integrated people with their environment. This can be further seen in their development and expression of cultural forms, next to be examined.

The ethnology of culture

The way in which ethnologists dealt with culture is fascinating and scary. They are looking down at the people they study, but try to represent what they see. There is a duality involved in the interest and admiration for beautiful art and stories, and the programmatic rejection of native life as ‘primitive’ (e.g., Ann. Rep. 16, p. 310).

Esthetics, art and designs were a safe activity for ethnologists and archeologists to pursue. This allowed a reproduction of figurative and non-figurative decorations, without having to interpret what they represented or who had made them. At Paint Rock, North Carolina, a pictograph made up of short straight lines at right angles to each other received due notice, the only interpretation being that some lines resembled a human figure ‘with one arm lowered’ (Ann. Rep. 10, p. 101). Anyone could have her own interpretation, but ethnologists stood for the recording.

Rich in design is a stone near Independence, Ohio. It depicts a dragonfly or crawfish, snake, bird and deer tracks, and a hand or bear’s foot, besides human feet with or without moccasins. Near Wellsville, Ohio, was a rock carved with figures such as a rattlesnake, turtle with a twig, and an owl or ‘demon’. Snake, turtle and owl could be Upper Mingo clans. The Newark Track Rock, Ohio, contained numerous figures of bird tracks (Ann. Rep. 10, p. 101). In between were a few other figures, a hand and animals’ tracks, such as ‘the fore foot of the bear’. If these were made by Lower Mingo people they could represent totems in that tribe, like snipe, bear and deer; of course, no ethnologist would make such an assumption. At Barnesville, Ohio, was a rock rich in figures: turtle, snake, scorpion, bird track, heron, squirrel paw, sun, star, foot, face and more. There also was a concentric ring, ‘a design by no means confined to Ohio’; indeed (p. 103). It can be assumed that turtle, snake, snipe, heron and squirrel were local totems; possibly Lower Mingo. Ethnologic descriptions could be very detailed; both a strength and a liability. Radin provides sewing patterns for moccasins (1923, p. 58f).

A ‘classical’ ethnologic topic was represented by ‘Games of North American Indians’ (Ann. Rep. 24). This work of 800+ pages only scratched at the variety and ingenuity of Indian games and pastimes. In a short dismissive conclusion games are described as ‘almost exclusively divinatory’ (p. 809). Rather they were part and parcel of Indian social life. A few games can be mentioned here. One is bowl-and-dice, played by many tribes including the Shawnee; it has both ceremonial, social and playful applications (p. 49f). The moccasin game, popular in large parts of the continent, comes close to modern gambling (p. 335f). Games had a seasonal aspect, such as snow-snake, a stick slid across the frozen ground in winter (p. 399f).

Shuttlecock resembled badminton (Ann. Rep. 24, p. 717). The bull-roarer is interesting, since it resembles those of Australian aborigines; Eskimo versions had totem marks painted on them (p. 753). Finally cat’s-cradle combines creativity and skills (p. 781). The treatise mentions foot-races last, and omits horse-racing and other occasions for large-scale competing, betting and socializing (p. 803). For instance, wrestling is omitted, though several tribes, including the Shawnee, were known for their skilled wrestlers among the whites. As often happen, this work was more a collation and a beginning of research, rather than a finite contribution to Indian games. There might as well be a book printed for each tribe as to how

they filled their time with meaningful pastimes. Yet apparently the topic of games was a grateful one to ethnologists; controversies and social implications could be ignored.

The political and social significance of games is often overlooked. Lacrosse is one of the big Indian games, developed into a modern sport, and once played in most areas east of the Rockies (Ann. Rep. 24, p. 569). It had not only ceremonial, but also political implications, played at intertribal gatherings and said to resemble mini-warfare, like today's American football or European soccer, home to hooligans and corrupt tycoons. 'Lacrosse was the favorite game of the Winnebago' (Radin 1923, p. 72). At intertribal gatherings and councils, thousands of people could assemble to watch major lacrosse games. Football and its variant, hand-and-foot ball, was also played over large areas; it is still engaged in by the Shawnee Indians.

A standard work was 'Ethnobotany of the Zuni Indians' (Ann. Rep. 30). Besides medical, edible and otherwise useful plants, it included a section on clan names. Clans such as yellowwood, tobacco and dogwood also included plants such as barberry, nightshade and cockerel. In addition to corn there was a 'Black Corn Clan' (p. 86). Many girls 'are named for plants'; as, of course, are American girls. Ethnobotany and plant use would also appear in other reports (Ann. Rep. 33).

One topic that is underreported in ethnologic reports is the interest of Indian people in writing. That they used figures and images, also esthetically, is frequently noted, but that they wrote their own records is somehow irrelevant, presumably because this practice was considered 'European'. Imagine the contrast to European folklore, where the details of epic writing was crucial, down to the last dot. Only rarely are written symbols noted, such as mide records (Ann. Rep. 7, p. 164).

One scholar who noted the use of native writing is Radin. In fact, his work on 'The Winnebago Tribe' totally depended on tribal members writing and translating their own material. He curtly acknowledges that the information was written in 'a syllabic alphabet' by native speakers, mainly in Nebraska, but gives no details (Radin 1923, p. xv). Also other ethnologists relied on informants writing their own language and translating it (Bull 11). Yet they never tried to investigate this practice; how 'primitive' people could write. The long history of Indians writing their own languages was not a topic for ethnologists, and curiously it has remained so for other scholars as well; perhaps they thought it was 'un-Indian'.

Ethnologists had a strangely unreflective relation to Indian mythologies. Often they would treat them like European myths, as if they were children's stories or fairytales. Parallels between Indian and European tales were sought, such as monsters compared to 'The Seven-headed Dragon' (Bull. 88, p. 275). An example could be 'Tales of the Cochiti Indians' by Ruth Benedict, described as 'novelistic tales' (Bull. 98, p. xi). In the process of retelling, the social and cultural context of myths is lost. But the topics and tone of the stories help provide a context of their own; such as animal stories that were an integral part of totemic clan relations.

Algonquian myths fill volumes. Fox mythology included creation stories, clan origin stories, animal tales, culture hero tales and mythical themes such as abandonment. Examples would be: origin of the sun; Man becomes fish; Bear married woman; Fox and wolf stories; stories about the Culture Hero, Wisakea; and Thrown Away (Ann. Rep. 40).

Iroquois mythology was equally rich (Ann. Rep. 32). Unfortunately the variety and richness of stories have been overshadowed by accounts of how the confederacy, the Five Nations, came about. The full depth of folk-views is not explored. The available material is not well presented. Two ethnologists publish separately in the same publication. There are creation myths, divine stories, hero tales and personal accounts, as well as animal stories and taboos, to name a few categories. The stories are taken from one confederacy member, Seneca, and could probably be supplemented with thousands of stories from the other groups. Animal stories go straight into the genesis of totemic clans, such as 'The man who married a buffalo woman' or 'A woman and her bear lover'; a topic treated under social organization. Clans such as buffalo and turkey, not to mention accounts of a male provenance, may point to the historic decimation of the Iroquois and the consequent adoption of people from other tribes, matrilineal, patrilineal and bilateral.

'Myths of the Cherokee' was another work by Mooney that also has a taint of ethnocentric familiarity (Ann. Rep. 19, p. 3-576). This was very much presented in the European style, with categories and motifs. The social context, such as totemic units, is left to a scattering of critical footnotes. In spite of its schematic structure, this work overlays a richness of source material that helps piece together the complexity of Cherokee society.

Among the Southeastern tribes animal motifs were prominent (Bull. 88). The hundreds of stories may say something about social relations and the position of totemic clans. For instance, the rabbit figures prominently in Creek stories, indicating that it once had been prominent as a clan (Bull. 88, p. 42f, 62f, etc.). It may seem contentious to link myths directly to social life, but totems were what people talked about.

Stories embody human creativity. In one Dakota story a supernatural spider (ikto) caught a rabbit; he in turn persuaded ikto to release him by promising to teach a magic trick; the rabbit's fur was shedding, and when he pulled it out and blew it in the air, pretty soon it started to snow. The ikto was impressed, but when he pulled out his own hairs and blew them around, nothing happened (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 472). Knowledge of the environment, such as the change to winter fur, was crucial knowledge in native life.

A fairly authoritative work on 'Tsimshian Mythology' was published (Ann. Rep. 31). A large number of these were animal stories, besides cosmology and some personal stories. The mythology was preceded by a fairly extensive social description. This was because tribes on the 'North Pacific coast' had a 'fairly uniform' culture based on coastal fishing and large villages (p. 43). This in turn allowed for social differentiation and status competition, epitomized by the potlatch tradition of giving away food and blankets. The stories are fairly typical, such as animals who become human ancestors and vice versa. Yet elements of status and pride are also involved, such as a snubbed woman who becomes ashamed and turns into a beaver (p. 139). Animal stories are also called clan stories (p. 411). One might say that the myths have two layers, one dealing with social status and the other with totemic identification. Ethnologies tend to emphasize the status element, which may be exaggerated. Social integration was more significant.

This brief description may have indicated two things. One is that ethnologists had a fairly prescriptive view of Indian culture tainted by ethnocentrism. The second is that native stories must be viewed in relation to the social and cultural context in which they are told. The variety and imagination of native culture is limitless. One small segment of this is the representation of totemic clans and social organization. In the publications myths involving

animals, animal stories, are presented as if they are isolated myths. Among the Shawnee such stories would be told in a social context, and only in winter. Each totemic clan would have its own stories, such as ‘Rabbit and Wildcat’ or ‘Raccoon and Wolf’, and these stories would be shared with members of complementary clans in the village, fostering a social consciousness. From there cultural expressions could be expanded into a fantastic universe of imagination and interaction.

The difficulty of life courses

People's lives are probably the most difficult area to come to terms with from an ethnocentric perspective such as that of most ethnologists. We do not understand other people. For instance, children can talk before they are born. This belief is held by the Shawnee, and also by the Sac & Fox and Menomini. A 'baby doctor' or 'shaman' can understand what a baby says, such as what ails it; in the process it will tell about the spirit world (Bull 119, p. 163). To the ethnologist this is of no consequence, like talking to a rock; to the Indian healer it is crucial knowledge.

These and other aspects of people's lives are largely left unexplored in BAE publications. One fascinating aspect of central Siouan ethnology is that a large number of personal names are documented (Ann. Rep. 27, p. 52-66, 145-194; Radin 1923, p. 159-205). This fantastic material is left unanalyzed in the sources. Naming among American Indians is a poorly known subject, that awaits further study.

Names form a great mystery in BAE writings. They are private, but relate people to wider social settings. Ethnologists will usually note that children are named, but rarely provide extensive studies of names. Or they skip the subject because names are secret, pretending this is not worthy of study (Bull. 78, p. 47). After all, names are personal and cannot say much about social life in general. On the contrary, names are the only way to establish a person's totemic connections, and hence get a grip on totemic clans, phratries, moieties and tribal societies on the whole.

Among the Omaha names form a system, as shown by name endings, -kuwinhe, -thinke, -monthin, -hathin, etc. (Ann. Rep. 27, p. 168f). These endings refer to actions: turning, sitting, walking, moving, etc.; their totemic reference has to be interpreted. By contrast, names such as Little Beaver and Black Wolf have a straightforward reference. A person will then have a choice of names that not always reveals his or her position in the social organization. Black Wolf may be well known in a council, but in other contexts the name Ukinemonthin may appear, He seeks walking, where it is not at all certain what animal is involved. A name shows who a person is, so it should not be too easy to decipher. The relation between a totem and a name is ambiguous, unless it is intentionally clear and public, such as Black Wolf.

Some typical Osage names can be: Nonpamonthin, 'two-walking'; Moningthedon, 'walks-home'; Shapenonshin, 'stands-dark'; Ukipaton, 'rolls-himself'; Wauwithi, 'jumper'; and Tonapi, 'gazed-upon' (Ann. Rep. 43, p. 162-4). The names do not refer to animals but to actions; that the names listed all belong to the buffalo clan, can only be gathered from contextual information ultimately provided by each person named. In that way people control their own clan identity. One reason why it is important not to give away one's clan, is that this will determine who you are in a village. On visits and otherwise it is always best to know who occupies each clan position before revealing one's totem; perhaps it is best to belong to another clan, and then a name such as 'gazed-upon' is useful.

La Flesche noted that Osage people were unwilling to talk about naming ceremonies or any other sacred rites; yet he published the material anyway (Ann. Rep. 43, p. 29). But La Flesche does not describe how people were named; instead he provides native texts and lists of names.

As a native speaker he evinced a sort of cultural blindness, where it is not necessary to explicate what names refer to. What can be deduced is that once a child is born the father summons a messenger, pays him in cloth with a pipe as a sign; the messenger summons the name-givers with his pipe; next morning they perform some preparatory rites and go to the 'house of the father' where the naming is done. As usual the text is opaque, since ritual terms and clan terms are not translated. The politics of name-giving is not discussed. Black Wolf and White Wing belong to the same clan, or rather a fusion of old clans (Ann. Rep. 27, p. 167-8). If they have other names, e.g., Nonshinmonthin and Ukinemonthin, Rain Walking and Seeks Walking, then the issue of clan membership becomes much more discursive and negotiable.

For various reasons personal names often do not refer to totems, even if they are totemic. Typical Creek names may be translated as 'to squat', 'to rise', 'passing by' and so on (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 98-99). It is important that only the name holder knows the totem, so as not to be classified needlessly or without personal control. By contrast there are 'war names' and titles such as 'Deer-foot' that directly refer to a clan, and may be bestowed once a person's position is settled. It is always possible to switch back to the anonymity of a personal name, such as 'passing by'.

One way to avoid totemic references in clans, and hence giving away your clan, would be to use names based on personal attributes or acts. The Chickasaw had war 'titles' such as Tanapapi, 'enemy-killer', and Minkashtapi, 'chief-killer' (Ann. Rep. 44, p. 187). This would lead to a great variety of 'killer' names, Apinitapi, 'he sat and killed', etc. (p. 188). Such names make it virtually impossible to guess a person's clan, to the ethnologist's annoyance (p. 190).

One restrictive study, denying most of native culture, had an interesting observation on names. A Miskito Indian did not like to be addressed 'by his name', making it difficult to find out a person's real name, once more to the ethnologist's frustration (Bull. 106, p. 106). The reason why the name is refused to be told is not examined. In spite of the ethnologist's refuting of totemism, this would strongly hint at the existence of totemic clans, involving a social and political knowledge that people try to keep confidential.

The sort of quaint colonial British Guiana ethnologies dappled with local cultures. Children are called 'Darling', 'Curly' and 'Fat-arse', pretty much as in Liverpool (Ann. Rep. 38, p. 677). Behind this superior glance there are hints at totemic names, such as fish, bird, parrot, toucan and flower. As in other parts of BAE writings, Indian names in South America are left undescribed. Yet, as has been indicated, the study of names is crucial if a better understanding of native societies is to be developed.

In the ethnologies basic and individual life events seem much easier to address, such as the initiation rituals. Fasting is common among most North American tribes, usually associated with the ritual called the vision quest. This often refers to a practice that children took part in, being sent out without food to seek a vision, and which was later practiced by adults more or less frequently during life. Fasting was usually combined with a wake or 'vigil', to remain awake at night so as to induce visions (Ann. Rep. 39). The main outcome was that an individual got a 'tutelary spirit', a being of some sort, animal, plant or mineral, that would protect the person later in life (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 493). This would be in addition to any totemic clan animal the person would be named after and related to.

Seeking visions through fasting were ‘normal religious experiences’ among the Fox Indians (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 37). The primary example was the vision quest of adolescents seeking a tutelary spirit. But fasting and vision seeking could be practiced in later life. This was always done with the face ‘blackened’, a prerequisite to obtain ‘supernatural power’ (ibid.). The Fox initiation rite and vision quest included fasting and swimming in cold water during the winter (Bull. 95, p. 65). The objective was to enter a trance-like state and obtain a vision that would represent a guardian spirit to the individual, such as an animal or natural object.

The Osage ‘Rite of Vigil’ apparently was related to or derived from the vision quest (Ann. Rep. 39, p. 42). This becomes one more example of the importance of fasting and seeking spiritual visions in Indian societies.

As in other tribes, the Winnebago had extensive teachings to young people about various subjects, such as fasting, gender relations, duties to kin and in-laws, care of children, etiquette and charity, etc. A person should seek ‘pity’, act with circumspection and humility (Radin 1923, p. 118). Probably Radin enjoyed adding such statements as: Do not ‘listen to your wife’. ‘Women can never be watched’ (p. 127). Girls were told to never ‘get lazy’ (p. 129). Without context, a twisted image is presented of native societies. What remains salient is the systematic knowledge bestowed on children through teaching.

Michelson collected an ‘autobiography of a Fox Indian woman’; a unique document (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 293f). With characteristic timidity Michelson ‘withheld’ her name. In puritan fashion he also deleted ‘frank’ and ‘carnal’ words (p. 295). The woman told of her life from age six until the present. She told of dolls, swimming, being scolded, avoiding ‘naughty’ girls, planting corn, playing tag, and so on; ‘frank’ talk. Gradually her duties grew, washing and sewing. At puberty she was told of being a woman, including going to a menstrual lodge for ten days. Girls used to fast like boys for visions. At 19 she was told who she was ‘permitted’ to marry, one man. Wedding gifts included matting (p. 315). Childbirth followed; the husband’s abuse; hard work; and divorce. Unfortunately there is no social context in the story; at one point a ‘Shawnee dance’ is noted, the same as a ‘Snake dance’ (p. 329, 343). Here are no clan stories, no social groups. The woman is speaking, but she is muted and isolated.

Ethnologists had a remarkably negative view of women, that spilled over into their descriptions. For the Assiniboine, Dorsey wrote: ‘Women are never acknowledged as chiefs, nor have they anything to say in the council’ (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 224). While this may reflect native life in some way, it strongly resonated with the missionary-ethnologist’s views. Women are consistently seen as subservient to men; views that may imply different things, but mostly reflect the ethnologists’ ethnocentrism. Societies with matrilines are less ‘advanced’ than those with patrilines; one unreasonable outcome should be that ethnologists would view the Cherokee and Creek nations as less evolved than the Iowa or Oto tribes (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 43).

Or what about the following: ‘Unmarried females labored in the fields, served their parents, carried wood and water, and cooked’ (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 232). An older daughter who married became head of all women in the households; sisters ‘were always the wives of the same man’. If a man died his brother would marry the widow ‘without any ceremony’ (ibid.). No reflection was involved in these notes; such as the implication of forced polygyny. Needless to say sisters did not marry the same man; but they may have felt a need to get away from their sister’s household.

On the other hand, the prominent position of women in native societies shines true whenever the ethnologist lets it. Among the Dakota, village houses belonged to women (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 222). That women could take part in warfare is rarely if ever mentioned, probably because the ethnologists could not imagine it. Female soldiers are inconceivable. Here ethnocentrism is a brick wall. If any ethnologists had been alive today, they would have to lock themselves in their houses; nothing is as they posited existence to be.

Transgendered persons, so-called 'berdaches', were respected in Indian societies, much to the bewilderment of ethnologists (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 378). 'If boys play with girls they become berdaches'. The native word was often translated as 'hermaphrodite'. In Omaha belief transgendered persons were 'sacred'. In Kansa society a man could adopt the dress and work of a woman. Once missionaries arrived this changed; the berdaches were forced to commit suicide (p. 379).

Somehow funerals were a tricky subject for ethnologists, taxing their sensitivities. In Fox funerals each clan, such as Thunder, had its own 'wailing songs', sung at night after a death. Fox people had two souls, one living and the other spiritual (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 358). Funerals consisted of notifying mourners, a wake, digging grave, placing the body and grave goods, casting in tobacco, and other rituals. The dead was placed facing west (p. 372). A stick placed at the head of the grave showed the deceased's clan. The stick was painted green for a Bear, red for 'the War gens' (p. 358). Mourners would gather for an evening meal for 4 days after the funeral; this would be a precursor to annual 'ghost feasts'. At such feasts, 'in a way they fed their dead'; people eat 'good food for the benefit of the dead' (p. 371-2). Meals were comforting in bringing people close to the departed; an Indian 'doesn't die', he wanders 'on this earth' (p. 372). What is missing is any reference to social relations such as clans and kinship. The source is very unspecific; it says what happens 'when any one died'; the organizational context is missing.

In the Winnebago tribe, at funerals 12 gifts are given to attendants, perhaps reflecting the number of village clans (Radin 1923, p. 97, 105). On the lower Mississippi ossuaries were common, mostly reserved for chiefs; they were found among the Natchez and Chitimacha; in the latter tribe called 'bone house'. Bones were not kept there permanently, but cleaned and placed in a mound; presumably a tradition going back to mound-builder times (Bull. 43, p. 350). Funerals were one occasion when clans had complementary tasks. Among the Tlingit, people from the opposite moiety of the diseased performed the funeral (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 430). Totem poles could be grave posts (p. 432).

Mooney gauged Indian culture in American terms; Indian lives were cast in a white mold. Of the Kiowa he wrote that their 'character' was 'below the standard' (Ann. Rep. 17, p. 233). He claimed they had 'less of honor, gratitude, and general reliability' than other people, and mused that this was because they had 'Mexican' blood. Somehow this made it easier to accept army atrocities against the Kiowa; they were 'inferior' (p. 235).

While ethnologies focused on war, native morality focused on peace. 'Speak not foolishly', 'do not quarrel' said the Pima elders; there was an 'abhorrence of bloodshed'. The only exception was the execution of a 'sorcerer', presumably because he was a threat to the social order (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 198). The desire for peace was nut unique; all tribes wanted peaceful relations with others, regardless of the skewed veiws of ethnologists.

From the universality of life courses, birth, marriage and death, appear a bewildering complexity of lived lives. Names, initiations and gender relations are only a few of the challenging topics that ethnologists tried to come to terms with, without modifying their fixed cultural viewpoint. What can be seen is that from cradle to grave Native Americans belonged in a social context; a context that rarely is explicated, but which can be gleaned from the sources.

The individual in society

Interpersonal relations are the weakest point in ethnological publications. Texts seemingly do not allow a study of how people relate to each other in the social world. What is called ‘interaction theatre’ would depend on observing human encounters as they unfold, not having them retold in a myth or story (Goffman 1959). This being said, myths relate incidents that may say a lot about the tenor of social life; such as animal stories, that hint at the constant joking between people from different clans.

Close social relations are pivotal in Indian societies. The simplest relation is that between two people; a pair or binary relation. People in such relations may see each other as ‘friends’, but over time may address each other as ‘brother’ or ‘sister’. As noted, Shawnee people use kin terms for all lasting relations – as they do in Japan; words such as elder and younger brother. This would be extended to wider relations and alliances. In tribal confederacies the allied tribes would address each other as elder and younger brother; also for alliances in general (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 44). Social relations were pivotal to the fabric of society; but rarely scrutinized by ethnologists.

The task of the researcher will be to peruse all sources on social relations. This will span from local relations, kinship and social organization to wider networks of trade and political integration. Hopefully then a wider understanding of how Indian societies were constituted will be feasible.

The formation of task groups and social units is one area where ethnology could make a difference. Why are people in some societies eager to join larger groups, while in others they deprecate their own clans (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 168)? For instance, in some cases it would appear that matrilineal societies had a weaker organization of men in task groups; hence the deprecation of their clan. Unfortunately the writings do not pursue such issues. There is a need to look more closely at the integration of matrilineal clan groups and alliances in the sources. This would extend to tribal integration and fields of activity such as trade, warfare and intertribal alliances. Precisely why some societies were more strongly organized than others may never be known; but it is a topic worthy of study.

Two important and widely shared rituals, the pipe ceremony and eagle dance, were introduced in one publication, but in a restricted tribal setting; ‘The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony’ (Ann. Rep. 22, pt. 2). This was an important ritual in most tribes, and could be seen in a wider context. The ethnologist tries to do this at the end, but presents the ceremony in a highly idiosyncratic, song-by-song manner. In one way this is nice, details are provided; but the context is missing. Quite typically the exposition ends with an esoteric phrase: ‘Harken! Shakuru Warukste shall he be called’; incomprehensible without context (p. 368). Tragically the ceremony was no longer performed.

Ethnologists had difficulty placing the eagle dance or ‘Great Feather Dance’ in a context. It was said not to be a ‘curative’ rite, but to be a regular dance ‘at every one of the seasonal festivals’ (Bull 149, p. 125). Once it had been part of a great tribal-ceremonial complex, used in the organization of tribal and intertribal gatherings. Reconstructing such grand occasions was something most ethnologists did not imagine. The exception was a specialized study of

the Iroquois eagle dance as an 'Offshoot of the Calumet Dance' (Bull. 156). Here it becomes possible to draw a line back to the giant intertribal councils of the 17th-18th century, when extended ceremonies were performed.

The integration of native societies remained a mystery to ethnologists. Groups above the family level were not expected to stay together, at least not in an organized and lasting manner. Yet there were hints that Indian tribes could integrate tens of thousands of people, seemingly without much strife or discord. Most ethnologists would dismiss this as a myth. Others introduced extremely simple explanations, such as 'clan' brotherhood and 'group marriage'. Needless to say Indian integration was no more mysterious that US or European integration; though that also is somewhat of a mystery.

Ethnocentrism is particularly marked when it comes to the wider organization of Indian tribes. For the Interior Salish, Teit has one mantra: a 'tribe' is a 'unit' of 'members' 'bound together by ties of blood'; his basic recognized unit is the family (Ann. Rep. 45, p. 374). He was not the only ethnologist to have such simple views on Indian society.

The factors involved in large-scale social integration were many. Shared language and beliefs were general factors, significant but not always crucial to societal organization. Territory and resources would also be significant; that people saw they had shared interests in maintaining a land base and viable resources for their society; but there were also potential conflicts in this regard all the way down to the local level. It was in politics that much could be done to unite different interests and issues and show people they belonged to the same overarching entity. Leaders had to convince people they shared the same belonging; and followers had to combine in an effort to provide a lasting organization for their people. Each level had to be organized in turn and become mutually supportive in a larger organization, a tribal society.

In theory this may sound very complicated; in practice it was fairly straightforward. In Shawnee society, for instance, each village had a council, a head chief and a second chief (Howard 1981, p. 108). A group of villages would form a band, named and covering a distinct territory. The main village would keep a shared council ground. This would continue up to several bands forming a named and geographical tribal division, and these divisions, 5 in number, forming the Shawnee tribe, with a tribal leadership and council ground attended by all subgroups. Extensive regulations, procedures and formalities held the whole structure together, including practical politics: negotiating conflicts, developing alliances and trade, and sharing defense and responses to challenges. Most importantly, the members of the society had a strong sense of who they were, that they were a people. Incredibly or not, basic symbolism tended to tie all these people together. This was epitomized by an object called a sacred bundle, known as the Sacred Fire (Howard 1981, p. 212f). It can be compared to the Declaration of Independence or the Crown Jewels; a national symbol. Probably Shawnee society would be held together without such a symbol; but having a shared emblem had an impact on people's belonging. The bundle was kept almost totally secret, yet its significance cannot be underestimated.

Of course, sacred bundles were underestimated, not least by ethnologists, as was every other aspect of political organization, such as tribal and intertribal chiefs and councils. The Sacred Fire will appear in Shawnee myths and oral history, but never seemed to draw any attention from Anglo-American authorities or whites in general. In spite of this the significance of sacred bundles was noted. At one point there was a frantic rush to dismantle, collect and deactivate, even destroy, the sacred bundles held by Indian tribes (Harrington 1914, p. 125).

What is truly fascinating is that collectors such as ethnologists barely knew why they did this, or rarely explicated it. Yet the removal of bundles and tribal symbols in general would have a dramatic disintegrating effect on tribal societies, above and beyond the devastating impact of population loss and dispossession. It was as if, to truly destroy Indian societies, their last vestiges of power and influence, chiefs and bundles, had to be removed and obliterated.

Marxists and constructivists will be allowed to dismiss this section as fantasy. The goal is merely to bring out some of the issues that appear in ethnologists' collections of native materials and informants' responses to what was taken or collected. As will be seen, sacred bundles apparently had limited import to ethnologists, but in texts and descriptions the desperate significance of sacred symbols shine through, and the excruciating pain of losing them. Somehow this also affected the ethnologists, who in spite of the 'factual' manner in which they describe sacred objects, show enough reticence to indicate the anguish people felt when losing their sacred symbols of unity.

A testing stone: sacred bundles

What was the policy behind collecting objects that Indians held to be sacred? This practice can be looked at from different angles. A benevolent view would be that this was an attempt to rescue perishable objects that would otherwise be lost. A much stronger view is that the collection of sacred objects, such as sacred bundles, was a way of destroying symbols that made Indian life meaningful and without which communities could not be united. A parallel would be if someone dismantled the Lincoln Monument with the Declaration of Independence and moved them to Minsk. The impact on American life would be instantaneous.

Whether it was curiosity, ignorance or malice, or all of this, that made ethnologists hunt for sacred objects and secrete them away to Eastern collections, is hard to document. That the process was secret is evident. People were not to know that their cherished paraphernalia were being removed. There was to be no protest against the destruction of Indian symbols. This was beyond cultural appropriation. It was annihilation.

Ethnologists were slightly intrigued by religious symbols among Indians, such as the 'prayer sticks' of the Kickapoo Prophet (Ann. Rep. 14, p. 699). These were compared to Catholic rosaries or a 'bible'. Radin included a poor picture of a prayer stick among the Winnebago, without comment (1923, pl. 30).

Other special objects were pipes and gorgets. Pipes were used in the 'calumet ceremony' at tribal and intertribal ceremonies (Ann. Rep. 29; Bull 119). Gorgets were plates of bone, shell, copper, stone or other materials worn on the chest as a marker of identity; these could have intricate designs of eagle dancers, mythical animals, eye motifs, and other symbols (Bull. 129, p. 289). Gorgets apparently were quite common in pre-contact America; in historical times they were replaced by 'medals', European tokens of alliance.

Of utmost importance were 'sacred bundles', that symbolized the unity of social groups ranging from clans up to tribal confederacies. Guarded, sacred and mysterious, ethnologists itched to get their dirty little hands on them. It is highly significant that Jones, a white Fox, barely mentions the all-important 'sacred bundle' (Bull. 125, p. 109). His editor, a Bureau typist, had no such qualms, and in order to supplement the text shamelessly refers to Harrington's exposure of 'Sac and Fox' 'sacred bundles'.

The Sauk tribe had its fair share of sacred bundles, but many of them apparently had a shifting existence. In Oklahoma, Sauk sacred bundles were found hanging 'from the smoke-stained rafter poles in the few remaining' bark houses; and from there they were stolen (Harrington 1914, p. 132). Before being taken by collectors, bundles, called mîshâmi, were used at annual 'ceremonies and dances' (p. 132, 135). The bundles had originally been obtained or assembled through fasts and visions. The Sauk tribe had five bundles 'in early times', or presumably more (p. 151). The five main bundles were named from ancient band chiefs, Pîtoski, Pîtokima, Nîmokima, Machokima and Mashiwawiskwi. The first may have been buffalo or fox, the others turkey, eagle or fish, turkey or snake, and elk.

So-called 'war bundles' had a wrapping of deer skin or similar and items such as headbands, plumes, arm-band, amulets, paint, plant medicines, whistles, etc. Rather than describing each

bundle Harrington simply tabulated the contents of 22 war bundles. They had items or parts of: snake (4), swallow (3), woodpecker (6), crow (1), duck (1), goose (1), swan (12), hawk (7), eagle (18), owl (-), bear (1), weasel (3), wolf (1), lynx (1), deer (-), buffalo (20), beaver (1), stones (-), deer-skin (14), cedar (13), grass (3), herbs (16), medical plants (-), protective plants (-), tobacco (7), paint (12), war-club (-), war-whistles (17), etc. The number of times each item was found in bundles is in parenthesis (Harrington 1914, p. 167).

War bundles apparently had a standard composition: buffalo scalp amulet, swan scalp amulet, other scalp amulets, colored braid, headband, necklace, buffalo neck amulet, buffalo belt amulet, fawn or deer skin cover, paint, black stone, green stone, deer hoof rattle, deer-paunch-stone, incense, packages of medicine, etc. (p. 174).

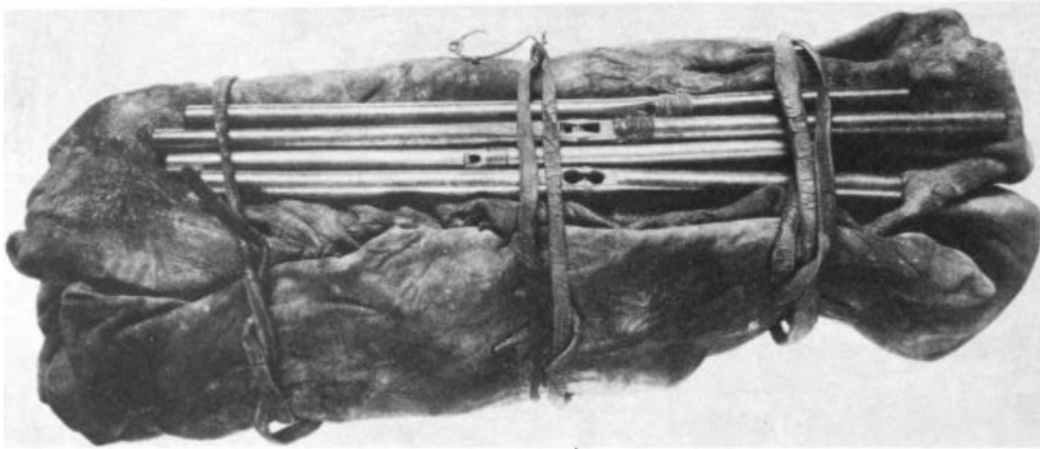
Actually there were many variations, and probably the term 'war bundle' was a simplification. Bundles could have an old history representing villages, local clans, and even the tribe as a whole. This particularly was the case with bundles containing objects such as dolls, beads, wampum belts, intricate necklaces, pipes, rattles, flutes, drumsticks, dried meats, carefully woven bags, and other artefacts (e.g., Harrington 1914, pl. 29, 36, 38).

There was a Sauk bundle, unnamed, possible associated with a snake totem, or perhaps deer, water or fish. Michelson called it a 'Sauk and Fox' 'sacred pack', and bought it for the Heye Foundation around 1915 (Bull. 85, p. 55). The owner-seller asked for secrecy, so the information was not published until he had died. The composite background of the owner was noted, Sauk, Fox and white. His family had possession of the bundle from ca. 1870 in Tama, where some Sauk 'joined the Fox'. At the museum the bundle was treated without ceremony; a random photo was taken of its contents. They included fur, feathers and skin wrappings from different animals and birds; hummingbird, a white bird, gopher, etc. These wrappings in turn were containers for medicine, red and black paint, tobacco, rocks, etc. Also there was a strap or ligature, a beaded bag containing medicine, and apparently another bag containing a snake skin and medicine. There also was a spear point. Presumably this was a war bundle, but it had a male-female origin. It supposedly was made by 'a married couple', and took power from water (p. 59). The spear was added last, indicating that war was a later function.

The shifting existence of one sacred bundle was outlined by Michelson (Bull. 119, p. 163f). It concerned 'a Sauk sacred pack' that was held by the Fox Indians until 1897, 'when it was returned to the Sauks' (p. 163). It was called Nenem'kiwi-Sâkiwi-Mîsâmi, 'Thunder-Sauk-Sacred-Pack' (p. 163, 169). The man who found it in a vision was Green Bear; again totemic lines are crossed, bear and thunder. The clan feast speech mentions thunder and tree (p. 170-1). The bundle might contain pieces of fishes, turkeys, turtles and deer, that miraculously became food (p. 173-5). Other contents could be otter, rocks, medicines, etc. (p. 175).

A main Sauk bundle confusingly was said to be Fox, perhaps referring to a clan, or referring to a complex intertribal history. It was named after an original owner, as the Pîtoskeha bundle; his clan could be fox or buffalo (Harrington 1914, p. 136-144). It contained parts or items of: buffalo, horn, raven, swallow, red paint, blue paint, yellow plant, red plant, black plant, white plant, owl, hawk, black wolf, blue bone, necklace, deer skins, stone-club, whistle, shell, etc. The skin of the black wolf was used to spread the other objects on (p. 144). During a clan feast or bundle feast the bundle should be smoked 4 times 'to the eastward' (p. 150). The feast had dog meat, followed by deer, bear or turkey. In the origin story of the bundle the significance of these sacred objects was made clear. 'From this bundle you will find your names and clans' (p. 153). The bundles were meant to keep the 'tribe' 'together' (p. 154).

What may have been an elk bundle, Mashiwawiskwi, had 4 ‘cane whistles’. Other information is not given, except that the bundles were powerful (p. 155).



Sac and Fox sacred bundle (Harrington 1914, pl. 25)

That Michelson was timid did not mean that he was without material cravings. He acted as an agent for Boas and the Germans in buying Fox sacred bundles (Bull. 72, p. 9). For this deed no justification was offered; it was a business deal. If Michelson felt embarrassed, he would not admit it. Unfortunately ethnologists would treat sacred bundles as collected objects and in a fragmentary manner, such as unceremoniously unwrapping a bundle and listing its contents, an unthinkable sacrilege, like dismantling a church and listing its components.

The slight exceptions were so-called clan feasts and bundle ceremonies. Here sacred bundles were central objects, and so would receive some attention, at least textually; though also these bundles would be taken. Michelson wrote about Fox clan feasts or ‘sacred pack’ ceremonies (Ann. Rep. 40). He notes ‘beliefs in the efficacy of sacred packs’ and ‘their uses’, referring to native texts. He delicately avoided explaining the ‘uses’, but noted that the ‘furs in the sacred pack were alive’ and powerful; this would apply to all bundle objects, stones, flutes, dolls etc. (p. 38). A bundle would be kept in a ‘parfleche’, layers of skin and fiber wrapping (p. 265). In one ‘mythical’ text 14 bundles among the Fox are noted; this may refer to the pre-contact number of clans in a village (p. 40f).

A sacred bundle of the Thunder clan was noted (Bull. 85, p. 97). Michelson withheld the name of his informant ‘by agreement’ or demand; revealing this type of information was sacrilege (p. 101). Later a work on the ‘Great Sacred Pack of the Thunder Gens’ is printed (Bull. 95). This may originally have been the sacred bundle of a village or tribal division, with elaborate contents. The massive bundle included several skin wrappings and skin bags. It contained beautiful woven bags with panther, wildcat and thunderbird designs. The content could be pieces of turtle, birds and animals, e.g., eagle, deer and more. There could also be rocks, a flute, medicine and paint in some of the bags; sacred objects. The bundle may have been opened only once a year, for a select group of men during the ‘summer festival’ (Bull. 95, p. 60).

The owl sacred pack was explicitly exposed (Bull. 72, plates 2-4). The contents: owl skin with stone tongue, snapping turtle and land turtle (stones), feast paraphernalia: flute, cornstalk, catlinite pipe, gourd, tobacco; also medicines: flower, wool, white hide and roots used to heal

broken bones; furthermore war club, flint-knife for fire, stones and earth; the wrapping was of bark, skins and a woven bag.

The ‘White Buffalo Sacred Pack’ was said to include: 6 scalps, animal parts such as fur, tail, feather and wing, from buffalo, eagle etc.; also paint, pipe, tobacco, etc. Kept together with it were 4 ‘minor packs’, perhaps originating in defunct clans (Ann. Rep. 40, p. 42). A bear clan bundle, originally perhaps a shaman’s healing bundle, contained eagle down, a headdress, a flute, and other things. It was kept in a ‘parfleche’ or skin wrappings (Bull. 105, p. 139). In this way bundle after bundle was exposed and described without ceremony.

Among the Dakota there was a ‘Spirit of the Medicine Sack’, meaning that sacred bundles were revered (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 434). The sacred bundle was provided by god, along with a dance. The sack ‘should consist of the skin of’ the otter, raccoon, weasel, squirrel, loon, fish and snake (p. 440). Needless to say these are totems, and would refer to totemic paraphernalia. The sack should have four types of medicine, from fowls, trees, plants and quadrupeds; specifically: a female swan’s down, grass roots, bark from tree roots and buffalo head-hair. This sounds like a mystery recipe. From these substances ‘proceeds a wakan influence so powerful that no human being, unassisted, can resist it’ (p. 440).

A reference to Assiniboine bundles or medicine bags notes that they include ‘idols’ or human figures, arrows, quivers, war trophies such as scalps, and other things (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 498). During a ‘religious ceremony lasting several days’, men, women and children join in raising the 40-foot pole on which the ‘medicine bags’ are fastened. The pole is erected in the middle of the tribal camp, surrounded by ‘buffalo skin lodges’ that contain sacred offerings tied at the top. So the whole village is united by a display of totemic and social symbolism (ibid.).

Interestingly one missionary thought that the ‘medicine dance’ was ‘an elevating and enlightening religion in comparison with the’ sun dance (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 440). The simple reason may be that he disliked the thought of blood. The wider implication is that the sacred bundle was vastly misunderstood by ethnologists; they had no idea what it represented. In the sense that the bundle was a kind of archive, containing mnemonic devices that helped people remember their past, the ‘elevating’ view may be closer to reality than intended.

A bigoted presentation noted the existence of sacred bundles, called ‘sacred bags’ or ‘waruxawe’, in the Iowa and Winnebago tribes. Unfortunately the description does not state what a sacred bag consists of, what is in smaller bag, and what is by itself. Probably the writer, a missionary, did not know. Mention is made of: ‘skin wrappers’ or wrapping, sacred pipes, sacred stone and iron. The sacred bundles were ‘mysterious’ and ‘reverenced as much as Wakanta’. Among the Winnebago ‘no woman is allowed to touch the waruxawe’ (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 426).

Ethnologists, such as Radin, would collect sacred bundles and other artefacts without ceremony or consideration, paying cash. From illustrations bundles contained fantastic objects, such as ‘woven bags with old designs’ (Radin 1923, plate 32). These designs had mythical meanings; figures included hexagons, diamonds, squares, triangles, zigzags, plaits, hourglass-shapes, thunderbird, elk, fish, and general plaiting. Not all of these bags would be in bundles, some could be for personal and practical uses.

Perhaps with some restraint, Radin does not mention a sacred bundle for the tribe as a whole. Perhaps there was much he was not told. He does mention war bundles, that he may have used

as a synonym for sacred bags. War bundles could contain: eagle feather, other feathers, captive rope, arm-band, ankle-band, paint, flute, etc. There could be parts of: wildcat and other animals, as well as dried meat (1923, p. 113-4). There was a Thunderbird or chief's war bundle, used at a clan feast in a lodge. It contained: wrapping, parts of animals and birds, such as wolf tail, buffalo tail, snake, weasel; also war club, arrows, board, flutes, etc. (p. 499).

Then there were clan bundles, that may have belonged to local clans, but in some cases may refer to village, band or tribal bundles; since Radin would identify all this as clanship, without distinction. The Thunderbird bundle, either a clan or band bundle, perhaps the same as above, contained parts of eagle and owl etc. A bear clan bundle could include: tobacco, red feathers, dried berries, corn, pipe, etc. The buffalo clan could have a bundle containing corn, fur, horns, etc.; used in connection with the buffalo dance. A snake clan bundle had: snake skins, tobacco, eagle feathers, etc. The hawk war bundle had parts of: crane, duck, hawk and other birds. Also there were: parts of animals, arrows, wrapping etc. Clan bundles would appear in clan feasts or ceremonies, such as bear, hawk and others (Radin 1923, p. 159-172, 269-280, 296-301, 379-502).

Medicine bundles contained plants used in healing (Radin 1923, p. 123). These belonged to individual healers or shamans. They might also contain: paint, stones, tobacco, etc. There could be parts of: eagle, otter, 'striped feather', etc. (p. 220).

The Iowa 'used to' have 7 sacred bundles, 'related to one another as brothers and sisters' (ann. Rep. 11, p. 426). This would imply that there were several tribal divisions as well as sub-divisions or bands, occupying different territories and river valleys. Bands would refer to each other by sibling terms, based on totemic symbolism. That bundles were referred to as 'sisters' may be a mistake, or one or more bundles may actually have been viewed as female. There may have been separate war bundles, 'used by war parties'. 'On the return from war the seven bags were opened and used in the scalp dance' (ibid.). This could refer to just one bundle, or one or more war bundles.

The content of the sacred bundles is vague. 'They contained the skins of animals and birds with medicine in them'; tobacco; pipes; war medicine, perhaps paint; war club; whistles; stones; iron; and other paraphernalia. It is explicitly stated that there 'used to be seven war clubs, one for each waruxawe'. In 'the last war expedition of the Iowa' 'the war club and pipes or whistles were lost from the principal bag' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 426). It is not clear how this happened, or if it was a war bundle or tribal bundle.

That there were two types of bundle seems clear: 'The next kind' of bundle, called washi-waruhawe, also 'numbered seven' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 426). These were 'bad-medicine bags', used to discourage enemies by blowing the whistles. Hence these may have been the actual war bundles taken along on raids. Their content besides whistles included 'round stones' that warriors would rub themselves with to avoid being 'killed or wounded' in war; the stones would render the skin impenetrable (p. 426-427).

In one story a war bundle or 'sacred bag' was hidden while the men prepared 'sacred articles' (p. 428). Each found his own protective charm to carry into war. This bundle apparently held a dried enemy heart, parts of which were mixed with paint to obtain supernatural protection during warfare.

Another type of sacred bundle was called Che-waruhawe, 'buffalo medicine bag', and was used for healing the sick or wounded. They contained medicine, sticks with deer hoofs attached used as rattles 'while treating the sick', buffalo tail and throat-skin from an elk; good for sore throat. There was a Ta-waruhawe, 'deer medicine bag', containing otter skins used in the otter dance (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 427). This would imply that each clan had its own sacred bundle. Bundles of sacred objects would then span from individuals to clans, phratries, moieties and villages all up to the level of bands, tribal divisions and tribes; a level above this, the inter-tribal alliance, can also be envisioned.

Here the handling of a sacred bundle is specified. 'The waruxawe is always carried with the same end foremost', animals in the pack being placed with their heads in the same direction. 'On one occasion a leader broke up a war party by turning the bag around' (ibid.). Either by mistake or on purpose he held the pack the wrong way, pointing the band back home. Perhaps he was a closet pacifist.

The sacred pack contained undeniable power. The Iowa 'claim to have a mysterious object' used to try men and to make them swear to tell the truth. 'This mysterious iron or stone had not been gazed upon within the recollection' of any Iowa in 1848. No doubt the iron, like the ones used to test a person's honesty in Europe, were a part of the 'mysterious object', which was a bundle 'wrapped in seven skins'. 'No woman was allowed to see even the outer covering', nor was a bigot missionary, who was told 'he would die if he looked at it' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 427). Every tribe and village had its sacred bundle. Among the Missouri and Oto tribes some men preserved sacred objects, notably 'sacred pipes'. Probably these were part of a bundle (ibid.).

Dorsey described the Omaha tribal sacra, three sacred tents, a sacred pole and a white buffalo hide, cared for by the Hanga 'half-tribe'; unfeelingly adding: 'but now in the Peabody Museum' (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 226). These were sacred objects that were prayed to during tribal hunts; a symbol of unity. That the symbols had been unceremoniously taken away by the ethnologist was not emphasized.

Dorsey went on to describe something called wathihape or 'mysterious bags', that is, sacred bundles. In a deliberately belittling way he said 'these are not governmental instrumentalities' or symbols. They are 'mysterious things' that 'on certain occasions' are addressed as 'grandfathers'. The Omaha tribe used to have 5 sacred bundles, 'but only three are now in existence'; no doubt carefully guarded from men such as Dorsey, but still not safe from pilfering. One 'which could be carried in time of war' had bird skins, pigeon hawk, fork-tailed hawk and swallow; fast birds (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 413-4). It is highly significant that Dorsey thought the bundles were not important, though they served as symbols of the tribe and its 3-5 bands.

It is unpleasant to read how Dorsey dealt with the sacred bundles. The informants would feel imposed on and in anguish. One man when pressed would say that 'some Omaha' would consider the 'skins of animals' and birds used in making their wathihape 'or mystery bags' as 'wahupe' or sacred. When asked to describe the skins he listed eagle, sparrow-hawk, yellow-backed hawk, duck, great-owl, swallow, otter, flying-squirrel, mink, white raccoon and 'mazanhe', a kind of otter (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 415). Dorsey failed to see the special significance of these items; he called them 'personal fetiches' (p. 415-6). He quoted an informant: 'Our medicines are wise; they can talk like men' (p. 416). Somehow he thought this meant they were 'personal', while really they were shared symbols and sacred objects in the tribe.

Intriguingly informants tried to avoid unpleasant questions about sacred bundles by saying it was 'very expensive' to become a member of a 'mystery' society. In his cheap mind Dorsey interpreted this literally: It was 'unreasonable' that an informant 'would communicate the secrets' at '$1 a day', the going rate of Indian informants (p. 416).

The power of the sacred bundle is hinted at over and over. It was spoken to respectfully, as 'venerable' or 'old man'. The presence of a bundle could alter a chain of events. By holding a bundle against the wind the 'odor of the medicine' could lull an enemy village into passivity; 'it made them forget their weapons'. A war bundle made of a bird skin could be opened, 'holding the mouth of the bird toward the foe', and this would ensure the safe return of a war party (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 414).

The ethnologist got a piecemeal view of bundles. On different occasions he heard of some content or other: sacred pipes or peace pipes (at least 12 of these), sacred arrows or arrow heads 'of divination', sacred clam shells or mussels, war club head, paint, red beans, and much else never disclosed. To mystify matters he referred to 'fetiches' by native names, wachi-wahupi, wase-chite-athinma, tathin-wasabe (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 416).

Dorsey irreverently wrote about 'Kansa tribal fetiches' (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 415). Great Hanga and Little Hanga had a war pipe and a mussel shell. The pipe 'is never taken from the wrappings', so the missionary had never seen it. It was shown to local men at a ceremony held by the chief. The mussel was wrapped in five skins, like the pipe; made of buffalo bladder, fawn skin, braided rushes, deerskin and woven buffalo hair outermost; obviously to keep the contents safe. That the bundle as such had a significance was lost to the ethnologist. In addition to pipe and mussel, a bundle could contain items such as arrow heads, paint, and other paraphernalia.

La Flesche, writing of the Osage, made a succinct but esoteric explanation of the sacred bundle. It 'symbolizes the earth, with its myriad forms of life, the arch of the' sky, and human existence (Ann. Rep. 39, p. 206). A basic kind of bundle would be a personal bundle. Each warrior would carry his own magic bundle containing, among other things, a 'heart-sack' holding a 'captive strap' or string for tying prisoners, paint, and charcoal-paint in a small pouch (Bull. 101, p. 3). Such personal outfits might vary by need, a hunter might carry tobacco and fire-making equipment. Apparently it was also common for each village clan to have its own bundle.

Dorsey had earlier (1884) written about Osage bundles, without much clarity. One topic concerned sacred bundles used in war. On one occasion, mourning, 'two war bags' were made of bird-skins from eagles 'by some of the old men' (1884, p. 117). Then there were major war bundles; the 'sacred bags of a large war party', one for each moiety in a village, carried by a snake and wolf man (p. 124). Such a war bundle or 'mystery' might include: war-medicine such as dangerous plants, parts of animals thought helpful in battle, charcoal, paint and war implements (Bull. 101, p. 44). Associated with Osage bundles were 'a standard with seven feathers' and another with 'six feathers', used in war. They may represent village clans. The hanka, war or north moiety had 7 feathers, the chishu, peace or south moiety had 6; anciently there might be 7 on each side (Dorsey 1884, p. 116).

A far less known topic were sacred bundles used in peace; these included bundles kept by clan phratries as well as the village and on up to the tribal level. There would be one bundle to represent the entire Osage tribe; totally unknown. In one description 'two bags' containing

‘war pipes’ are hung on mourners’ neck. Other items noted included ‘a knife with the handle painted red’, ‘a hatchet with the handle reddened’ (Dorsey 1884, p. 118). Whenever a bundle is brought into public view this is referred to as a ‘test’, presumably of people’s faith. The bundle was referred to as ‘grandfather’, a spiritual being. There was a reference to ‘Red Medicine’, probably paint, but also said to be a mescal bean, in Osage and Kansa bundles (Ann. Rep. 11, p. 416).

More information is provided in ‘The Osage Tribe’ (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 63). Each tribal division, and probably the tribe as such, had its own sacred bundle (wahope), symbolizing its unity. In one reference a sacred bundle could include: skins or parts of animals, such as the head-skins of woodpeckers, eagle feathers, etc. (Bull. 101, p. 205). There could also be sacred objects such as a meteor, a pipe, an arrow, a flute, etc. All these objects would convey a peaceful or universal message. The main symbol of peace was the peace pipe or calumet; though arrows adorned with feathers could serve the same purpose.

Sacred bundles were carefully preserved, wrapped in protective covering. There would also be bundles within a bundle, such as a crucial part consisting of a hawk skin wrapping. La Flesche called the bundle ‘a portable shrine’ (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 71). Bundle wrappings included buckskin; an outer wrapping of woven buffalo hair; and an inner wrapping of woven rush fiber. The contents of a bundle was a sacred mystery. It might include: blackbird skin, tails, feathers, stones, wild gourd, pelican skin and feathers, cormorant skin, eagle down, black metal or meteor, mussel shell and pendant, etc. Other items could be parts from bear, panther, buffalo, elk, turtle, deer, swan, insects, wood, painted symbols, corn, squash, lotus, coal, paint, etc. Also woven belts could be in the bundles, perhaps even written documents. This description may refer to the varied contents of different bundles. Each item carried a mythical and sacred meaning.

Out of some sense of propriety La Flesche declined to list the full bundle content, saying it would be ‘in a later volume’ (Ann. Rep. 36, p. 73). He did note what happened to the national treasures of the Osage people. One bundle was ‘secured’ by the Smithsonian in 1911; another was taken by the Heye Foundation. A third bundle was ‘buried’ with its owner in 1910, perhaps to save it from pilfering. A fourth was sold ‘to a traveler’ around 1907. A fifth ended up in the ‘private collection’ of Charles Evanhoe (ibid.). Apparently these were the sacred bundles of former tribal bands, taken by white collectors without ceremony or questions.

Sacred bundles of the Seminole are noted (Bull. 151, p. 155). Such a ‘Medicine Bundle’ was compared to ‘the Ark of the Covenant’ (p. 163). It was wrapped ‘in a deerskin, hair side out’. Inside, each ‘medicine’ is ‘done up in a small piece of buckskin’. The contents included pieces of horn, feathers, stones, dried animal parts, a rattle, and more. There would be 600-700 items in one bundle (p. 164). An example was stones called ‘live stone’, used for healing in sweat baths.

Shared sacred symbols among the Creek are poorly known; in part because they were kept secret from whites (Ann. Rep. 42). Hence the tribe was thought not to have sacred bundles. Sacred paraphernalia were kept hidden behind the chief’s ‘bed’ or platform at the dance square (p. 185). They included ‘pots’, ‘vessels’, ‘appurtenances’, ‘holy utensils’ and ‘relic’ objects. Mention is also made of tobacco and ‘medicine’. Sacred ‘articles’ taken out during ceremonies such as the busk included shells. In order ‘to protect’ sacred objects ‘from desecration by the whites’, they were sometimes placed in ‘a small house’ (p. 186). The pots were used for the black drink (asi) at ceremonies. At councils tobacco was brought ‘in a skin’

taken from the chief's totem animal; sounding very much like a bundle (p. 169). At one time bundles may have been kept that were lost or destroyed; possibly substituted by sacred 'copper and brass plates', the busk paraphernalia, that would be more durable (p. 307).

Mention was made of a war bundle or 'ark' (p. 411). It was covered with 'pieces of wood' and contained 'vessels' for drinking; apparently it also contained skin wrappings and other objects. It may be that missionaries quietly destroyed many sacred objects.

The Zuni had something similar to a sacred bundle, called etôwe. It was a collection of sacred objects that included: plugged reeds with seed or miniature frogs, post of black paint, obsidian knives, arrow points, round 'thunder' stones, shell rattles, and corn-ears (mîwe). Sacred bundles are kept 'in sealed jars in houses' as 'permanent keepsakes' (Ann. Rep. 47, p. 490). The difference to eastern bundles with skins and animal parts is telling. As usual, the ethnologist pays little heed to sacred paraphernalia. They are called 'a miscellaneous assortment' of objects, missing the point of the bundle's significance (ibid.).

In Shawnee views the sacred bundle was the heart of the nation. Every object in the bundle carried sacred and historic meaning. A bundle belonged to a chief, but could be handled by caretakers. In some ways they filled the role of an archivist. In particular after 1701, when the Shawnee signed their first treaty, written documents were added to the bundle; over time these could become not only mnemonic but written archives that spanned the history of the tribe. Then ethnologists and others tried to eradicate them, buying, stealing and destroying what they could. Bundles had to be kept under lock and key in carefully guarded houses.

The Fox of Tama were literally pilfered of native artefacts and sacred paraphernalia between 1885 and 1920 (Owen 1904, p. v; Ann. Rep. 40, p. 501-3). The same would happen to other tribes. People had little possibility to protest against sacred objects being taken; all they could do was have a kind of silent protest and opposition. As before, the bundles that remained had to be kept secret.

A somewhat rhetorical question is if collecting sacred bundles was destruction or preservation. On the surface this was conservation, since bundles were packed and carefully stored. But if the bundles served as mnemonic archives, a loss of knowledge was definitely involved. Bundles contained sacred and poignant objects that carried stories pointing back hundreds of years. If the Library of Congress was packed in boxes marked 'library', its integrated store of information would be pulverized. In eastern museums the bundles lost all the contextual information they represented. To the Indian communities who lost their sacred symbols this was certainly destruction; all at once they lost their markers of heritage and identity.

A complicating factor is that sacred bundles were already being lost within Indian tribes. Around 1860 parts of the main Shawnee bundle was discarded by its owner. Perhaps he was scared by recently arrived missionaries and other whites. Yet people thought the bundle was safe, and were shocked to hear that he disposed of it. All the secrecy and solemn ceremonies were hard to preserve. The bundle was not a keepsake; it was living culture, and sacred at that.

So maybe in some perverse way it was opportune that ethnologists tried to collect the remaining bundles. Yet their intention was not to preserve valued heritage; it was to collect 'artefacts' from a culture they expected to be destroyed. There is a difference between

rescuing paintings from a burning museum, and watching it burn so that you can carry off a piece or two. The quandary is heart-rending. The ethnologists did as they did. It was both terribly wrong and disturbingly right, depending on viewpoint and mood. Now it is time to pick up what remains.

The way in which sacred bundles were collected was insane. Ethnologists may have felt that time was running out, that the remaining paraphernalia would be either buried with their owners or discarded. At the same time museums were looking for artefacts to supplement their collections; the demand was limitless. The result was a frenzied assault on owners and their objects to acquire the last bundle. Prospective owners were staked out, native men were hired as spies or agents, and ethnologists would offer as much money as they had access to in order to obtain paraphernalia for museums and collectors.

One Harrington, worse than the other, 'collected' or stole sacred bundles in Oklahoma for many years around 1910. He worked for a rich collector, Heye, who paid for a continual 'expedition maintained' in Oklahoma to collect Indian artefacts and sacred objects (Harrington 1914, p. 125). Mark Harrington could collect little or no information about sacred bundles, but he bought or stole them anyway (p. 126). The bundles were 'as sacred to the Indians' as the 'Bible' is to 'Christians' (ibid.). Sacred bundles were taken from tribes such as: Delaware, Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Iowa, Oto, Kansa, Osage, Quapaw, Seminole, Creek, Choctaw, Caddo, Wichita, Kiowa, Apache and Comanche (ibid.). Precisely how many were taken is not known; there must have been hundreds that were shipped away.

What is perhaps worst is that Harrington had no idea what a sacred bundle was. He thought they were magical and 'obscure'. He did not try to find out what they represented, but took them anyway (1914, p. 125-6). The 'Sac tribe' is 'now suffering' from the 'neglect' of the sacred bundles, Harrington glibly writes, well knowing that he took them (p. 155). Harrington collected 0 'Clan Bundles', 23 'War Bundles' and 12 'Medicine Bundles', in all 35 sacred bundles from the Sauk tribe alone (p. 156)! Harrington 'worked among the Sac and Fox for quite a long time' before managing to persuade or cajole someone to sell him a 'war bundle' (p. 171). After that it apparently became easier, when people heard of the money paid.

It was a clandestine affair; or became so, once collectors learned how crucial the bundles were to Indian life. Local people, whether whites or Indians, would not be told what was going on. Native owners and go-betweens were scared to be found out; their lives could be threatened. Tempted by dollars, destitute or alcoholic people would steal parts of bundles, meeting less than pleased ethnologists at the broken result. Then there were the ingenious ones, who put together impromptu bundles from whatever was at hand, and offered it to gullible Americans at a high price. One man killed a crow, stuffed it in a bag and sold it to an ethnologist, who complained about the smell; he was told it was a 'Stink Bag', very sacred (Bentley 1968).

The strong organization of Indian tribes represented a dilemma to ethnologist, since they were expected to mention dispersed and fragmented people, or not mention political power at all. How could tribes with tens of thousands of members be organized as unified societies? That this was common in other parts of the world, such as in ancient Europe, seems to have slipped scholars' minds. Even more thought-provoking is the existence of intertribal confederacies or tribal groups with more than 100,000 people, such as the ancient Creeks. The ability of pre-literate people to organize would mystify ethnologists, most denying its reality, like 'fake news'. The sacred bundle played an underestimated but significant part in societal integration.

It served to symbolize the unity of tribal and intertribal confederacies. The complex interplay of social interests and political negotiations would point to the wider organization of Native American societies.

A tribal universe

An Arapaho pipe ceremony was described (Bull. 119, p. 69). This was part of wide-flung ceremonies relating to political integration in tribal and intertribal alliances. A formal procession and feast were held to uncover the pipe that was to be used. The ceremony underlines the seriousness attached to meetings on a tribal and intertribal level; whites were 'refused permission' to see the sacred pipe (p. 74).

Morgan without hesitation mentions tribal confederacies or unions (Contrib. 4, p. 23f). He observed that a 'tendency to confederate for mutual defense would very naturally exist among kindred and contiguous tribes' (p. 23). This would not only concern defense, but trade, diplomacy, networks and other forms of political, diplomatic and human relations. Morgan briskly listed: the 'Creek Confederacy', the Chippewa-Ottawa-Potawatomi 'Confederacy', the 'Dakota League' of 7 tribes or 'Fires', the 'Moki Confederacy' of Pueblos, 'and the Aztec Confederacy'. He could have mentioned several more, spanning large parts of the continent. What is more, Morgan linked intertribal unions directly to progress, that shared 'institutions' and 'law' furthered social 'development' (p. 23). This is where later ethnologists would sign off; they did not see what Morgan saw, or chose not to see it, and carefully distanced themselves from his theoretical ebullience.

Historical information documents the Fire Nation, an intertribal alliance, up until 1670 (Jesuit Relations vols. 1-72). Member tribes may have included: Winnebago, Menomini, Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Shawnee, Miami, Peoria, Illinois, and Mosopelea or Ofo. The confederacy had an annual council ground on the Mississinewa River. The council addressed issues such as trade, threats of warfare, and contacts with other alliances, Caddoan and Muskogean. The confederacy had a pivotal position with contacts spanning from Canada to the Gulf Coast. It may have had its own emblem, a sacred bundle called the Great Belt. When European colonists arrived the alliance broke down due to epidemics and colonial warfare. In spite of this it had a lasting impact on Native American societies, leading up to the efforts of Tecumseh in 1812. The Fire Nation is yet another unknown factor in American ethnology; the presentation here is conjectural.

Morgan's main example of course was the Iroquois Confederacy, the Five Nations, later Six Nations (Contrib. 4, p. 26f). With astuteness he dates the Iroquois union to 1425 AD, going on to describe what made the 5 tribes pull together. Also very astutely he notes that totemic clans were one factor that allowed the union to be implemented. All Iroquois tribes had the same clans, which meant that one person could find brothers and sisters in every other tribe, in fact in every village. A Mohawk bear could go to a Seneca village and find a bear brother (p. 33). This would be beyond what later ethnologists could conceive. Morgan also shows that a few persons actually and physically implemented the union, setting up an intertribal council ground and a fire place for the Iroquois nation. This was the story of Hiawatha, too intense to go into here. Suffice it to say that the Iroquois confederacy still exists 600 years later. The whole confederacy was led by 50 totemic positions; something presumably also found in other confederacies; senators with animal names. If Morgan was alive he could talk about this for days. Other ethnologists would not.

Some further notes on the Iroquois Confederacy can be made. Much energy went into maintaining it as a representative organ. The council did not make itself. Time was spent choosing representatives and raising candidates to the different totemic positions. Also the seating at councils was crucial; 3 tribes on one side and 2 on the other (Contrib. 4, p. 36). It is not difficult to recognize the political games of modern assemblies; only these were based on tribes and totems, and were a little more complex than the US Senate! That the Iroquois council was able to hold its own against white representatives is something historians are best qualified to elucidate (Colden 1964).

It is interesting that ethnologists mentioned tribal confederacies among Siouan tribes and their neighbors. The 'Iron Confederacy' was said to include the Assiniboine, Stoney, Plains Cree, Woodland Cree, Saulteaux Ojibwe, Plains Ojibwe, as well as other groups, Metis, Iroquois, Gros Ventre, Kutenai, Nez Perce, Flathead and others. This confederacy lasted ca. 1650-1850, and operated for purposes of trade and defense (Wikipedia). The Sioux Indians had their own intertribal confederacy, called the 'Seven Council Fires', but little is known about it. The word Dakota means 'allied, friendly' (Ann. Rep. 15, p. 221). This would go back to prehistoric times, when Sioux people lived in villages spanning Wisconsin, Minnesota and parts of the Dakotas; presumably they made alliances for purposes of trade and defense. The magnificent trade in pipestone was a feature of this tribal union. The peace was such that any member of the confederacy or an ally could go to the pipestone quarry to extract rocks; an incredible feat of international agreement. These confederacies were massive, covering more than 80,000 people and 3 or more tribes.

As noted the Winnebago tribe was part of an old confederacy called the Fire Nation. They may also have been part of another union including the Winnebago, Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Omaha and Ponca tribes, where the 'Winnebago nation' was the leader (Ann. Rep. 37, p. 4). This may well have been modeled on the Fire Nation, but at what time such a Winnebago-led confederacy occurred is not known. Possibly this was after 1650, when post-contact epidemics and warfare led to a breakdown of the earlier Fire Nation. Or Winnebago, located between Lake Michigan and Mississippi River, may have been part of several confederacies at the same time. It would be interesting to know if the Aztalan site was a center in an earlier confederative alliance. The tribe always kept a close relation with the neighboring Menomini tribe (p. 6).

In a work on 'war' and 'peace' ceremonies among the Osage, extensive rituals are referred to (Bull. 101). An Osage war dance included preparatory rituals, a ride-in, or anciently walk-in, and dances by the leaders, men and camp attendants. At the return from war there would also be songs of victory and mourning. Before setting out a war leader or leaders would formally accept the responsibility of leading a war party (p. 5). This would be followed by a dance. First rituals and prayers are made asking for success, including fasting and visions (p. 8). Each moiety might have its own war leader (p. 16). These would serve as ceremonial leaders during the war dance (p. 18). Two war staffs or 'standards' are made (p. 18-19). The ride-in follows, the men dismount, and singing and dancing takes place (p. 21). The 'graceful and spirited' display of the dance made it popular with people, also in peaceful times (p. 22). In-door ceremonies and talks prepare the men for battle (p. 22). A feast is held (p. 45). After final rituals, such as a pipe ceremony, the party sets out (p. 62).

On the return of a war party the war dance is repeated, with victory and mourning rituals (Bull. 101, p. 81f). The returning warriors march around the village, followed by songs, dances, speeches and a feast. The speeches include 'Mourning for the Slain Enemy'. It is very

significant that, after the men wept over their casualties, they 'must now weep for the persons' they 'had slain' (p. 138). The Osage were not a war-like people.

An Osage peace ceremony preserved much of the grand intertribal meetings of pre-contact Native America (Bull. 101). There would be an approach to the council ground or council house, opening speeches, and other ceremonies. It is significant that 'singing' was considered a major part of peace ceremonies; peace songs; perhaps something to learn from in modern diplomacy (p. 203-4). Whites called it a 'Calumet dance' or pipe ceremony (p. 203). A peace delegation or negotiators are selected. Rituals included a 'Sky Ritual' to pray for good weather (p. 225). Aspects of war dances might also be included in peace ceremonies, to show this more threatening side of existence. If the peace ritual is performed in the absence of 'strange tribes', 'two men' are dressed up to impersonate them (p. 231-2). This would imply that the peace ceremony was important enough to be performed without foreign tribes present. A set of 'weeping songs' may be a condolence ceremony used at intertribal meetings, also a 'friendship ceremony' and probably road speeches as well. By 1930 this was all in the past; the US would dictate tribal politics.

One part of the intertribal universe in North America were giant assemblies with council grounds, ball games and impressive ceremonies. One such ceremony was the eagle dance. Mention is made of fantastic copper ornaments depicting eagle dancers found in southeastern Missouri (Bull 37, p. 98f). The antiquarian reporting them had no idea what they were, guessing they came from 'Mexico'. Probably they were part of Quapaw paraphernalia used in intertribal gatherings, when the eagle dance was performed.

The Iroquois eagle dance has been noted (Bull. 156). In tribes such as Seneca and Cayuga there was an 'Eagle Dance Society' giving the performance (p. 68). The dance was used in honor of a 'beneficiary' (p. 15). The performance included pipe smoking, prayer and speeches, as well as whooping, songs and dances (p. 16f). The dancers flutter, sway and bend over imitating eagles (p. 16). The dance was followed by a feast. Similar dances were held in other Iroquois tribes, such as Onondaga. All local clans were represented in the dance, showing that it had the whole community as a base (p. 13, 23). The eagle dance, calumet dance and pipe ceremony were used in making intertribal peace and during councils (p. 101). The dances helped create 'ceremonial friends' and extended kinship within and between tribes (p. 123). As a whole the description becomes strangely referential and nondescript, perhaps because the eagle dance now is held as a private ceremony in somebody's house, a shadow of what it once was. In a multi-tribal gathering with thousands of people the impression would be different.

Almost perplexed, Swanton noted that 'no satisfactory study' exists of the Creek confederation; obviously forgetting that it had been quashed by the US (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 310). This was one of the great Native American organizations. The Creek Confederacy was headed by 2 Lower Creek towns, Kasihta and Coweta, and 2 Upper Creek towns, Tukabache and Abihka. Coweta or Cofitachequi used to be at the head, housing the Creek 'emperor'. In post-contact times Tukabache would take the lead. In one account of 1755 the 'Caouita' emperor 'had all the English destroyed' in 1715 (p. 308). Once peace was established the English, French and Spanish gave him 'presents' that made him 'very rich'. He was a potentate, who 'seldom goes afoot'. He seldom took sides but declared himself 'to be neutral' (ibid.). This accommodative stance may have led to Tukabache's ascendancy in later conflicts with the whites.

In the Creek nation there was a ‘general assembly annual in the principal village’ of ‘the nation’, held in spring or early fall (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 310). A ‘great cabin’ housed the council, actually four houses around a square, with seats according to ‘rank’ or representation. Positions had a totemic reference. The council procedures were carefully developed. First the council is called to order; no-one can leave until matters are ‘concluded’. ‘The Grand Chief’ or ‘president’ ‘opens the session’ with a speech on the tribe’s history, traditions, and ancestral exploits in defense of the country. He went on by asking people to follow their path, bearing ‘wants and miseries’. They must respect the Great Spirit, the master of life, and face ‘adversities with courage’. They must be willing to sacrifice ‘all’ for their nation (p. 311).

Another leading chief would answer this speech, in the same dignified manner. The ‘assemblies’ were serious, with ‘no chatter’, ‘no indecency’ or ‘misplaced’ jokes. The council lasted several days. The topics included ‘everything of importance to the nation, both internally and externally’ (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 312). Issues could be complaints and demands, e.g., over violence or abuse; negotiations with allies over peace, war, trade and mutual visits; and other pressing matters. All national interests were ‘discussed and regulated’; laws were made (p. 313-4). The national council decided political matters. ‘Speaking in these assemblies was a high art’ (p. 313). All ‘important business’ would go through the ‘national convention’ (p. 315).

The scale of this union is worth considering. The Upper and Lower Creeks counted 200,000 people. Subdivisions were tribal groups, geographical divisions and bands, down to the different towns and villages. Needless to say, in post-contact times European Americans would do all they could to subvert and fragment the Creek Confederacy; such as by placing people of white descent in power (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 324, 331). But this really is unwritten history of the highest degree. It is worth noting that an early emperor was a woman, ‘the Lady of Cofitachequi’; in effect the first female president in present USA (Wikipedia). For good measure Swanton speculated on the ‘evolution of culture’ in the Southeast, when what was needed was an at least partly coherent description of their society (Ann. Rep. 42, p. 724).

That the Creek nation was one of the great political unions since pre-contact times seems clear. Political and administrative practices were well established. In ‘a Council of the Confederation’ special ‘officers’ would attend to see about the proceedings, like an administration (Bull. 123, p. 140). They had liaison relations with officers in different towns, and presented briefings to leading chiefs. The ‘preciding officer’ would convey decisions or relevant matters to the main chief, who then consulted ‘in a low voice’ with the speaker before an announcement was made. The ‘officers’ memorized decisions and topics so that ‘they could repeat it substantially as it had been’ told; a verbal bureaucracy. After the council officers would go ‘to their respective towns’ and ‘communicate to them the laws or other matters that had been resolved upon at the General Council’. This was a strictly formal system (p. 140).

When a confederate council was called, messengers were sent, but it was the ‘officers’ who made the formal arrangements, such as preparing the tally or ‘broken’ sticks used to set the date of the council, and telling runners where to go (p. 141).

The Choctaw, as noted, may have numbered 100,000 people, with tribal centers around huge mounds at ‘Nanih Waiya’ and on Black Warrior River. The tribe or nation was a confederacy. The Choctaw nation had a ‘head chief’, as did every geographical division and village. The basic pattern was that each village had a chief and war chief, plus two ‘lieutenants’ and an

'assistant chief' or ceremonial leader cum speaker (Bull. 103, p. 90-91). In addition there were 'beloved' men or representatives from local clans in the village council. Representatives could have dignitary positions such as 'calumet chief' or pipe keeper (p. 94). The 'lieutenants' may have served as 'runners' (p. 96). In criminal cases moieties would dispute against each other (p. 95). If a case was not settled, the chiefs would decide.

The tribal head chief or national chief presided over national or confederative councils, where all 'matters of dispute or difficulty were settled' (Bull. 103, p. 94). The 'runners' would travel for days to summon people to the great councils. They used counting sticks to set a date for starting the council. A 'council square' was 60 x 40 feet, though the national one could be larger. The square was surrounded by arbors in which was seating for the attending chiefs and representatives (p. 96). Opening ceremonies included smoking a pipe, or 'singing the calumet'. A white observer called the proceedings 'tedious', voicing his prejudice. 'Indians are very deliberate', and slow in reaching conclusions. In other words: they followed regular assembly procedures (p. 96-97). As if the US congress takes 10 minutes to reach a decision. After the opening procedures, council deliberations could continue for several days. At night a feast and dances would be held (p. 97). Dances may also have been held during the day, such as a note made of the eagle dance, men with 'headdresses of eagle feathers' (p. 97). There would also be ball games, for which the Choctaw were famous, and in which the moieties came into play (p. 140f). On the whole, the Choctaw had an intricate social and political culture, that the ethnologist did very little to acknowledge; useful information has to be teased from the pages.

An outline of the Chickasaw national or tribal council is provided in one publication; unfortunately Speck, always unwilling to mention totemism, mixes this up with local clans. Representatives from 13-14 bands would camp around a spacious river bank, northern and eastern bands to the east and western-southern bands to the west. This may have been at present Tupelo. In the center of the camping area was the 'Council Fire', a spacious clearing with council facilities around a plaza or square (p. 194). A 'dual division' probably referred to a geographical divide, the Tombigbee drainage to the east, and other drainages to the west (p. 193-195). Some bands had geographical names, e.g., Insaktatlanfa or 'river-bank', but some had totemic names, Fish and Skunk; presumably every band had a leading totem, that of the chief, as did the tribe as a whole; in post-contact times the leading totem was 'Spanish', the head band variously known as Hickory, Main band, Empty house or Spanish band; Imosakchan. Yet informants would point to another band as 'highest', Insaktatlanfa or 'river-bank'; presumably white people had become dominant in historic times. Chickasaw history became white history; white informants would claim there was a 'death penalty' for 'stealing'; probably based on southern lynch justice (p. 196). What seems reasonable is that band chiefs at the national council were ranked; this would ease the speech procedures at major council proceedings.

Apart from the elaborate network of potlatch celebrations, little is known of intertribal alliances in western America. The same goes for the Pueblo alliances of the Southwest; the Moki confederacy (Contrib. 4, p. 23). Returning briefly to the Pima tribe: 'The advantages of confederation had been learned from' its unified existence 'with the Maricopas, a tribe of alien speech and blood' (Ann. Rep. 26, p. 196). That people speaking different languages could belong to the same confederacy was mysterious to American ethnologists; it would be as if Spanish and English speakers lived together.

Containing violence was of vital importance in native North America. Large tribes had the potential to mobilize a thousand men who might inflict a terrible loss of life. Tribal and intertribal confederacies prevented this from happening. Warfare, to the extent that it occurred, took the form of war parties of from 3 to 50+ warriors, hotheads and daredevils who would inflict little damage. War was generally condemned. The main casualties might be in the war party itself if it was caught by another tribe. Confederacies and inter-confederacy councils would settle differences by political means, councils and the exchange of goods and personnel.

South American political systems and intertribal networks are poorly represented in BAE publications. The exception might be the Inca state, whose intricacy has been left outside the purview of this treatise. It goes without saying that major tribes, such as Tehuelche, Puelche and Araucanians, were organized in tribes that took the form of alliances or confederative unions. Yet how they were organized must await further study.

Two major social fields or super-fields appear in much of North America. One was related to trade, the massive trade networks that spanned the area from the Rockies to the Atlantic, from the Arctic to the Gulf. It also involved processes of alliance-making and confederation. Another field focused on the local community, the peaceful hunting and gardening that took place across the continent. Both kinds of fields involve totemic references. Only with the arrival of European colonists would organized tribal life be challenged. The colonists brought goods that people had never seen before and became desperately in need of. Europeans used their advantage to upset all major social fields among Indian tribe, through the weapons of metal goods, guns and epidemics. The finely woven fabric of social relations that bound Indian societies together was brutally rent asunder. On top of this Europeans would construct a myth of small and shifting Indian tribes that made it easier to justify a wholesale takeover of native property and territories. The stage had been set for the ethnologist to enter on a scavenging hunt for cultural relics and signs of what once was. And yet beneath the opaque details of ethnologic publications the range and scale of Native American societies shine through; intertribal alliances that contributed to a peaceful and thriving life on the American mainland. It is the manifold strands of social relations that need to be recovered and disentangled to gain a better understanding of how native life unfolded 500 years ago.

The end of ethnology

Approaching the end, this treatise has been kept purposely opaque and eclectic to mimic the writings of ethnologists. There are no easy conclusions to be made about how the material on Indian societies should be interpreted. The reader will have to get a sense of what is being related by going through the context of the material, including the nitty-gritty details.

By 1935 American ethnology stood at a crossroad. It could become more activist, or it could declare that ethnological research was almost done with. The latter approach was chosen, virtually by dictate (Ann. Rep. 41, p. 1). In what remained of its existence, the almost exclusive subject of publications would be the past. At the same time the subject matter of the Bureau would be torn apart. Social studies would be taken over by anthropological publications, prehistory by archeologists, and language by linguists. There would no longer be an integrated approach to human studies. The culture of a tribe would no longer be a focus of research, except for a few ambitious persons who would study entire tribes from their own perspective. Archeologists would not talk about tribes, but more about post molds and pottery patterns. Linguists were not studying language as culture, but as recurrent sound patters. And anthropologists would be endlessly fragmented about what their subject matter was, ending up with highly individualistic studies, such as interviews with one informant or personal problems in the field; 'my anthropology' – about as interesting as my laundry.

Ethnology had a number of limitations to overcome. Their subject matter was disappearing before their eyes. In addition they had their own limitations. Ethnologists were afraid to move outside their 'normal' realm of categories. Fishing and basketry were categories that could be handled, totemism was not. Even a plurality of gods could be acceptable as long as they were referred to as 'primitive' religion – unlike the belief in virgin birth (Ann. Rep. 43, p. 608). Moieties for some reason were acceptable, perhaps because they were found in fairly 'advanced' societies, and could be explained as relating to marriage and ball games. Totemism did not fit into this scheme. At no point would ethnologists concede that people descended from animals, or thought they did.

The implicit basis of ethnocentric thought was that some categories did not exist, since all human artefacts had to fit into established and acceptable conceptual sets. Referring to a mother's brother's son's son as 'uncle' was right on the limit. Referring to him as a raccoon was beyond it; it could not be conceived within the ethnologist's realm of 'normal' thought.

People living in a totemic universe would be painfully aware of this. Men such as Kroeber asking about names would be met with a hurt-filled silence. He was not as bad as the Catholics denouncing totems as the Devil's beasts, but he was close. Others took the matter more lightly, such as Speck getting himself a Shawnee name, but without taking totems seriously, and thus possibly acting even worse than Kroeber.

Where to draw the line for what is acceptable is not easy. Perhaps, or probably, white Americans were unable to understand a totemic society. The intricacies of what kind of animal people are, as a person, in a clan, village or intertribal assembly, are virtually impossible to understand on an aggregate level, just like kinship terminologies are impossible to understand as abstract systems, and have to be seen in terms of personal relationships.

Totems make sense on a personal level and build into aggregate social systems or organizations. Trying to convince people that they are wrong about being part of a social system, is starting in the wrong end, to put things mildly. The etic aspects have to be understood first, how people conceive of themselves as e.g., a raccoon (Pike 1954, p. 8).

So American ethnology was not helping Native Americans build confidence in their culture; it was breaking it down. This fit into the government scheme of acculturation and Termination, but times were changing. Indians were given citizenship and acquired basic rights. This would be followed by activism in 1979 and attempts at re-appropriation of culture. Ethnology disappeared just when Indians were gaining some voice in matters dealing with their own lives. Just as help was needed the supposed helpers exited. Ethnologists left a cumulative record of Native American culture and society that hardly could be equaled in other publications; but their records were not made available to struggling tribes.

Behind the faltering efforts of the BAE a fantastic story emerges. This restricted group of scholars pointed to a different existence; a lost world. Well adapted villages and towns once spread across the American landscape, each with its own unique and striking social organization. Uniform kinship systems, Eskimo, Hawaiian, Iroquois, Omaha and Crow, covered every corner of the continent. They contributed to extensive networks of alliance, trade and social contacts that provided stable relations for millions of people.

The topics that rose to dominate this treatise have been totemism, social organization and the complementary distribution of totemic clans. The reader may ask why these topics have become so prominent? The Americas, and North America in particular, is the totemic continent. Nowhere else in the world can totemic clans be studied in such detail. Tribes with totemic systems were found from coast to coast, and they have been studied for 200 years. Every time an ethnologist visited a tribe, he or she would meet people with totems – though he or she would often ignore the topic. This is why ethnologies, and tons of ethnographic material, have to be re-read. Underneath the hang-ups and ethnocentrism, unknown material remains.

In North America, an intriguing web of totemic clans can be traced from tribe to tribe. The Eskimo of the Polar Sea, the Tlingit of the Northwest Coast, the Creek nation and hundreds of other peoples based their social existence on complementary totemic clanship. The totemic ideology reached from local clans and villages to bands and tribes. It reached beyond the level of tribes to amazing intertribal confederacies, in some cases organizing more than 200,000 people, veritable united nations.

The ethnologists realized very little of this. But they uncovered bits and pieces. Like the blind wise men who tried to describe an elephant by touching its nose, feet and belly. They heard amazing stories about mythical chiefs and ancient alliances. They understood only parts of it, but they wrote down what they heard, often with a question mark, but putting it down anyway.

A study of totemic clans would have to start with individual human beings, their names and totemic identity, from there moving on to local clans and villages. Ethnologists instead started with tribes made up of individuals, positing a small number of clans for an entire people, and seeing these as more or less unified groups of descent. It would be like placing all people called ‘Oscar’ in the same organization, because they bear the same title.

Ethnocentrism struck. To make an ethnocentric turn, modern American culture abhors viewing individuals and families as parts of larger organizations, as chips in the block. The ‘block’ in the ethnology case was native local communities, with a definite land area, resources and membership. The clanship system was a way to prevent a community from overflowing, to outgrow its resources; people had to fit in the system of local and complementary totemic clans (Ann. Rep. 1, p. 65). In other words, individuals have to fit in or chip in to preserve the balance of people with the environment. Any other solution would be madness. Of course this would be anathema to a modern American mind-set. Ethnologists rarely took the word ‘totemism’ in their mouth. ‘Totem’ would never appear in a BAE index, though all tribes were totemic. Then it is all the more remarkable that the extensive organization of Indian tribes can slowly be uncovered, like untangling the strands of an ancient fabric one by one.

Ethnologists probably had little reflection about their impact on native societies (Bull. 184, p. 5). Perhaps most disturbingly ethnologists unwittingly destroyed what they saw, or contributed to native destruction. A prime example of this are the sacred bundles. They symbolized the unity of social groups, from villages up to intertribal unions. Considering the bundles to be simple fetishes, ethnologists would ship them off to museums in the east or simply let them disappear (Bull. 85, p. 55). Centuries-old emblems were destroyed. Their content would be described as bits and pieces of animals and natural objects. Native America was bulldozed over. Not only did they lose their land, they lost their sacred symbols as well.

Yet the importance of what the ethnologists uncovered and so lightly dealt with somehow remains. It is possible to see behind the mist of time and discern how magnificent native life once was. And it is further possible to look ahead when this greatness will be restored, not only to Indian tribes, but to all people who try to uncover their past.

All it takes is to look for grains of knowledge hidden in documents, pictures and scraps of information spread in archives and collections across the globe. The BAE and its 250 books are just a drop in the ocean in a search for the past of human existence – and its future.

Epilogue: Resurrection

The giant paradox is that while ethnology pilfered Indian culture it also was the only integrated approach into the study of Native American societies. Shawnee people might not be interested in how different tribes or cultures shape their pots. But they would be interested to know how Shawnee people spoke about their past, and how the past could be reconstructed. At least it would be interesting to know how people occupying houses in a village belonged to different clans; more so than knowing that they distinguished adults as 'man' or 'woman' (Gregor 1985, p. 22). Describing people on the ground is the only description possible to achieve what the ethnologists tried to achieve, but failed to accomplish. Recording a culture before it disappeared meant recording everything. It was an impossible project, one that was doomed to be dismissed; but it remains a salient one. Weekend fieldwork with an urban shaman will not suffice.

The end of American ethnology in many ways turned into a pervasive misrepresentation or mystification. Once the work of ethnologists stopped, the studies of tribal cultures stopped, or rather, morphed. It was as if Indian culture had disappeared, except in extended and extenuated forms. But people still belong to totemic clans and meet at ceremonial grounds that perpetuate what was once village life in Indian communities. In fact the persistence of ceremonial grounds is crucial to the continuation of native culture. In places where community life was disrupted, such as among the Eastern Shawnee, few traces of native culture survived by 1980. This tribe became a formal business running a membership roll. Its members were scattered and mostly indistinguishable from white people, except in cases where they had joined another tribal band. People lost everything, their land, their meeting places and their cultural identity. If the tribe is revived it will be as a reenactment, based to a large extent on ethnologic research, itself a dead practice.

Then again, the ethnologic approach need not be as defunct as it may seem. It is possible to restore communities, build new dance grounds and revive cultural practices. Chances are that this will happen under white control and based on white business practices. But Indians will still have a word or two to say about how tribal culture is represented, such as denouncing white people who pretend to be Indians, so-called 'Wannabes' or 'Pretendians'. Stealing the identity of others is not a solution to cultural survival.

As before, beginnings must start on the ground. Indian communities must be able to develop their own culture, gain control of resources, language and identity. In this book eight areas of ethnologic investigations have been looked at: local communities, economies, kinship, social organization, politics, religion, culture, and societal formations such as confederacies. A thread running through each chapter is material indicating a social organization based on totemic clans that aggregate into complex cultural and societal forms. Bears are not simply individual totems; they appear as one clan in the complement of village clans; as chiefly titles; and as emblems of tribes in a confederacy – to mention some of the range of totemic relevance.

Shortcomings of perspective have been considered, such as ethnocentrism, but also possibilities, such as the wealth of information and cultural details that only ethnologists had access to. Beneath the opaque and sometimes unreadable publications a richness of material

lies in wait that allows a perusal of Native American cultures and societies before their disruption by European colonists set in. This treatise is only one such perusal, scratching at the surface as it were of the records. The material collected by ethnologists awaits deeper analyses. The task is to gain a better understanding of the rich and meaningful life that was found in hundreds of societies in pre-contact America, and what can be learned from those societies.

The times are changing. Now all the BAE publications have been digitized and are available online. In 1974 I would buy a notebook and copy any information I needed by hand. The possibilities today are limitless. All available Dhegiha names could be copied in a file to work out the correspondence of names, totems and communities. Data on social organization could be analyzed in completely new ways. How pervasive was the totemic organization in Eskimo society? What was the relationship between clans, villages and confederacy councils in the Iroquois tribe? Research questions can be asked in completely new ways. The real advance will be when all material, including raw data and fieldnotes, are available online.

There will also be challenges. Digital media and the internet pose new problems in relation to ethics and privacy. In this treatise I have been hard on ethnologists' ethnocentrism; without necessarily addressing my own hang-ups, some of which will be revealed in the repeated claims to totemic diversity made in the text. Authors writing about large cultural systems must by necessity voice reservations and make provisions for missing data and conjectural statements in their presentations. Many of the claims made here are tentative and must be read as a partial approach to cultural studies; some of them are guesswork.

In spite of such challenges it is to be hoped that new knowledge and carefully researched information will be available for more in-depth analyses of past and present societies, in America and elsewhere. As stated before, the worst event would be if social analysis was no longer possible. We desperately need more comprehensive research into all forms of social life.

The paradox is that the material the ethnologists gathered was extremely rich but poorly applied, even today. The researchers could gather the totem names and genealogies of people in native villages without publishing or analyzing their material – one exception being the posthumous publication of William Jones' material on the Fox tribe (Bull 125). Gathering all information on the social organization of even one tribe or group of tribes, like the Creek nation, would be a lifetime achievement. So there is a tendency to ignore all the tiny bits of information – even complaining that the material is misused. Spending valuable research time at the Smithsonian while waiting to access a manuscript is frustrating. Yet the value of such work cannot be exaggerated. It is more worthwhile than dozens of articles on reflexive deconstruction. Someone must pick up the courage to do new research on Native American societies – not on the surface, but in detail.

Probably every anthropologist can testify that the native cultures which American ethnologists condemned to extermination still persist in one way or other. Shawnee people still carry beautiful native names with totemic meanings. It is time to change the point of view. The past is still with us, perhaps more poignant than ever. Saying we do not need the past is like saying we do not care. The beauty of Indian culture is more important than ever. It is time to resurrect the knowledge that the ethnologists buried in esoteric musings.

Who should perform this resurrection? Anybody with an interest in human beings; anybody with a curiosity about the universe people live in. It may be claimed that culture is 'intellectual property', and that ethnologists 'appropriated' this property that was not theirs. But culture cannot be locked away in a box. Those who claimed that culture belonged to them, died with their knowledge. Without transmission there can be no culture; without communication culture has no meaning. And this communication should be as free as possible. Perhaps some things are too powerful to be shared; but secrecy for secrecy's sake is paranoia.

Everything comes down to prejudice, discrimination and self-discrimination. In many cases Native Americans have tragically learned to belittle their own cultures. Myriads of white people, from missionaries to plain racists and, yes, ethnologists, told them that their culture was not worthwhile, that it was a thing of the past. But these people have no knowledge; they are as narrow-minded as everybody else. The value of native culture is inestimable. By reading the millions of documents recording Indian culture a different understanding will appear, one of richness and humanity.

And now it is available online…

My sincere imploring is that other scholars will pick up the torch, overcome the qualms of deconstructive critique, and spend the next 40-50 years gathering knowledge, down to the smallest pieces of data, about native life in North America and elsewhere. One example is Eskimo totemism, pronounced as non-existent by Frazer (1937), but probably flourishing for millennia before Europeans arrived. The totemic composition of Eskimo villages remains to be explored. And the torch can be carried across to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, and every culture in between, trying to sift out details about native settlements, kinship systems, and social organization. Do not give up because someone says it cannot be done. This is pivotal work. People are looking for life on other planets, but we do not know about how people live on our own – at least not as far as totemism is concerned. And a small hint: Learning about other ways of life is rewarding and exciting.

Appendix

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