

BUFFALO CLAN ORIGIN LEGEND

INTRODUCTION TO THE BUFFALO CLAN: THE BUFFALO CLAN PEOPLES were known as **Ché Kiráje**: They Name Themselves (after the) Buffalo or by their sacred name, **Arúhwa**. They are the leaders of the Sky Clans (*Magridaguⁿ Wájiñe*, “They (Who) Arrive From Towards Above”) who governed civil and ceremonial affairs during the Spring and Summer Seasons. It is told that they had come down to earth from the lower heavens on their first visit during the Spring season and stayed until they returned in the Autumn Season. For this reason, the Buffalo Clan became the leaders of the traditional tribal community held during the Spring seasons.¹ The Clans that are associated with them are the Wild Pigeon, Hoot Owl and formerly the extinct Snake Clans.²

Each clan was founded by four animal brothers, who, according to tradition became human beings upon their arrival on this earth. These four brothers -- **Híⁿgruⁿ**, **Héna**, **Hága** and **Hágaiñe** (I.) – **Hagáiñe** (O.) - established the subclans that comprised the Buffalo Clan. In 1914, Ioway Chief, *MaⁿthéXowe* (David Tohee), the last traditional chief of the Oklahoma Ioways and last recognized Keeper of (Ancient) Traditions, and his interpreter, *Xúmaⁿiñe* (Joe Springer, Buffalo Clan member), stated that the Ioway Buffalo subclans were ³: **ChínaKíⁿúⁿ**: Makes A Village/ Makes Himself A Village; **KéraTaⁿiⁿ**: Visibly Clear(ing)/ Clear Day; **NáwoTaⁿiⁿ**: Visible Road⁴/ Road Maker; **MáⁿUráje**: Stuck in Mud.⁵ Indeed, *Náwe Núwe*: Two Hands (Frank Kent), living near Perkins, Okla., stated in 1922 that these four ancestors were said to have arrived with their own Sacred Clan Pipes, “one for each of the brothers.”⁶ However, there is insufficient evidence to support that there were so many pipes in each clan. Indeed, there were only two Pipes collected that were of Buffalo Clan. *MaⁿthéXowe* (David Tohee) remarked there were seven (original) clans represented by seven clan Pipes which are connected to the constellation “seven stars”⁷. *Xúmaⁿiñe* (Joe Springer) also affirmed that there were only seven Pipes, one for each clan, with the exception of the Buffalo who had two Pipes. He stated that in the past, **Ché Kiráje** (*Buffalo Clan*) became divided by a disagreement. In turn, one group took the name **Arúhwa Kiráje**. Latter on, the **Ché** People overwhelmed the **Arúhwa** in a conflict. Thereafter, the **Arúhwa** submitted to the authority of **Ché** People, but retained their separate Sacred Pipe in the consolidated Clan. His statement suggests a separate and independent origin of the Buffalo Clan Sacred Pipes apart from the origin of the Black Bear and affiliated Clan Pipes. How the Sacred Clan Pipes came to the Clan has been lost, other than a reference that they came from Above (the Heavens). The term **Arúhwa** became an alternate appellation for **Ché Kiráje** and ultimately acquired a sacred ceremonial connotation. However, in recent times the term has been considered archaic.

BUFFALO CLAN CHIEFS & SACRED PIPES In the 1850’s, and latter years, the leading Otoe chiefs of this Clan were **Akíkida**: Looks After Himself (a.k.a. “Stands By It”) and **Ché Wáñegihi**: Buffalo Chief. **MayáⁿkidaXáⁿshe**: Great Watcher of the Land (a.k.a. Big Soldier) and

¹ The Winnebago, Omaha, and other tribes say that that two fold clan division (moiety) of Winnebago Sky Clans and Earth Clans was decided by the animal ancestors by playing a ceremonial game of Indian ball (lacrosse). Radin, Paul. “The Winnebago Tribe”. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. 1923/ 1970. p.142.

² Evidence of a Snake Clan was found in the personal names of early day Ioways and Otoe-Missouria people, as well as, being a clan among the Winnebago, Ponca, Omaha, etc. Furthermore, their former existence were mentioned by present day elders at the time of the Otoe-Missouria Centennial (1881-1981). See: *The Otoe-Missouria Elders: Centennial Memoirs*. Otoe-Missouria Tribe, (James G. Clegghorn (*PagrⁿdaJi*), Chairman). Red Rock, OK. pp. 27, 28.

³ Skinner, A., “Ethnology of the Ioway Indians”. Public Museum in City of Milwaukee:4.5. 1926. pp.193-194.

⁴ A reference to the well worn buffalo trails in the prairie.

⁵ There is no record of the Otoe-Missouria subclan names from early-day or contemporary informants.

⁶ Skinner. op.cit. pp.226.

⁷ Ibid. p.198. This constellation is known as *TáPá*: *Deer Head* or in English as the Pleiades, a.k.a., “seven sisters”.

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Wañégihi (or **Gahíge: Missouri Chief** were the main Missouria Buffalo Clan chiefs.⁸ Among the Ioway, the main Buffalo Clan chief was *Káʔje (Wild Plum)* from whom *Náwe Núwe* (Frank Kent) had inherited an Ioway Buffalo Clan Pipe.⁹ He sold the Clan Pipe in 1922 to a museum collection for care and protection, when it became apparent that the younger people were not taking an interest in the revered traditions. Also, the two Ioway Sacred Clan Pipe Bundles were purchased from *Xúmaʔiñe* (Joe Springer).¹⁰ And during this same time, the two Missouria Clan Pipes were bought from *Kétaⁿ* (Fred Big Soldier), who had married and lived near Perkins, Okla.¹¹ The Otoe Buffalo Clan bundles are thought to have been purchased in 1912, during a similar museum collector's visit to Red Rock, Okla.¹²

THE BUFFALO CLAN ORIGIN Legend was told only to those who had an inherited right to hear it, although, a wife could hear the Origin Legend of her husband. It is said that a man who wished to learn his origin legend stood by the side of an authorized teller who knew it and memorized it word for word. He gave suitable gifts to the teller in respect for his knowledge. Thus the legends had become the property of families and were passed on as property from father to son. Not every man, who knew it was asked to be a teller. An elder was asked to recite the Legend, because his knowledge of it was blessed, and he in turn could therefore impart a blessing. Those who had a blessed telling by an elder enjoyed good fortune. Certain individuals were authorized to tell it at Clan Bundle Renewals, Sacred Pipe Ceremonies or Tattooing Ceremonies. A separate personal request for a blessed recitation would be accompanied with a small amount of native tobacco, and an invitation to come for dinner. Afterwards, the narrator would recite the Legend to the family gathering. In appreciation, a gift of appreciation were given the storyteller. There were several versions told of the Clan Origin Legend which lack consistency. Even versions differed between family to family. However, such incongruity was considered unimportant by the traditional Ioway, Otoe- Missouria People.¹³

The Sacred Buffalo Clan Legend would be told in the Spring on occasions of giving names to new Clan members. The Clan names were composed during the arrival of the first Buffalo Brothers on Earth. The personal names commemorate events and incidents that occurred as the Brothers established themselves as a people in a new land and affiliate with other newly instituted people (clans).

IN A SYNOPSIS OF THE LEGEND, the animal ancestors moved about in a mythological past, in search of land, formed villages and met other groups. The Buffalo are the benefactors of propagation. They "own the corn" and introduce agricultural harvesting to augment a foraging economy. Furthermore, they are the only ones who have females. In the Spring, no one would plant corn until after a ceremonial beginning had been made by the Chiefs of the Buffalo Clan. They ceremonially planted a few grains, and then gave a community feast. At that time, they announced that the entire community could start planting their gardens of beans, squash, pumpkins and fields of corn.

And in addition, the Buffalo medicines were considered superior and more effective than other herbal remedies.¹⁴ The Earth Clans (moiety) owe their Sacred Fire to the Elk Clan, who light their Sacred Pipe for ceremonials. However, the Sky division is believed to have procured their Fire from Eagle & Thunder Clan. They share their Pipes in tattooing with certain Clan affiliates, but they do not share with Elk and Beaver, who appear to take no part in their legendary creation.

⁸ Chapman, Berlin B. *The Otoes and Missourias*. Times Journal Publishing Co. 1965. pp. 42,101-192, 127, 138, 385. Note: *Buffalo Chief's* grandfather was an Ioway.

⁹ Skinner. op.cit. p.226.

¹⁰ Ibid. p.223.

¹¹ Ibid. p.226.

¹² Harrington, M.R. "A Visit To The Otoe Indians". *The Museum Journal*. University of Pennsylvania: IV, 3. 1913. p107-113.

¹³ Whitman, William. "Origin Legends of the Oto". *Journal of American Folk Lore*, 51 (1938). p.173.

¹⁴ The Osage also note that medicines from the buffalo. In the ritual of the Buffalo Bull Clan, the Bull "...brings forth certain bulbous roots, which shall be not only symbolic medicine but also used as sacred names by them....for long life to those who use them." See: BAE:36. pp.134-136.

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The moieties of Earth and Sky Divisions have not been explicitly recognized by the Ioway, Otoe-Missouria since the end of the 1890's, but such divisions existed as are evidenced in the fundamental group distinctions. Buffalo owned the day during the spring and summer. They took lead during the spring ceremonials and summer buffalo hunt. Their seasonal leadership ends when elk's matting calls are heard in the Autumn. Then, Buffalo turns his sacred power over to Bear Clan and affiliates to take over the lead during the Fall and the Winter.

No complete accounts of any Clan legend nor the songs that were a part of them have survived, as a result of the breakdown of the traditional tribal culture under government and missionary contact, indoctrination and economic pressure. Some remembered episodes were told by traditional individuals in past years to validate naming ceremonies. Nevertheless, much knowledge has been lost upon the death of those final keepers of the traditions.¹⁵

BUFFALO *"GAÍDA AMÍNA RE. Urítage hñe ke... Wékaⁿ jé^e waxóñitaⁿ daháre urik^uⁿ hñe*
CLAN ORIGIN *ke. Ix^adⁿri dána hñe ke. Wógisige níye; Áma rorídhⁿñi šdáⁿse ke.¹⁶*
LEGEND: *"SIT DOWN OVER THERE. I am going to talk to you.... This is a holy word that I*
am going to give you. You are going to live a long time....no sickness. You will always be healthy."¹⁷

The Creator, **Má^u**: **Earth Maker**, had already made the Earth. And all the peoples, animals, birds and those in the waters, even the trees and plants are all come from The Creator, **Má^u**: **Earth Maker**, they say.¹⁸ And it is said that previously, the Buffalo Clan People lived up above in the lower heavens. And then, they wanted to go in search for a new land.

"Rí^e itúⁿgaⁿ dówe wástiⁿ ke. Magrídaguⁿ wahúñena máyaⁿ jégi ajíñasguⁿ"¹⁹ You had four grandfathers. They came from above into this world."²⁰ **ChéMagrída: Buffalo From Above.** And so there were four Buffalo brothers, and they desired to come to a new land. They had made up their minds that they were going to move, it seems.

Híⁿgruⁿ, the first born of the brothers, went to look for land. He searched all over, but he did not find a land, and so, he came back, they say. Then, **Héna**, second oldest brother went to look for land, but he did not find anything, it seems. **Hága**, the third born, went to look for land, but he could not find a dry land. So then, the fourth and youngest brother, **Hágaiñe** (L) - **Hagáiñe** (O.) went to go look. And so it is said, that he came down to this island, to this earth here, after he viewed this land from above. He arrived at this land; he beheld it and went back, they said. And upon arriving back home, he went and told his brothers:

¹⁵ The Winnebago have similar clan origin legends. (Radin, Paul, "The Winnebago Tribe", Annual Report of the Bureau American Ethnology: 37. pp.207-253; Dorsey, JO. "A Study of Siouan Cults". RBAE: 11. "Osage Traditions". RBAE: 6. 396-397. Fletcher, Alice & Francis LaFlesche. "The Omaha Tribe". RBAE: 27. 70-71.

¹⁶ GoodTracks, Jimm G. Field Notes on Ioway-Otoe. Translation of texts by *TatájeñeMi* [AS], Buffalo Clan member. Tryon, OK. 1976.

¹⁷ Akikida in a blessed telling the Buffalo Clan Legend to his grandson from his daughter (JP, a Missouri Bear Clan member). Whitman. op.cit. "Origin Legends...". pp.194-195; "The Oto", Columbia University Collections to Anthropology, 28 (1937). pp.32-33.

¹⁸ Traditional oral narration in the language includes a number of prescribed endings to sentences, for example, "they say", "it is said" or "it seems." Also, there are more frequent adverbial connectives at the beginning of sentences, ("And then", "Again", "So then", etc.), which were considered in good narrative style, and appropriate when narrating the traditional *wékaⁿ* and *wórage* (stories).

¹⁹ GoodTracks. op.cit.

²⁰ Whitman. "Origin Legends...". p.194.

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“I found a good land. IrómijeYiŋe(Mi)²¹: Little Island (Woman) [EIB].²² Everything is good.”
MáyaⁿPiRogre: Finds Good Land [JD].

They talked about this new land among themselves, and finally decided: “Let’s all go down there. Let’s go down to that island.”²³ And so, the four brothers proceeded to travel to this present world, it is said. In some versions, it is told that the brothers rolled themselves in earth wallows before they came and turned themselves into human beings. And further, it is mentioned that the second brother was unable to make the transformation so he resolved to stay in the heavens, while the other three came down to this land.²⁴

Another version of the legend states that they all came down together and afterwards, they made buffalo wallows by rolling around on the ground. Later, these wallows would fill up with rain water, providing all animals places to drink.

SO THEN, THERE WERE FOUR Persons who came from up there, from the land above. And they came down here, where they found lots of good grass for grazing. MáyaⁿdaNáyiⁿ: Standing On Earth[LDH]; ChéPàNúwe: Two Buffalo Heads; ChéKúⁿNáyiⁿ: Standing Buffalo In Bottom; ArúhwaKúⁿNáyiⁿ: Sacred Buffalo Standing In Bottom. It was the Spring Season when they arrived on this earth, it seems.

“Wáⁿshige níje ke; Wanúhshjesda mínaminañe ke; áñe ke...”²⁵ There were no people.... Only animals were sitting around, they said. The four brothers went walking about, looking around at the land, the trees, and the different kind of plants. And so, they went all over and observing the hills, streams, locating various places, and experiencing many things. They would talk to each other about their experiences.

“Ráye... áⁿkigráñe ke,”²⁶ They made...names for themselves. The names commemorated their experiences and events that occurred as they explored and established themselves as a people and tribe in the new land. ChéThigre: Buffalo Tracks; IdáWaHú: From the Same Place; NáⁿáⁿTáⁿáⁿ: Visable Road/ Road Maker;²⁷ NáⁿáⁿRótaⁿ: Straight Road; MayáⁿRaje (or) MathríRaje: Stuck In Mud; KéraTáⁿáⁿ: Visibly Clear/ Cloudless Sky; AhéSóje: Smoky Hill.

And then, they composed names referring to themselves. ChéThí: Buffalo Feet; ChéMi: Buffalo Cow/ Buffalo Woman/ Female Buffalo; ChéPi: Good Buffalo²⁸; ChéHaxròpa: Buffalo Dewlap²⁹; Chéiñe (I./ Chéiŋe (O.): Little Buffalo; ChéDhi(Mi): Yellow Buffalo (Woman); ChéThèwe(Mi): Black Buffalo Cow (Woman); AhéNaskayiⁿ: Fetlock³⁰; ChedóXañe(I./ ChedóXàⁿje(O.): Big Bull; ChedóYiŋe: Little/ Young Bull; ChéPⁿáⁿósgeYiŋe: Young Bull That’s Distended; ChéYiñe(I./ ChéYiŋe(O.): Calf (or) Young/ Little Buffalo; ThiⁿjePⁿáⁿósge: Bushy Tail [GA]; ChedóNáyiⁿ: Standing Bull(O.#4.1)³¹ [JD]; ChéHgà: White Buffalo; ChéHgàMi: White Buffalo Cow; TabáDhgà: White Breast; HéWáyu: Horns Just Starting [AK].

And then, they composed names for their dogs: NóGrechⁿ: Talking to Trees; Néhkiwaru: Tree to Tree; MiⁿgréGiSgàje: Plays With Excrement. And, they even composed names for their horses: RéGrakⁿáⁿ:

²¹ Mi is the feminine ending, that alters a personal name for female use; it may be rendered as “Woman” or “Female”.

²² The [EIB] refers to a contemporary enrolled member on Ioway/ Otoe-Missouria Rolls or Census (1880 to present-day).

²³ The “Island” is thought to be around the Great Lakes, as “MáyaⁿŠiŋe: Red Earth” is considered to be located Northeast of present day Green Bay, Wisconsin. The “Ñito: Ocean/ Big Water” is presumably Lake Michigan.

²⁴ XráS’áge (GWD), an Eagle Clan member. Whitman. op.cit. pp.195-196.

²⁵ GoodTracks, Jimm G., Field Notes on Ioway-Otoe with UxráHgàMi [MDI]. Topeka, KS. 1971.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Modern pronunciation tends to smooth out “náⁿu” (road/ path)” to “náwun”.

²⁸ One of the leaders that signed the Iowa Treaty on Sept. 19, 1839 at Portage des Sioux.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ A tuft of hair on the back of the leg above the hoof.

³¹ The (O.# 4.1) refers to the “Otoe-Missouria Census” of 1880 as furnished by Rev. William Hamilton and Indian Agent M.B. Kent. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. James Owen Dorsey(NAA 4800)(920). 1881.

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Carries His Penis on His Back.³² These names were derived from a *wékan: traditional story* on old man *Ishjiⁿki* and the medicine plants.³³

A BUFFALO BROTHER DIES: SO THEN, THE FOUR BROTHERS stayed from the Spring Season until the grass had dried out in the Autumn, they say. Now they were ready to go back home up above into the Heavens. But one brother became sick and he could not travel. It was **Héna**, the second oldest brother and soon afterwards, he died, it is told. **HúŠkúñi: Does Not Come**[GK]; **ChéWanáxi: Buffalo Spirit.** (Some say that he had stayed behind in the Heavens and had died after the others came down to this earth. And then in another version, it is told that he died after they went back). His brothers were very much aggrieved with his passing. They placed him in the center of four buffalo wallows facing him to the north. His brothers painted his face with *kikúⁿdhe: red paint*, while talking to him (to his spirit), saying he should go on and not look back, least he hesitate, and yearn for something of this earth. They would talk how his relatives will be all right, and will always think of him and remember him.

BUFFALO RETURNS AGAIN: AND THEN, THE THREE BROTHERS went back into the Heavens from where they had come, it seems. **WakáⁿdaGré: Going Home to the Thunders**[JPS]. There they stayed until **AGAIN:** the following Spring Season, at which time they wanted to return to where they had placed their brother, **Héna**, upon his death. Now by this time, many more buffalo had come down into this world, onto the same area. **Hihíⁿji: Drove of Buffalo;** **ChédoHáriWaré: Buffalo Went From Afar/ "Foreign Buffalo"**³⁴ They traveled to where their brother was laid to rest. And as they came upon the burial place, they noticed something odd had occurred.

THE GIFT OF BUFFALO'S CORN *"Akiⁿnawi re. Dagúre waxóbríⁿ nahé[^]shuⁿ gáida taⁿdáre hiⁿthúy daháye ke.*³⁵ Wait! There is something strange about our brother over there where he lays," said the oldest brother, **Híⁿgruⁿ:** "Something has pierced through our brother's stomach," he told them. Indeed, there was some kind of plant stem that had pierced through this departed brother's stomach and ribs, it seems. **Chérùtu: Buffalo Ribs.** They watched this peculiar occurrence, from a short distance, each one going up to the place now and then, to see the new growth, it seems. There was something from his stomach that was budding out. **Hága,** the third brother went and noticed that it had two leaves **Núweji: Forked Corn Sprout (or) Two Arrive.** And then again, it forked out, they say. **Hagáñe,** the youngest brother, he went to go look. The plant had grown quite profusely, indeed, now there were many plants and vines there. Some of the other stalks forked out with leaves **Núkigri: Joint of Stalk** [HN]. And soon, it began to tassel, **Max[^]ójera: Corn Tassel (Man);** **Max[^]úxre: Corn Tassel** [SLN] and have corn silk **WahámaBùthke: Corn Silk.** And now, there formed ears of corn on the stalks, it seems. And all the brothers watched it ripen, for these were corn plants that had grown.

There were stalks of corn of all colors, blue, white, red and speckled. **PáXège: Dry Head** [MM]; **RútuSwije: Short Rib** [RK]; **RútuGrèdhe: Speckled Ribs.**³⁶ Also, there were vines full of striped melons and little pomegranates, and pumpkins. There were different kinds of vegetables growing where his body lay. So when it all had ripened, the three brothers harvested it. (Some said that this occurred in the Heavens Above, and that they brought the seeds down to this earth). For certain, the oldest brother had these seeds. For that is how the Native Peoples obtained this corn. It was from the Buffalo Clan that they all had the seeds. All of the Native Peoples.

³² Skinner. op.cit. p195.

³³ See: Skinner, Alanson. "Traditions of the Iowa Indians". Journal of American Folk Lore:38. 1925.

³⁴ One of the leaders that signed the Iowa Treaty of Sept. 17, 1836 at Fort Leavenworth, along with the Sacks & Foxes of Missouri.

³⁵ GoodTracks. op.cit.

³⁶ One of the leaders that signed the Iowa Treaty of Oct. 19, 1838 at Great Nemaha Agency.

THE THREE BECOME PERSONS “Híⁿgru éwa^uⁿna upárehihšji škúñi ke. Áñe aré giríxoge dánàšgu”³⁷ Híⁿgru, the oldest, he was not quite understanding what was happening. So then, he became very angry, it seems. He began to bellow and snort and throw himself down on the ground like a buffalo does when he gets angry, it seems. He began to roll and wallow around, they say. **MáSòje: Dust.** He rolled and much dust rose into a cloud that obscured him from view. **HíⁿGisóje: Dusting His Fur.** While he was rolling, subsequently, he turned himself into a person, a human being. Then, **Hága,** the third oldest started to roll in the dust wallow and turned himself into a person. So in following his brothers, **Hágaiñe,** the youngest rolled and he became a person. Indeed, they had first arrived appearing as Buffaloes. and now they had made themselves to look like human beings. **IkiJire: Start To Awaken;** **NáyiⁿHú: Comes Standing**[FCP].

“Wanúhšje bróge náhe^šuⁿ wáⁿshige wíthge ^uⁿ hanáhe irúgraⁿñe hñe ke.”³⁸ All the animals decided indeed that they would also be like human beings. So then, the herd of buffalo, **Hihíⁿji: Herd of Buffalo,** the rest of those that had followed the four brothers, they turned themselves into persons, it seems. **Wanádhe: Pursuing Them.**

THEY MEET OWL CLAN PEOPLE: WHEN THE BROTHERS HAD TURNED into persons, they started to look around and travel about the land. They were joyful as they grazed upon the plentiful grass, they say. And after a while, they came upon a village of strangers. They were the first people that they had encountered, and at first, they were fearful of them. **Híⁿgruⁿ** spoke first, saying: “Well, it seems that we have found some people, but it seems that they are not right. Be careful, just in case they do anything wrong, and then, you do your best.” The two groups stood apart from one another.

“What are you doing here?” the Owl Clan People inquired. And Buffalo replied: “And what are you doing here? We are located here in a village.” The Buffalo People, as well as the Owl People, both thought that they were the only ones, it is said. The Owl Brothers talked among themselves saying: “There seems to be more of them than there is of us. Let us join them and make a village together with them.”

BUFFALO SHARES PIPES: “Ché iníⁿñi jidádañe ke; wahísje núwe hédáⁿ áñe ke.”³⁹ There were the Buffalo Clan men, the brothers, and they also had two sisters, they say. And so, they made relations with one another. They took each other as *itádo: friends.* “I am going to smoke my Sacred Pipe four times, and then let you smoke it four times. You do the same with yours,” the oldest Owl Brother said. And thus, they exchanged and smoked the *Rahnúwe Xoñítaⁿ: Sacred Pipe* of one another’s Clan. And so, they all lived together, hunting, dancing and everything was good, it is said. And so, there was a daughter born to one of the Buffalo brothers. She was growing up into a fine young woman. They taught her well. They wanted to do something great for her. Her father wanted for her to grow up to be “wápáxe: an industrious woman”.

FATHER HONORS DAUGHTER *Áⁿje dagúre githúⁿ guⁿnána.* Her father wanted to do something for her. He planned honor his affection for her with a tattoo to her forehead, it seems. And her mother liked the father’s inspiration. “Pí ki,” (*It’s good*), she said. “Dagúre ^uⁿ itúgrasge - ihgé ^uⁿ ne”, (*Whatever you’re thinking, do it like that!*), she told him. And that is how tattooing and the *wigréxe: tattoo bundles* were utilized to honor a beloved child. And then, the Buffalo Clan borrowed the Sacred Pipe from the Owl Clan in order to request a tattoo for his daughter, it soon. He did this by presenting some native tobacco and a gift to the Pipe Keeper. Now all other activities were deferred until the Tattoo Honoring Ceremony was completed, and the Pipe returned to the Keeper.

³⁷ GoodTracks. op.cit.

³⁸ Ibid..

³⁹ Ibid.

And so, the father filled his own Sacred Pipe, and taking along a friend, they went to the home of an elder, a tattooer. Upon arriving, the father pointed the Pipe towards the elder, who stood himself in the West, facing East, for he knew already the reason for the visit. The father said: “Hiⁿtúga (My Grandfather), I come to you for the reason to have you tattoo my girl. I want you to pity me.” The father gave an account of benevolent acts that he had performed, such as the number of horses or money given away, or number of orphans helped for the purpose of validating his privilege to have the tattooing.⁴⁰ In older times, he would give a recitation of his war deeds.

“All right!” the elder replied. He commenced to sing a special song, as he went around the fire place (counter clockwise). At the fourth round, he took the Pipe from the father, and went back to his place in the west, standing there facing east. Then he sang another song. Afterwards, he told the father: “Whatever you ask of me, it shall be that way.” Now, the friend lit the Pipe, took it and smoked it, and returned it to the elder who smoked it. The friend smoked it again, then passed it to the father to smoke. Four times the Pipe was smoked, then the elder cleaned it, returned it, saying: “Now I love your daughter also as I do my own one.” The father and friend left going back home.

A SPECIAL LODGE WAS ERECTED for the Ceremony at the home of the father. The girl was brought to stay in the lodge, accompanied by a female relative, where she fasts during the four days of the ritual. Each day, the elder tattooer arrived at the lodge. Inside, he sang special songs before he painted a circle about the girl’s face, using red and blue earth paint, which indicates a good day. As she was painted, the elder talked to her, saying such things as, “Be good, Grow up and get married. Raise a respectful family.” This painting and talk would occur each morning before sunrise.

Meanwhile, the father had accumulated the five items requested by the elder that were needed to perform the ceremony – red and blue earth paints, sinew, a blanket and native tobacco. The blanket was blue⁴¹ to represent the growing grass and the color of the sky, as this ceremony always occurred in the Spring Season.

On the night before the actual tattooing, the whole family, the Pipe bearers, the elder and other Buffalo Clan members gathered inside the special tipi lodge, which faced north. The Clan members arrived with a small gift of tobacco and offerings (gifts) for the honoring ceremony. The gift of tobacco entitled them to hear the ritual recitation of the Clan Legend. They spent the entire night singing clan songs, narrating the Clan Origin Legend, validation of formal teachings and witness the bestowal of Sacred Clan Names requested for children.

ChéDàhe: Buffalo Standing; **ChéThèweMi:** Black Buffalo Cow Woman; **HínuWaxónitaⁿMi:** Holy First Born Daughter; **WayiⁿŠkuñi:** Does Not Mind; **HíⁿPiMi:** Pretty Hair Woman; **ChéThiK[^]iⁿ:** Carrying Buffalo Feet; **ChéThkáMi:** White Buffalo Cow Woman; **ChéMi:** Buffalo Woman.

AT DAYBREAK ON THE FOURTH DAY, each person had the right to invite a friend to share and witness the Tattoo Ceremony. Oftentimes, the relatives carefully selected people in need, such as an orphan or a poor old woman from different Clans to receive gifts, and then invitation sticks were sent out to those chosen.⁴² Those who receive invitation sticks people began to gather outside the tipi, sitting in a circle about daybreak.⁴³ Waiters walked among the guests, collecting the invitation sticks. Meanwhile, the elder

⁴⁰ Ibid. p.73-74.

⁴¹ In the Báxoje-Jiwére-Ñútʔačhi (Ioway-Otoe-Missouria Language), the term “tó” may designates the colors “blue (or) green”, which is similar to other Siouan Languages, such as, Winnebago, Ponca - Omaha, Osage, Kansa, etc. The term “xátohge (grass colored “tó” like)” is used to make a definite distinction for color “green”.

⁴² Skinner. op.cit. p. 269-270.

⁴³ Whitman. “The Oto”. op.cit. p.75-77. This description of the ritual was given by J.P., a Bear Clan member, who was the last to own a tattoo bundle and perform the ceremony among the Otoe in 1935. Chief *David Tohi* and *Robert Small* were the last tattooers for the Ioways.

readied himself. Outside the tipi facing the door, he prayed for the child, the family and the community as a whole and that all sickness be removed from them. Upon completion, he stomped the ground four times and sang a ritual song before he entered the tipi. Inside he walked around (clockwise), carrying the *wigréxe: tattoo bundle* on his back. He stood on the west side, as usual. He took the Tattoo Bundle and turned it around four times (counter clockwise), which represents the *Túhi Dówe: Four Directions* and places it on the blanket.

AT THIS TIME, THE PIPE KEEPERS took some tobacco and scatter it onto a clean place on *Hína Máyaⁿ: Mother Earth*. As they put down the tobacco, they sang the following four times, putting down tobacco four times:

“I am going to open the sacred bundle.”⁴⁴

They unwrapped the Sacred Bundles, took out the Sacred Clan Pipe(s), and laid them on the blue blanket. They proceeded to fill the Pipes, offering tobacco to the four directions, Father Sky, Mother Earth, and then the seventh direction. When filled, they handed them to the Pipe Bearers, their Buffalo Kinsmen.

And the elder untied the Tattoo Bundle, addressing it and his own grandfather who cared for it before him. A willow stick was burned and mashed on a rock to make a charcoal powder. The elder sang throughout this process. And then, he blessed her and talked to her again. “Now, I’m going to put this tattoo on you. I want you to grow up to be a good woman, have good companion, raise children. You will have a home and grandchildren, generations everlasting,” he would say. Then he sang again, which signified that he was going to put on the mark. He stomped the ground four times. Meanwhile, the girl has been laid down on her bed on her back with head towards the South. The elder removed from his *wigréxe: tattoo bundle*, an eagle feather and kingfisher feather utilized in the blessing. Originally, a split eagle feather was used to imprint the tattoo, however in recent times, a tied bunch of needles replaced the use of the split feather.

He chewed an herb, which he rubbed on the particular spot to deaden any discomfort. Then he marked the spot, and four times, he pointed towards it. Then he tattooed the girl, tapping with the needles rapidly. When he tattooed her, he told her how she was equal to a chief’s daughter. He blessed her saying: “Now you must be kind to everyone. Treat everybody well. If you see an orphan child, raise it! If anybody dies without a family, bury him/her. And when you quit this earth, you will be well received up above, in the Heavens.” The tattoo consisted of a *pekitaje: small round spot or circle*⁴⁵ in the center of the forehead. Sometimes, additional tattoos were made on the backs of the hands and on the breast bone. Each tattooer had their own way of performing the ceremony, and each owned their designs.⁴⁶

The girl is painted after the tattooing is completed. Red paint was used at the corners of her eyes with blue paint on the outside. The red was for the Autumn when the leaves turn crimson, and the blue was for the grass and blue sky. Then fresh dirt from a gopher hole was brought in. The elder talked to the earth, saying: “Now Mother Earth, I am going to put some of this dirt on this girl. I want her to walk on you as long as she lives, generations everlasting. Mother Earth, just as you raise all the grass, plants and trees, so this girl is to raise children. May Wakanda bless this child for generations to come.”

As the dawn gave into daylight, the tattooed girl was taken outside, where the Clan members and invited guests sat in a circle. The two men with the Sacred Pipes follow her. She circles in front of the lodge, going south around the assembled guests and forked posts with cross bar where individuals had placed gifts.

⁴⁴ Whitman. “Origin Legends...”. op.cit. p.200.

⁴⁵ It was utilized only on the forehead of females. Other tattoo designs could be employed for males, including boys.

⁴⁶ J.P. tattooed with a four pointed star to represent the *Big Star* through which we enter into Heaven. Whitman. “The Oto”. op.cit. p.78.

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9

They stop on the North side, facing North. The men with the Pipes stand on either side of her, one on the East and the other on the West. These men sang Pipe songs and told of the teachings of the Sacred Pipes. When they both had concluded, they took a pinch of tobacco and put it on the earth. The youngest Buffalo brother had four red elm sticks burning. He took one to light the Pipes,⁴⁷ and sings the following Pipe song four times, placing some tobacco on the ground, as was done previously. The Pipe bearers turn the stems towards each of the seven directions before they offer the Pipes to each other and smoked. Each one takes four puffs. In turn, they offered the Pipes to the girl to smoke while they sang:

“She is smoking
(They emit a long sound representing a long breath for a long life).
From the fawn skin comes this good thing.
When I landed on this earth,
I found this, and I am glad.”⁴⁸

AFTERWARDS, THE TWO SACRED PIPE bearers go in opposite directions along the circumference of the people gathered, allowing everyone, even the children to smoke. For to touch the Pipes is to receive blessings. Indeed, everyone desires a *Náwun Pí :Good Road*, good life without sickness and ill fortune. When all have smoked, the Pipes are set up on the ground, to rest crossed over each other, with the mouthpieces skyward. For the Buffalo Clan, a slanting support was formed of a thin flat piece of wood, held up on one end by light rounded upright.⁴⁹ Sometimes if several girls are to be tattooed or even a boy, they would simply come in “behind the girl” and be tattooed with her. In this way, it is less expensive for the other children, whose families do not need buy so many gifts. When warriors were tattooed, they paid part and their relatives contributed the balance of the articles to be distributed.⁵⁰

The family provide a Give Away of the accumulated gifts to all those who assisted in the ceremony, perhaps giving blankets, shawls and money to those that were invited in the morning, perhaps a horse and household goods to the Sacred Pipe Keepers and bearers, the announcer, and especially to the elder tattooer.

Now the prepared feast of sacred foods commenced with an elder’s blessing of the food, which included taking a small morsel from each kettle and bowl, and placing it onto a wooden spoon. The *wébreke: food sacrifice* was offered in prayer for the Grandfather Spirits to partake before serving the gathering of people. The elder then took it to the fire and placed it on the coals. A large gourd of water was sent among the people to take a small drink in remembrance that water is fundamental to the life of all plants, animals, birds, as well as to human beings. Water is basic to all ceremonials and one of the sacred foods shared as part of the food offering. And then, the people departed after they had eaten.

MEETING IT WAS SOME TIME AFTERWARDS, that the Buffalo People met the Pigeon Clan.
PIGEON Some say that they came upon the Eagle & Thunder Clan People on the same occasion.
CLAN: The Buffalo made friends with them. They smoked one another’s Sacred Pipes to affirm their new *wóre: relatives*. It was decided that the Pigeon People would have the right to lead in the event that a leader from the Buffalo Clan was unavailable in the Spring. The three Clans – Pigeon, Owl and Buffalo People -- attributed the naturalness of their relationship by the fact that a pigeon cooing, and the owl hooting sounded much like the buffalo lowing.⁵¹

⁴⁷ The sacred number of four is applied throughout the ceremony. The Sacred Pipe(s) are one phase of this ceremony. The sacred gathering at night is the second. The stem of the Pipe(s) is the third and the youngest brother, lighting the Pipe(s) is the fourth movement. Whitman. “*Origin Legend...*”. op.cit. p.199.

⁴⁸ Whitman. “*The Oto*”. op.cit. p.78-79.

⁴⁹ Skinner. op.cit. p.221-222.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.279.

⁵¹ Whitman. “*The Otoe*”. op.cit. p.33.

Báxoje-Jiwére-Ñút'ačhi Wékaⁿ

MEETING SO THEY JOURNEYED ON their way, the Buffalo People. And it seems that they saw
BEAR smoke, and they followed it, arriving at the village of a previously unknown people. The
CLAN: Buffalo Brothers and their friends invited the people of the village to come out to them,
 they say. The four ancestor brothers of the Bear Clan did indeed cautiously come to them. It was noticed
 that they too, carried a Sacred Pipe. They were pleased that they held out this symbol of peace to the
 Buffalo People. In similar manner, the Buffalo Brothers, who had already filled their own Sacred Clan
 Pipe, for their intent was one of friendship, offered it to them. The pipestems were crossed and each
 accepted the mouthpiece of the other's Pipe. They talked among themselves, and learned that they both
 were newcomers to this earth, it seems. They exchanged stories of their adventures and encounters. It was
 learned that the Bear Brothers and their associated Clans had come from a land within the earth --Earth
 Clans (*Máyaⁿdàgi Wájiñe*, "They (Who) Arrive Here On Earth") And thus, the two divisions of the Sky Clans
 and the Earth Clans were united and acknowledged.

A feast was prepared by each Clan Division. First the Bear People provided a feast. Then, the Buffalo
 Brothers said: "We have brought different kinds of food for you, and we now share them with you." They
 served boiled corn, beans & squash, which were satisfying to eat. After the feast, the Earth Clans desired to
 know about these foods. So then, the Buffalo People distributed the different kinds of bean seeds to each
 person. They did the same with the melon seeds. And so on, for all the varieties of squash and pumpkins.
 Even the varieties of corn were given out. The seeds had been soaked with water in separate clayware jars -
 - each color unto itself.⁵² Thus, the seed had began to germinate and were ready to be planted. They told
 how and when to plant them, and how the seed and food would multiply many times over to feed the entire
 People of the village.⁵³

"NÁHE[^]ŠU", ÁÑE, thú jé[^]e róha" jirēñe hñe ke. Héda" chích[^]iñe ritáwe róha"grahi hñe ke.
 Náhe[^]shu" chúyu ritáwe bróge héda".⁵⁴ Indeed, these seeds will increase, as your children will be many
 and, indeed, also your whole family." And so, they distributed all the seeds to all the people among the
 village, they say. And the plants grew and matured. The corn was harvested -- twice. The first was
Warúta: Early Harvest (Green Corn Roasted). The second was *Waháxe: Late Harvest (Dry Corn Gathered)*. The corn
 was so precious that to this day they value it highly. And from that time to the present, the seeds have been
 handed down with the teachings on how to plant this corn.

CLANS "Ida Má[^]Šujedaré dórihe chíñe ke."⁵⁵ There at Má[^]Šúje: Red Earth,⁵⁶ they all lived
UNITE IN cooperatively." Those Clans had gotten together and became one village and became a
VILLAGE: single tribe of people, it seems. They assisted one another's families; they took care of
 those in need. They shared their food and possessions. Each individual and each clan had their roles in
 their respective family, clan and in the community, it is said. And it was agreed to give Bear Clan the
 control over all the village during the Autumn and Winter, since it was that time of the year when they
 arrived and emerged on this Earth. They lead all civil, social and spiritual activities until after the snow and
 ice melted, and the grass began to grow, and flowers started to bud. Then, they listened for the *pésge:*
green tree frog of the early Spring. Their call signaled for the Buffalo Clan and affiliated Clans to "take
 over the tobacco" for the Spring and Summer Seasons.

⁵² "My grandmother put out corn in brass kettles and let it soak." (Stated by J.P., brought up by his maternal grandfather).
 Whitman. "Origin Legends..." op.cit. p195.

⁵³ The Omaha also have a story how buffalo brought corn to the people. See: Fletcher, Alice & Francis La Flesche. "The Omaha
 Tribe". Bureau of American Ethnology (1911)/ Johnson Reprint Corp. 1970. pp.76-78.

⁵⁴ GoodTracks. op.cit.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ The Winnebago know this place as "MóogaShúch: Red Banks", the legendary origin point of the *Hochángara* People. Radin,
 Paul. "The Winnebago Tribe". (1923). University of Nebraska Press. 1970. pp. 165, 186.

AND EACH CLAN provided a feast for its members. The Sacred Clan Bundles and Sacred Pipes were taken out to be smudged in spring renewal ceremonies. And then, not long afterwards, family feasts were provided so that the children could receive their personal Clan names after the origin legend had been recited.



BUFFALO THE SEVERAL BUFFALO SOCIETIES in traditional times were for the Ioway & Otoe
MEDICINE the most important of organizations, and were equaled only by the Medicine Lodge.
SOCIETIES: The **ChéXóWókigo: Sacred Buffalo Spirit Societies** also known as the **ChéXówe Waswéhi: Buffalo Spirit Doctors Society**⁵⁷ were the leaders of all the medicine (societies).⁵⁸ Membership was elective and extended beyond clan membership, as was characteristic for most community organizations. The Buffalo Societies were comprised of a group of Native Doctors and their partisans, either male or female, who owned **ChéXówe Warúxawe: Buffalo Spirit Sacred Bundle(s)**, also known as **TáSáge Warúxawe: Deer Hoof Sacred Bundle(s)**.⁵⁹ They worked directly through the power of the buffalo spirit for healing. They also had a secondary function associated with the cultivation of corn. Another form of the Society received assistance from the **Mató Washi: Grizzly Bear Dance**, another society of esteemed doctors.

THE FIRST GROUP WERE PROFICIENT in curing the sick, injured and wounded (arrow, knife or gunshot). They were also adept at setting broken bones and delayed child births. In war journey expeditions, the roots, herbs and medicines, that pertained to the Buffalo were collected and readied by the female relatives, to bring the contingent back safely.⁶⁰ Preferably, a Buffalo Doctor would be beseeched to accompany the expedition to be available in the event of casualties or perhaps summon success over the adversary. They demonstrated their powers in public presentation during the Spring, Summer and Autumn, as did the Pawnee who displayed their own powers in unrivaled Doctor (Lodge) Dances.⁶¹ In both performances, the Doctors were known to wound assistants, causing blood to flow freely – and then heal the wounds in the privacy of their Society Lodge. In general, the patients were treated by direct application of the crushed or powdered herb(s) to the injury or mixed it with water and given as a tea and/or sprayed over the patient in simulation of a rain shower by means of an eagle or another sacred bird wings, a sage or cedar branch whisk, a buffalo tail or simply by mouth. On occasion, they placed live embers in their mouth, blowing sparks over patients during the doctoring of an afflicted area of the body. Even to this day, in Native American Church services, this method is still employed by certain members, in addition to incision and cupping with a small horn to effect physical & spiritual healing.

During the seasonal performances, the leaders and their members would impersonate the buffalo. They danced with mimic steps of the buffalo to imbue themselves with its Spirit. They enhanced their dance by blowing cane whistles to the accompaniment of sacred songs, rhythmic gourd rattles and drums. The sacred plants, sweat grass, cedar, sage were smoldered on coals to purify the patient before native tobacco was

⁵⁷ Dorsey inaccurately referred to these Societies as “Buffalo Dancing (Societies): Ché Washí”, or as “Buffalo War Bundle (Societies): Ché Warúxawe” See: Dorsey, J. O. “Siouan Sociology” BAE:15. Washington, DC. Smithsonian. 1893-1894; “Social Organization of the Siouan Tribes” JAF:4. 1891; “A Study of Siouan Cults” BAE:11. Washington, DC. Smithsonian. 1890;

⁵⁸ In 1935, there were only three members living of the Buffalo Doctors Society, one of whom was a woman. Whitman. “The Otoe”. op.cit. p.106.

⁵⁹ Note: Harrington, M.R. stated in the publication by the Museum of the American Indian. Heye Foundation (1925), that “The origin of the Buffalo Doctors’ bundles, as given by tradition, ...in the story of Wanáthuⁿje. The Ioways with who I dealt spoke of them as TáShagreooyu or ‘deer claw rattle bundle’.” Skinner, “Ethnology...” op.cit. p.242.

⁶⁰ Skinner, A. “Iowa Societies”. Anthropological Papers. American Museum of Natural History:11.9. 1915. p.686; “Ethnology...” op.cit. p.201.

⁶¹ See: Grinnell, George Bird. *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folktales*. 1889/ University of Nebraska Press. Lincoln. 1961.

sprinkled over their whole body. Ioway Chief David Tohee (*MaⁿthéXowe: Holy Bear Spirit*) stated “that unlike the white doctors he knew, the Buffalo Doctors remained with the patient and talked to him and treated him...until he was cured.”⁶²

ChéXówe Waswéhi: Buffalo Spirit Doctors Society was instituted by *IsdáMañi: Lone Walker*⁶³ who was befriended and blessed by the Buffalo Spirit when he was still a small child. The Spirit taught him the roots and herbs used to heal the sick and injured. Then later, he told his father who helped him gather and prepare the medicines and assemble the sacred bundle and then consummate the ceremony. Some of the Otoe members of the Society in the early 1800's were: *HugréDòwe: Four Earthlodge Pillars, SójeDhì: Yellow Smoke, Na^uⁿŠuñiņe: Little Deaf, MaxúDòweMi: Four Clouds Woman, and Káx^eeiņe: Little Crow.*⁶⁴

THE SECOND FORM OF THE SOCIETY who were assisted by the Bear Spirit, was instituted by *Iwáhexga: Little Rock*⁶⁵ who fasted four days and nights and yet did not receive a vision. He lamented his providence and fell asleep. He was awoken by a Bear Spirit who lead him to band of bears sitting in a circle in the midst of a cedar grove. The head Bear said to him: “We knew you were fasting, hoping to get power to go to war and ‘build up your name.’ We took pity on you, but not in the way you desire. We want you to raise people up instead of knocking them down, to give them life instead of death. We bears are partners of the buffalo....We’re going to give you our whole power, so that when anyone is ill and your heart turns toward him, remember us, and whatever you wish shall be so.”⁶⁶ And so, they showed him their skills to effect healing, to effect cool weather during periods of extended heat. They also held dance performances for the community in which they displayed their proficiency.

ChéThíⁿjeWagré: Buffalo Tail Society performances were connected with the reproduction of the buffalo herds rather than the healing of the sick and afflicted. A dance was held in the Spring Season, which simulated the movements and behaviors of the buffalo. The dancers wore capes of buffalo wool, buffalo robes, and kept buffalo tails in their belts. The leader kept his tail in his headband. The rattles used were made of dried buffalo tails strung with deer hoofs.⁶⁷ A feast was prepared from food furnished by the participants, who brought it to be cooked before the dance commenced, and then, served after the dance ended. The Society continued to meet and perform their dance and feast into the early 1900's.

This dance was not the same dance ceremonial, which was witnessed by George Catlin in the early 1800's, that was preparatory to starting upon a tribal buffalo hunt, which was a community spiritual event for the purpose of addressing the spirits (souls) of the buffalo to be hunted, beseeching apology for the need to hunt them, thereby giving up their own lives so that the tribal people could be feed and continue to live. For this hunting dance, the performers wore masks made of the buffalo head and horns to take on the persona of the Buffalo Spirit. In this regard, further ceremonies were completed after the hunt by individuals to express their thanksgiving for the sacrificace made by the Buffalo People.

WanáshiWashí (William FawFaw) “Wanoshi's Buffalo Shrine Dance” came to him in a vision about 1884. He was in mourning when the Buffalo Spirit⁶⁸ appeared to him in the form of two young men, who instructed him how the ceremony should occur. A cedar tree grew beside him.⁶⁹ Subsequently, he called the people together, related his vision, and then was assisted to enact it as the vision described it, repeating

⁶² Skinner. “*Ethnology...*”. op.cit. p.244.

⁶³ Skinner. “*Iowa Societies*”. op.cit. p.710.

⁶⁴ Whitman. “*The Oto*”. op.cit. pp. 108-110.

⁶⁵ Skinner. “*Iowa Societies*”. op.cit. p.712.

⁶⁶ Ibid..

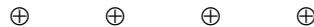
⁶⁷ Skinner. “*Ethnology...*”. op.cit. p.244.

⁶⁸ Harrington. op.cit. p.113.

⁶⁹ Dorsey, James O. “*Oto new religion*” Anthropological Archives: National Museum of Natural History. Smithsonian. Manuscript 4558 (113).

the dance twice a year (July and late December) on into the early 1900's. His Society was initiated during the 1890's spiritual passion of the Ghost Dance, Peyote Ceremonial and the Drum or "Dream" Dance passing through Oklahoma Indian Territory. FawFaw, along with James Whitewater, Robert McGlashlin and George Arkeketa, men of esteemed influence, resisted the Allotment Act of 1887, that targeted the dissolution of tribal culture and ownership of the land held in common and the federal government's goal to allow white settlement on land deemed "surplus". These men and others were members of this society. The actual dance seemed to have been a new form of the Drum Dance, given to the Ioway and Otoe-Missouria by the Potawatomi. The teachings urged the return to traditional ways of life and rejection of the corrupting influences of the Euro-Americans. Members were told not to steal, quarrel, lie, take the wives of others, nor abuse their children and disdain consumption of alcohol.

THE SOCIETY BEGAN their sessions with six horsemen, two who were women, going out to find a cedar tree, take it "up by the roots" and carry it back to be replanted within the Society's earthlodge. Then buffalo skulls⁷⁰ were brought in and placed on a red, yellow and blue (or green) cloth. Everyone smoked and offered tobacco to the consecrated tree, while singing appropriate songs which were said to resemble *Iróshka Society Songs*. The people would pray raising their hands and weep. Gifts were exchanged, and if a poor person was seen outside, they were brought in and given a blanket, coat or even a horse.⁷¹ Society members wore distinctive vests, shirts or long single breasted jackets to their knees with typical Ioway, Otoe-Missouria floral beadwork, as well as beaded buffalo heads, horses, cedar trees, stars and human figures. The ceremony was introduced and performed among the Ioways, Kaws and Osages where it flourished for a time.



Some of the Winnebago (Hotúŋe) Buffalo Clan names⁷² that are appropriate and coincide with the Ioway, Otoe-Missouria Buffalo Clan Origin Legend include:

<u>Winnebago</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Ioway-Otoe/ Missouria</u>
Mááračega(?)	Travels The Land	Máya ⁿ daMáñi; Máya ⁿ Rúche
ČoonfMaañfWijga	Walks Ahead Woman	Pagra ⁿ MáñiMi
ČeeNíjkSijga	Suckling Buffalo Calf	ChéŠùweRahówe
Čééga	Buffalo	Ché
ČééPááNupga	Two Buffalo Heads	ChéPaNúwe
ČééČoonfWijga	First Buffalo Woman	Itú ⁿ ChéMi
ČéétoZhíjNijka	Buffalo Bull Yearling	ChédoŠùwe
ČéétoNijka	Young Buffalo Bull	ChédoIñe (I.); ChédoIŋe (O.)
ČééWijXétega	Big Female Buffalo	ChéMiXa ⁿ ñe (I.); ChéMiXa ⁿ je (O.)
Wirukáŋaŋaga	He (who) Is In Control	Wirúgra ⁿ na
HehekMaañfga	Shaggy Walker	Hí ⁿ ŠkòweMáñi
ČeeHááČooWijga	Blue Buffalo Hide	CheHáTò
MááGikšujga	Shakes Earth by Striking	Má ⁿ Gihúdhe
ČééPáága	Buffalo Head	ChéPà
MááNaakjákhijga ⁷³	Kicks Up Earth	Má ⁿ Unáswe

⁷⁰ The Buffalo Skull Shrine alter was collected by Harrington in 1912. See: Harrington. op.cit. p.113.

⁷¹ Wooley, David and William Waters. "Waw-no-she's Dance". American Indian Art: Winter 1988. pp.36-45.

⁷² Radin. op.cit. p.198.



(The above composite synopsis is compiled from contemporary Buffalo Clan informants: *Irómiⁿje[^]iŋeMi*: *Little Island Woman (EIB)* and *PañiMi*: *Pawnee Woman (NSK)*, in addition to *ChegíxeHsjiMi*: *Sacred Eagle Woman (BDY)*, *ThigréPi*: *Good Track, (FM)*, *MašiMàñi*: *Soaring High (TD)*, *Udáhsje*: *Left Arm (JY)*, *Tatáje[^]IñeMi*: *Whirlwind Woman (AS)*, Also the documented information rendered by A. Skinner's informants: *MathréXòwe*: *Holy Bear Spirit Blessed (DT)*, *XúmaIñe*: *Little Elk (JS)*, *MáñiHú*: *Comes Walking (From Creation) (RS)*, *NáweNùwe*: *Two Hands (FK)*. And the documented information given to W. Whitman by his principal informants identified as: *BD*, *JP*, *GWD*. (*GWD* - *Xrás[^]àge*: *Old Eagle*; *JP* - *WakáⁿdaXáⁿje*: *Great Thunders*). Ancillary cultural information was garnered from the manuscripts of: *James Owen Dorsey*, *Rev. William Hamilton*, and *Rev. Moses Merrill*, *Rev. Samuel Irvin*.

⁷³ Original orthography by Radin has been edited to adapt to: Kenneth L. Miner. "Winnebago Field Lexicon". University of Kansas. Lawrence, KS. June 1984.