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OKLAHOMA KICKAPOO

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Kickapoo Indians are an Algonkin group, most closely related linguistically to the Sac and Fox. Michelson (1912:238) subdivides the Central Algonkin group thus:

> Cree-Montagnais
> Menominee
> Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo, together with Shawnee, the last-named being somewhat removed from them.
> Ojibwa, Potawatomi, Ottawa, Algonkin, with Peoria somewhat removed from them.
> Natick
> Delaware
>
> It may further be noted that Cree-Montagnais, Menominee, Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo and Shawnee collectively form a unit as compared with any other of the subdivision.

Further on (p. 244) he notes that "Sauk, Fox, Kickapoo are practically one language, with slight variations." This classification of Michelson's was still regarded in 1946 as the best offered for Algonkin (Bloomfield 1946).

Further evidence of the closeness of these languages was presented by Pierce in 1952. After testing speakers of Kickapoo, Sac and Fox, Shawnee and Ojibwa for mutual intelligibility, Pierce concluded: "...it was deemed advisable to say that Shawnee, Kickapoo,

and SF [his symbol for Sac and Fox, BD] are members of a closely related group of speech communities, while Ojibwa is not a member of this group. Kickapoo and SF are very closely related, 79% mutual intelligibility, while Shawnee is a divergent member of the group, only 02 % to 06% mutual intelligibility." (p. 208).

As would be expected from their close linguistic affinity, the Kickapoo and Sac and Fox are also very closely related culturally. This has been indicated repeatedly by Michelson, who knew the Sac and Fox ve: v :ll and knew the Kickapoo in Oklahoma probably better than any other anthropologist. Jones, himself a Fox, speaks in writing of the Fox about "their kindred the Mexican Kickapoo"(1939:1. Mexican Kickapoo here refers to the Oklahoma group). And Major Marston reported to Reverend Morse in the 1820's that the Sac, Fox and Kickapoo had manners and customs alike (in Blair 1912 II:142).

In addition to their close cultural and linguistic affinities, the histories of these groups have been very close. As we shall see (chapter II), when they were first encountered by whites they were living in the same area; they fought together in all the major battles that they had with the whites; they ceded their lands at the same time; and they were finally settled on adjacent lands both in Missouri-Kansas and in Oklahoma.

In spite of all this similarity, although there is a large amount of information on the Sac and Fox in the literature, the same is not true of the Kickapoo. (Compare Murdock, 1953:89 and 201).

Beckwith remarked on this as early as 1884 (p. 110): "...the Jesuit relations and pastoral letters of the French priesthood have less to say of the Miamis than of any other westward tribe, the Kickapoos alone excepted." As of 1952, there was a short volume of Kickapoo folk tales (Jones 1915), one of reminiscences of the experiences of a woman school teacher among the Kickapoo in Kansas, as remembered and written by her daughter (Hoad 1944), and a short narrative of a man captured by them in 1788 (Biggs 1922). None of these contains much ethnographic information. In addition to these, there were a few short articles that had appeared concerning them, all of which are very limited in scope (Buntin 1933; Chapman 1939; Goggin 1951; Harrington 1912 and 1944; Jones 1913; and Michelson 1923 and 1940). And there were two short publications concerning the ethnography of the Kickapoo in Mexico written in Spanish (Basauri 1940 and Fabila 1945). The main source of historical information on them was the article in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (Mooney and Jones 1907). It was this lack of published information on the Kickapoo that first aroused my interest in them and that remained one of the primary reasons for selecting them as the subject of this dissertation.

Since 1952 there has appeared an article detailing the first one hundred years of their history (Silverberg 1957), a short monograph on the Kickapoo in Mexico (Ritzenthaler and Peterson 1956), and a short article of a very specialized nature derived partly from fieldwork

among the Oklahoma Kickapoo (Pope 1959). But there is still no published material that covers all of their history in any detail, nor any monograph reporting on the culture of the Oklahoma Kickapoo.

Another thing which aroused my interest in the Kickapoo was their reported conservatism. As Jones put it (1939: 1): "The Fox are interesting to anthropologists for a number of reasons... But the major point of interest lies in the fact that they have earned the distinction, along with their kindred the Mexican Kickapoo, of being ranked among the most conservative of all Indians." This statement of Jones, although published in 1939, was the result of work done in the first decade of the twentieth century; and it aroused my curiosity as to whether or not the Kickapoo would still be considered conservative forty years later, and if so, why they had remained so.

The final factor in the selection of the Kickapoo for the object of a field study and dissertation was their accessibility to me. There being a group of them in Oklahoma made it quite feasible, both in terms of expense and time, for me to be able to work among them during the summer months.

Accordingly, during the summers of 1952 and 1953, from early June to late August, I worked with the Kickapoo Indians near Shawnee and McLoud, Oklahoma. An additional month and a half, during October and November of 1954, was spent partly with some informants near Shawnee, and partly at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City, where the files of the old Sac and Fox agency are kept.

Since the Kickapoo in Oklahoma do not have a village, field work procedure varied somewhat from the traditional. My initial step was to contact the agent, inform him of what I was doing, and receive from him the names and addresses of a few Indians that he felt might be willing to work with me. From this list I obtained my first informant, ES. She was a woman of about fifty years of age who had been born and raised in Mexico, coming to the United States as a young woman. She was married to a Shawnee who had for years worked as a Shawnee and Kickapoo interpreter for the agency and who acted as interpreter for his wife and myself. (She could not speak English very well, although she could understand it fairly well.)

After working with ES for a little over a week, I attended my first community affair, a ball game of the men against the women. At this function I met a few other Kickapoo, one of these being a woman in her early thirties, LB, that I contacted two days later. She also consented to work with me. LB was born in Mexico but came to the United States as a young child. She attended school and consequently learned to speak English very well. Fortunately for me, she was also intelligent, the daughter of one of the clan headmen, and quite active in Kickapoo affairs, so that she made an excellent informant.

My method throughout that first summer was to spend the mornings interviewing ES and the afternoons interviewing LB, obtaining as much of the same information from each of them as

possible. I also attended all of the ceremonies and other tribal affairs that I learned about.

The following summer, in addition to continuing some work with ES and extensive work with LB, I was able to add another informant, BS. BS was in her fifties, born in the United States, married to a Fox from Iowa, and blessed with many siblings and many children and grandchildren. This latter fact was very helpful to me, for it increased my number of close friends among the group considerably. Knowing all of the Indians better by then, I was able to check much of my information informally in conversations with various individuals at the social and ceremonial affairs the second summer and by doing more informal visiting at different homes.

My short visit in the fall of 1954 was spent going through the Sac and Fox agency files for relevant information. I was also able to check the group's activities for a time of year when I had not been able to observe them before.

The actual writing of the material was begun in 1954. Because of several interruptions, it was not concluded until 1962.

In line with the reasons for having selected the Kickapoo Indians for study, the dissertation has been written in an attempt to answer the following questions: (1) What has happened to this tribe historically? (2) What is the culture of the Oklahoma group today? (3) Are they still to be considered a conservative group; or in other words, do they still retain much of what is Indian as opposed

to what is non-Indian? And (4) if they are still conservative as compared with other groups in Oklahoma, how is this to be explained?

The history is taken up first (chapter II). As stated by Ritzenthaler and Peterson (1956:17), "The Kickapoo are one of the more poorly documented tribes and a precise account of their history, particularly the early period and some of their subsequent migrations, is difficult to assemble." Therefore, the attempt was made to pull together from the various historical sources all of the information on the Kickapoo, and then to present what seems most relevant in this material in such a way as to give a continuous picture of their activities and movements up until their settlement in Oklahoma. The portions of their history that are well covered in published works (Silverberg 1957, for the first 100 years, and United States 1908, for the troubles in the allotment period) have not been covered as fully here since they are readily available elsewhere.

The description of their culture in Oklahoma today is given in chapters III through VII. Following a brief description of their general condition (chapter III), their culture is then described under the subdivisions of technology and economics (chapter IV), social organization (chapter V), religion and ceremonies (chapter VI and VII), and, finally, doctoring and miscellaneous beliefs (chapter VIII). Throughout the description, the attempt was made to present as much information as I had, indicating where relevant what items are

uncertain. Unless another reference is given, all of the information in these chapters is based on personal observation in the field.

The final chapter (IX) summarizes what was accomplished in the preceding chapters, indicating some of the possible reasons for the present conditions of the Kickapoo in Oklahoma. It goes on to suggest some of the shortcomings of this study and some changes in methods or conditions that might have improved it.

One final comment ought to be made about style. It has been my policy to select one spelling for the name of an Indian tribe and to use that spelling consistently. However, the same tribal name will on occasion be found in a quotation with a different spelling. Where I have retained the colloquial English term used by the Kickapoo for items or events, these terms appear in quotation marks. And likewise, throughout the text, where the descriptions of items or events are given in the words of an informant, the entire passage appears in quotation marks.

Kickapoo words are transcribed phonetically. The sounds for which we have no alphabetic equivalents in English are symbolized as follows: ɛ sounds as the e in "bet"; ə sounds as the u in "but"; əe sounds as the a in "cat"; ʔ is a glottal stop; ɪ sounds as the i in "bit".

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

What is known of the history of the Kickapoo Indians presents a picture of about two centuries and a half of almost constant migration. Their movements seem to have begun in southern Michigan or northern Illinois or Indiana in the first half of the seventeenth century. They ended in northern Kansas, central Oklahoma, and northern Mexico in the latter half of the nineteenth century. During this period they were at various times in Michigan, Wisconsin, eastern Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas and Mexico.

Pre-contact Period

The Kickapoo are first mentioned in the literature under the name of Ontarahronon by La Jeune in the Jesuit Relation of 1640. Truman Michelson (1919:486) identifies the Ontarahronon as the Kickapoo, and says that their location was obtained by La Jeune from a map given to him by Father Paul Ragueneau, which Michelson thinks Ragueneau got from Nicolet. Silverberg (1949:1; 1957:69) made the same identification. The article on Kickapoo in the Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico (684-686) does not

mention La Jeune's reference, although the Ontararhronon are identified in the synonymy as Kickapoo. In fact, the article specifically states (684): "Unless they are hidden under a name not yet known to be synonymous, [the Kickapoo] first appear in history about 1667-70 [emphasis mine]." William Jones (1939:2), undoubtedly following Michelson, makes the identification also.

Some authors have stated that Champlain was the first to mention the Kickapoo, having seen them on his travels in 1612, which would place their initial contact with the European earlier. However, such statements are undoubtedly due to the fact that Beckwith (1884:117) considered the Mascoutin, whom Champlain did see, and the Kickapoo, whom he did not, as one and the same. Later authors, such as Cain (1940:2) seem to have followed Beckwith in this regard.

In any event, in 1640 they were located in southern Wisconsin along with the Sac, Fox, and Mascoutin.[1] They seem to have

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[1] There is some confusion as to the identity of the Mascoutin. Beckwith (1884:117) considered them the same as the Kickapoo, and Silverberg (1949:vi) inclines to this view. Trowbridge (n.d.) also decided they were Kickapoo. Shea (Thwaites 1900, 5:280) believes they "were probably at last confounded with the Kickapoos." Skinner (1924:6) thinks they were the same as the Prairie Potawatomi. Michelson (1934:226-33) identifies them with the Peoria, and later (1935:163-64) as prairie Indians, principally Sac and Kickapoo, occasionally Potawatomi and Miami. Wilson (1956:1063) feels that they were a distinct group. With so much dissension among the experts, it is beyond the scope of this paper to try and settle the question. The policy has been, therefore, to treat them as a separate group.

resided somewhere in southern Michigan or the region of northern Illinois and Indiana until just prior to the French penetration of Wisconsin. Kellogg (1925:70) placed them in central Michigan, west of Saginaw and the Sac Indians; and again (1925:57), along with the Mascoutin, Sac and Fox, wandering "in the Detroit region." Swanton (1952:253) suggests this also. Wilson (1956:1062) says that these four tribes and the Potawatomi and "certain divisions of the Illinois and other tribes" were in lower Michigan and north of the Ohio River. Jones (1939:2) leaves it at their having recently been "driven westward by the hostile Erie and Neuters." Alvord (1922:36) places them, along with, again, Sac, Fox and Mascoutin, "living between Lakes Huron and Michigan." Michelson (1919:486-88) also places them in Michigan's lower peninsula, along with the Sac and Fox.

Whatever their specific location may have been, it seems that early in the seventeenth century the Kickapoo, along with the Sac, Fox, and Mascoutin, were driven westward into what is now Wisconsin by the devastating wars of the Iroquois on the more westerly tribes.[2] These wars, it will be remembered, were the

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[2]The arguments for their recent entry into Wisconsin are summarized in Wilson (1956). See also Alvord (1922: 35-38), Kellogg (1925, passim), Hewitt (as reported by Holmes 1915:19), Keesing (1939:6-7), and Kellogg (1917:151-53).

result of the fur trade. The Iroquois were expanding westward in the search for new hunting grounds to supply them with skins for the trade; and in the process they were competing with the tribes situated west of them.[3] One of the results of the ensuing conflicts was the westward movement of some of the tribes that had formerly been in the southern Great Lakes area, including the Kickapoo.

Thus, like many other Indian tribes the Kickapoo had already been affected by the presence of the white man in the western hemisphere before there was any direct contact made between the two peoples; their long migration had begun.

French Period

By the second half of the seventeenth century the French Catholic missionaries of Canada had begun to extend their efforts to Christianize the American Indian into what is now the State of Wisconsin. One of these missionaries, Father Claude-Jean Allouez, is traditionally credited with being the first white man to record meeting any Kickapoo (Swanton 1952:2; Mooney and Jones 1907:684). However, Radisson may have seen them earlier (Silverberg 1959:1 and 1957:69) and Nicolas Perrot probably did, if he did go west in 1667 as Kellogg claims (1925:122).

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[3]Bernard de Voto has a good general discussion of the causes of the Iroquois wars (1952:ch. 3). See also Hunt (1940 passim).

Allouez places the Kickapoo in the Green Bay area in 1669-1670, although he did not meet any of them at that time. He did, however, meet some of them in the same village with Mascoutin, Miami, Illinois, and Wea west of Green Bay in 1672 (Thwaites 1900, 54:233 and 58:21-23). Marquette saw this same village the following year (ibid., 59:161-163).

From this time until about 1700 they seem to have been centered mainly in southern Wisconsin and Northern Illinois, although they are cited in several different locations. These range from northern Wisconsin to west of the Mississippi (where they fought the Sioux and hunted game), as far south as Peoria, Illinois, and as far east as the St. Joseph River.[4] During this quarter of a century they raised their crops in their villages, hunted animals for meat and for furs to trade to the French, and carried on hostilities with the Sioux to the west and the Iroquois to the east. Their relations with the French were, in general, very good. The Kickapoo evidently received goods from the French as an inducement for the Kickapoo to remain where they were and protect the French against the Iroquois (Pease and Werner 1934:62). And according to Kellogg (1925:225) the Kickapoo, along with Fox, Mascoutin, Miami, Potawatomi, Menominee, Winnebago, and some

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[4]See Silverberg 1949. He also has a good map at the conclusion of Chapter 1 that pinpoints all the locations mentioned for the Kickapoo from 1640 until 1752. He has done here (and 1957 also) a very thorough and critical job of this portion of Kickapoo history.

Illinois and Shawnee, were included in an expedition under French leadership that fought the Seneca south of Lake Ontario in 1687. The association of the Kickapoo with the Mascoutin and Miami was very close during this period, for they are almost always mentioned together.

Some time during the beginning of the eighteenth century, a large number of the Kickapoo was located south and east of Lake Michigan. They had a large village for a time in what is now Ohio at the mouth of the Maumee River (Thwaites 1906:285-86). There were some Mascoutin living with them in this village. It was at this time that the Fox fought the French at Detroit (1712, specifically); and although Dubuisson, in his official report of the incident (ibid.: 267-87), does not mention the Kickapoo as taking part in the battle of Detroit, he does make it plain that both the Fox and the Kickapoo intended that they should. They evidently did not arrive in time. Dubuisson also indicates that the Kickapoo were fighting the Huron, Ottawa and Iroquois in this area at this time.

In 1715, the French, along with some Huron, Potawatomi, and other northern Indians, fought and defeated some Kickapoo and Mascoutin who had been hunting, probably on either the Rock River or the Illinois River drainage system in northern Illinois or southern Wisconsin.[5]

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[5] I am indebted to Silverberg (1949:xxiv) for this interpretation of their location during this battle.

Three years later, the Kickapoo are located in the northern-Illinois-southern-Wisconsin region. Sabrefois (Thwaites 1906, 16: 371-72) locates them northwest of Chicago in 1718, as does Cadillac (ibid.: 362) the same year. They are also referred to, during the middle of this decade, on the Wabash (ibid.: 458). Joseph Marest (ibid.: 288-89; Silverberg quotes this also, 1957: 99), a Jesuit, writing from Mackinac in 1712, comments about the safety of Mackinac, and in doing so indicates a wide range for the Kickapoo:

> It is certain that, in this region, there will always be cause to fear an attack, either from the savages at Detroit or at the Bay, or from the Illinois. The French, if they go, as is their custom--two men alone in a boat to make the tour of the lakes--will always be in danger; for the Foxes, Kickapoos, and Mascoutins are found everywhere, and they are a people without pity and without reason.

This wide dispersion of the Kickapoo is not hard to understand when viewed in relation to two factors: (1) their semi-nomadic culture, which entailed village existence for periods of planting and harvesting crops, and long periods of roving in search of game; and (2) the general shifting of populations due to the entry of the Europeans and the displacement of eastern tribes, as well as the latters' movements westward in search of furs.

Following their defeat by the French and allied Indians in 1715, most of the active hostilities of the Kickapoo and Mascoutin were turned against the Illinois tribes, whom they continued to depredate well into the middle of the eighteenth century. There are constant

references to these hostilities and the concern they caused the French in the French official papers and reports of the period (see especially Thwaites 1902, 16). By 1719 the Fox had joined them in this.

> The Fox Indians cunningly took advantage of these intercolonial jealousies [between French Canada and Louisiana]. Their allies, the Mascouten and Kickapoo, had long been at enmity with the Illinois Indians. In 1719 three Fox chiefs and a Kickapoo attended the councils at Montreal and professed a disposition to remain at peace with all the French allies except the Illinois, whom they accused of retaining their prisoners and inciting raids upon the Canadian allies. The Canadian governor gave them an evasive reply, and raids upon the Illinois were redoubled, until the whole valley of the Illinois River became a scene of devastation. The southern tribesmen were no match for their barbarous opponents...[and] defended themselves badly.[6]

Whatever other reasons there may have been for the Fox to join in warring on the Illinois, the immediate stimulus was an attack by a band of Illinois on a party of forty Kickapoo, Fox and Mascoutin, in which the latter were badly beaten (Thwaites 1902, 16:379).

During the following decade, the French desired that peaceful relations be restored among the Kickapoo, Fox, Mascoutin, and Illinois, most likely because the hostilities interfered with trading and with communications between Canada and Louisiana. The Fox would not cease hostilities, evidently because of their desire to be middlemen in this region between the French and

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[6] Kellogg 1925:304. Beckwith (1884:158) adds that by 1722 these three tribes "had driven the . . . Illinois tribes south beyond the Illinois . . . rendering communication between the lower-Mississippi settlements and those of Canada almost impracticable."

the Kickapoo, Mascoutin and Sioux. The Fox, furthermore, had been an almost continual source of trouble to the French; so much so that the French now determed to wipe them out altogether, and exerted a concerted effort to do just this. By 1729, the Kickapoo and Mascoutin seem to have been anxious to resume friendly relations with the French, probably mainly because they were finding it difficult to obtain the trade items on which they depended so much by now.[7] And so, in that year, Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Boucherville, who commanded a garrison at Fort Beauharnois, succeeded in arranging peace between the Kickapoo and the Illinois and in aligning the Kickapoo on the French side against the Fox (Thwaites 1906, 17:35-37). The Kickapoo, along with the Illinois and Mascoutin, aided the French in their attempt to exterminate the Fox from this year (1729) until 1735, at which time the French seem to have ceased their efforts. Evidently the French thought at first that they had finally destroyed the Fox in their last foray against them in this year of 1735. But the Fox forces were reconstituted by the return of Fox captives from among the other tribes, so that by 1736 there were about 100 Fox warriors remaining (ibid. passim).

By 1737, the Kickapoo were settled on the lower Rock River and farther east in Illinois. Kellogg (1925:339) says of this year:

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[7] See Silverberg 1949:32 and footnote 118. I am indebted to him for this interpretation of why the Kickapoo were willing to desert the Fox, with whom they had been close allies for as long as their history is known.

> Green Bay was almost deserted by the tribesmen. Only the Menominee remained near the French post... The Potawatomi had by this time moved south and east around the shore of Lake Michigan and were under the charge of the Post at St. Joseph. The Mascoutin had united with the Ouiatonon [Wea] at their post on the Wabash. The Kickapoo were on lower Rock River and in eastern Illinois.

And again (ibid.:409):

> The habitat of the western tribes had gradually shifted eastward during the first half of the eighteenth century, due in part to the concentration policy of the French, in part to the Fox wars, and chiefly to the innate desire [sic] of the tribesmen to seek the earlier home from which they had been driven nearly a century before. The French allies by the end of the first quarter of the century occupied the territory west and north of the Wabash and the Maumee rivers, and the trade routes in use followed the St. Joseph-Wabash and the Maumee-Wabash waterways, along which were clustered the great tribe of the Miami, with its kindred the Mascouten-Kickapoo and its large branches the Ouiatanon and the Piankeshaw...

Sometime before 1742 a group of Kickapoo had settled at Ouiatanon (approximately at the present Lafayette, Indiana). In 1742, at a conference with Governor Beauharnois of Canada, these Kickapoo asked to settle in the meadow of the Mascoutins, saying they were tired of being at Ouiatanon. If my reading of Silverberg is correct, he accepts O'Callaghan's identification of the meadow as near what is now South Bend, Indiana (1949:38 and footnote). Wilson (1953:37) says it was between the Wabash and the Kankakee rivers. In any event, at this meeting Beauharnois encouraged the Kickapoo to fight the Chickasaw, who were trading with the British, and also

gave them permission to settle in the Mascoutin meadow. The fact that they would ask permission of the French to move their settlement indicates how dependent they had become by this time on the French. Also, that the Kickapoo did carry on hostilities with the Chickasaw subsequently is known (Pease and Jenison 1940:815; American State Papers 1:133).

At this time, the rivalry between the British and the French for the Indian trade in the Illinois country, and for control of the area itself, was becoming severe. The importance of this area to the French should not be underestimated. As put by Pease and Jenison (ibid.:xv): "The territory of the Illinois confederacy, in French parlance the country of the Illinois, in a sense was the keystone of the arch of French imperialism. It was at once the granary and the advanced post of Louisiana, connected with the lower colony by the dangerous and exposed course of the Mississippi ..." It was their connecting link between Canada and Louisiana. And, of course, French control of this great area was an impediment to further British expansion of the continent. So both countries were vying for the attachment of the Indians of the area. During the Franco-British skirmishes of 1742-1748 the Kickapoo and Mascoutin remained loyal to the French. They even met with Longleuil in 1748 at Quebec and promised to give the French support, though they do not seem to have taken any active part in the war (known as King George's war in Europe).

By 1752, the home of a large portion of the Kickapoo had been established as north central Illinois; some were on the Vermilion River; another group was living in west Indiana, centered at Ouiatanon; and some were at what is now Terre Haute. The Kickapoo, Fox, Sioux and Sac Indians had driven the Illinois Indians from this territory by their continual harrassment of them since the second decade of the eighteenth century. In 1752, these four confederates dealt what seems to have been the decisive blow to the Illinois:

> Some Cahokia met a few Foxes hunting in the woods and, in spite of existing peace, made them prisoners and burned them at the stake. One of the captives made his escape by a remarkable feat of swimming and carried to his tribesmen the news of treachery. The Foxes immediately decided upon retaliation; messengers were sent to the Sauk, the Sioux, and the Kickapoo, and a force of one thousand warriors was gathered. In one hundred and eighty bark canoes the avengers descended the Mississippi, heading straight toward the village of the Michigamea, just above Fort de Chartres, where the Cahokia had taken refuge. On June 6, 1752, the village was taken by surprise and burned. Eighty men, women, and children were put to death or taken prisoner. In the weakened condition of the Illinois, the loss was irreparable. From this time dates the beginning of the total depletion of the tribe.[8]

At this time, though King George's War was over in Europe, these Indians in the Illinois country were still caught in the middle of the struggle between the British colonials and the French for

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[8]Alvord 1922:235. See also Pease and Jenison, op. cit., p. xl. This attack was witnessed by a Captain Bossu, who also recorded it (Snyder 1909:78).

supremacy in North America. The French had moved down around the Great Lakes; and through the expeditions of de Bienville in 1749 and Marquis Duquesne in 1735 had claimed the Ohio Valley. The American colonists of Virginia in 1747 had formed the Ohio Company to open up to the easterners the Indian trade of the Ohio Valley; and other companies were formed by them subsequently for the same purpose.

The British sent General Braddock to America in 1754 because hostilities had errupted again, this time in the so-called French and Indian War. And, although the British were quite successful in allying many of the tribes of the area, the Kickapoo and Mascoutin were constantly cited for their continuing loyalty to the French (Pease and Jenison, op. cit.: 332-34, 376-77, 574, 612, 691, 730-32, 845).

In 1755, the Kickapoo, along with the Miami, Mascoutin and Wea, were led by Lignery against Braddock (Kellogg 1925: 425). The struggle continued until after the fall of Quebec in 1759; and by late 1760, French power in Canada was at an end. (They still held the province of Louisiana, including Illinois.)

But the Indians had not given up hope of ousting Europeans from the area. Although the British had taken possession of almost all the French forts in the west by the end of 1760, they could not displace the French at Fort de Chartres because of the hopes of these Indians (Alvord and Carter 1915: xxxi). Between 1763 and 1764

the famous uprising of the northern Indians known as the Pontiac War occurred. As might be expected, the Kickapoo were among those who participated in this, and they seem to have been one of the "last-ditch" allies:

> The Indian war against the English continued... The campaigns of Bradstreet in the north, and of Bouquet in Ohio, moving west from Fort Pitt, were discouraging Pontiac's native allies, and tribe after tribe left him and came to terms with the British. Bradstreet in the lake region sent the agents of the lakes tribes to treat with Sir William Johnston, Indian superintendent for the Crown. Bouquet brought the Delawares, Shawnese, and Ohio villages of Senecas to terms. Pontiac then retired [in 1763] to the Maumee and other tribes who still believed with Pontiac that the French would yet come to their aid.... the tribes of the vicinity had not yet been in conflict with British troops.
>
> Pontiac then began to prepare for new hostilities with the aid of the tribes of the region--the Miami, Kickapoo, Piankeshaws, and the branches of the Illinois Algonkian, namely, the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Peorias, Mitchigamias, and Tamaroas. Then he went to St. Ange, the French commander of Fort Chartres, and demanded that the French promises [of help, BD] be immediately realized.[9]

But such help, of course, was not forthcoming, and with the fall of Pontiac came the end of the French influence on the Kickapoo.

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[9]MacLeod 1928:419-20. See also Parkman 1893, 2:264.

British Period

In 1765, George Croghan, deputy Indian agent under Sir William Johnson, was sent by Johnson to negotiate a peace settlement with the Indians involved in Pontiac's uprising. He and his party of Indians were attacked by the Kickapoo and Mascoutin beyond the mouth of the Wabash[10]. He was not harmed by them, but they killed three Shawnee and wounded some of the Delaware and Seneca. It was the fear of retaliation by these tribes for this incident that caused the Kickapoo and Mascoutin to concede (Alvord 1922:263; Alvord and Carter 1915:liii-liv; ibid. 1916:77). Croghan found Pontiac and won his submission. So in 1766 Croghan went to Illinois territory to Fort de Chartres to make the final treaty with the Indians. (Alvord 1922:272).[11]

Like all of the previous treaties, however, this one did not quiet things in the Ohio Valley and Illinois regions for long. From the 1770's on, the Indians in the area, including the Kickapoo, were involved in many small skirmishes with the settlers who were pushing

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[10] There is a copy of Croghan's journal reporting this incident in Alvord and Carter 1916:23-53.

[11] There are copies of letters received by the British Indian office relevant to these negotiations on file in the Oklahoma Historical Society. These were secured by Grant Foreman from the London Public Records office. They also include information about a peace treaty between the Chickasaw and the Ohio Valley Indians (including the Kickapoo); and a letter of 1767 regarding the desire of the Cherokee to sue for peace with, among others, the Kickapoo.

west from Virginia and North Carolina into the regions of the Kentucky and Ohio rivers. One Colonel Williams wrote from Boonesborough to the proprietors of what appears to be the Henderson Land Company, in January, 1776:

> The Falls of Ohio is a place, of all others within the Colony, [which] will admit of a town, which, from its particular situation, will immediately become populous and flourishing; the land contiguous thereto rich and fertile, and where a great number of gentlemen will most certainly settle, and be the support and protection of a town at that place; a place which should meet with every encouragement to settle and strengthen, inasmuch as it will most certainly be the terror of our savage enemies, the Kickaboos Indians, who border most nearly on that place than any other part of the Colony . . . [12]

The British had set up a line in 1763 corresponding to the Appalachian chain, beyond which there was to be no settlement by the colonials; but by the 1770's the line was becoming meaningless.

> . . . by the manipulation of land speculators the Iroquois confederacy had ceded its contested title to the Kentucky region, and by a similar manipulation of Virginians the definite line at the mouth of the Great Kanawha had been juggled; yet most of the western tribes were not reconciled to these changes and looked upon the in-roads of the whites as a breaking of sacred pledges. . . . [And so] in the crisis of war [the Indians] turned for friendship to the British officials . . . (Alvord 1922: 311).

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[12] Hall 1885[b]: 389. For more on this subject, see ibid.: 306-16.

Whatever small interest and sympathy the Kickapoo had in the Revolutionary War seem to have been more with the British than with the Americans. However much they had preferred the French traders to the British, they preferred the American settlers even less. And so, with the encouragement of the British, they continued raiding the American settlements. Some Kickapoo were sent to Kentucky by the British Colonel Henry Hamilton to fight the Americans in 1779 (Beckwith 1903:261 and 576). And the records make their sympathies with the British quite evident (ibid.:220, 233-35, 319-28, and 394).

But the Americans had sent George Rogers Clark to Illinois in 1778 to end the Indian raids. He succeeded in obtaining a treaty at Cahokia with the Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sac, Fox and Miami (James 1912:124, 142 and 172); and at the same time his agents on the Wabash treated with the Piankeshaw, Wea, Peoria, Kickapoo, Mascoutin and some Shawnee and Delaware (Kellogg 1935:154-55). However, these treaties do not seem to have been very binding on the Kickapoo; for, other than an offer to help Clark when he attacked Fort Vincennes (James 1912:142), I find no record of their aiding the Americans against the British. And they certainly did not cease their raids in the Ohio Valley and American Bottom.

The post-Revolutionary war period was "a time of chaos in the villages of the American Bottom. . . . The Indians of the Old Northwest took up their tomahawks against the Americans and attacked

the villages, sparing not even the Frenchmen. The Miama, Wea, Kickapoo, and Potawatomi were all counted as enemies" (Alvord 1922:358 and 372. See also Beckwith 1884:111-12). There was no law in the area, and the Indians were fighting each other as well as the settlers for possession of the land. The newly formed United States was trying to decide what to do about the expansion into the west. The British remained illegally at Detroit and Mackinaw Island. The land around the Upper Ohio was claimed by two land companies. Land elsewhere was claimed by other land companies. Still other factions were working to have the land opened up only to small holdings, and others not to have the land opened to settlers at all. The Continental Congress finally decided to open the land for settlement on the more orderly northern pattern rather than the random homesteading type of the South. This congress ruled in 1785 that only small sections were to be sold to individuals; but in 1787 the congress passed another bill allowing the Ohio Land Company to buy large amounts, so that in effect the settlement was not so orderly! (Alvord 1922:379-89).

Furthermore, the British were still occupying most of the occupied area in Michigan, carrying on extensive trade with the Indians, and encouraging them in their hostility to the American settlers. Complaints of Indian depredations continued to be received by the United States government; so in 1789 the government sent one Anthony Gamelin to try and establish peace with "the chiefs of the

Wabash and Miami nations," so-called (American State Papers 1:93-94), which included Miami, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Piankeshaw, Potawatomi, Delaware and Wea. The Kickapoo informed him at this time that they were at war with the Chickasaw.

Gamelin failed in his attempt, and so in 1790, General Josiah Harmar led a contingent against these Indians. He was rebuffed at modern Fort Wayne, Indiana. In 1791 General Charles Scott assaulted Wea and Kickapoo towns, and General James Wilkinson burned some Kickapoo villages, although the main expedition under General Arthur St. Clair met overwhelming defeat in western Ohio (ibid.:15ff. and 133-35).

In 1792 Brigadier General Rufus Putnam succeeded in negotiating a treaty with some of the tribes on the Wabash, including the Kickapoo. Other tribes were Eel River Miami, Wea, Potawatomi of the Illinois River, Piankeshaw, Kaskaskia, Musquito (whose identification is uncertain) and Peoria. These Kickapoo were evidently only a portion of them, probably the Vermilion band (see p. 34), for they are designated as "the Kickapoos of the Wabash."

But the Indians on the Maumee were not as tractable as those on the Wabash. So Washington sent General Anthony Wayne in with his troops, where, at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, the Indians were finally defeated. This resulted in the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, which established a new boundary line for the Indians, legally opening up southern Ohio to settlement. There followed approximately

fifteen years of relative peace in that area.[13] The Kickapoo participated in the Treaty of Greenville, although they did not have representatives there until the negotiations were over half done, and at that had the smallest number of representatives of any tribe present (American State Papers 1:562-82).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century (notable, of course, because it was the century in which the United States government forcibly removed most of the Indians to west of the Mississippi River), the Kickapoo were located in villages extending from the Illinois River to the Wabash throughout central Illinois and west central Indiana. Beckwith (1884:125-27) summarizes their location, and incidentally their state of affairs also, thus:

> The principal of these [villages] were Kickapogo-oui, on the west bank of the Wabash, near Hudsonville, Crawford Co., Ill., and known, in the early days of the Northwest Territory as Musquiton (Mascoutine); another on both sides of the Vermilion River, at its confluence with the Wabash. This last village was destroyed by Maj. John F. Hamtramck, in Oct., 1790, whose military forces moved up the river from Vincennes . . . Higher up the Vermilion were other Kickapoo towns, particularly the one some four miles west of Danville, and near the mough of the Middle Fork. The remains of one of the most extensive burial-grounds in the Wabash Valley, still attest the magnitude of this once populous Indian city; and, although the village site has been in cultivation for over fifty years, every recurring

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[13] See Alvord 1922 for a good discussion of this part of the history of the Ohio Valley. Also Foreman 1946.

> year the plough-share turns up flint arrow-points . . . [etc.] of its former inhabitants. These people were greatly attached to the country watered by the Vermilion and its tributaries; and Gov. Harrison found a difficult task to reconcile them to ceding it away . . . The Kickapoos had other villages on the Embarras, some miles west of Charlestown, and still others about the head-waters of the Kaskaskia. During the period when the terrirory west of the Mississippi belonged to Spain, her subjects residing at St. Louis carried on a considerable trade among the Indians eastward of the Mississippi, particularly the Kickapoos near the headwaters of the Kaskaskia. Further northward they had still other villages, among them one toward the southwest corner of McLean County. The Kickapoo had, besides, villages west of Logansport and Lafayette, in the groves upon what is well known as 'Old Town' timber, in West Township, McLean Co., Ill. These last were especially obnoxious to the Pioneer settlers of Kentucky, because the Indians living or finding a refuge in them, made frequent and exasperating raids across the Ohio, where they would murder men and women, and carry off captive children, to say nothing of the lesser crimes of burning houses, and stealing horses. . . .
>
> The people of Kentucky were not the only sufferers from depredations of this tribe. From their towns near the Wabash, the Kickapoo war parties lurked upon the skirts of the settlements on the American Bottom from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, bent on the murder or capture of any unprotected person that fell in their way.

Remember that Beckwith considered the Kickapoo and Mascoutin as one and the same, so that, for instance, the town he calls Musquiton, near Hudsonville, was undoubtedly a Mascoutin town. To this listing of towns, Foreman (1946: 38) adds "principal towns" on the Sangamon River and Peoria Lake. These latter are confirmed in Harrison's papers (Esary 1922, 2:636-41).

Following the defeat of the northern Indians by Wayne, General William H. Harrison was appointed Governor of the Indiana Territory in 1800. One of the first things he did in this new office was to make new treaties with the Indians of the area, to better define the holdings of the United States around Vincennes. Some Kickapoo were a party to the treaties of 1803, along with Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, Potawatomi, Eel River, Piankashaw, Wea, and Kaskaskia (American State Papers 1:688 and Foreman 1946:23). There followed additional treaties in 1804, 1805, and 1809 which opened up parts of Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Missouri to settlement. By one of these, 1809, the Kickapoo ceded some land along the Illinois border north and west of Terre Haute (American State Papers 1:688, 762-63; Royce 1881).

With the whites now so obviously moving in on the area, the northern Indians began organizing again, this time with the secret support and encouragement of the British (American State Papers 1:798-802). There are reports of the Indians organizing for resistence to the United States as early as 1806, and these continue until after the War of 1812 (Esary 1922, passim). The leaders this time were Tecumseh[14] and his brother the Shawnee Prophet. Together

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[14]The Kickapoo in Oklahoma today claim Tecumseh was a Kickapoo. Interestingly, Trowbridge was told by some Indians that Tecumseh himself claimed to be Kickapoo by birth (Unpublished papers in the Michigan Historical Collections).

the Indians formed a village at Tippecanoe (where the Wabash and Tippecanoe rivers meet) that included large bands of Shawnee, Potawatomi, Delaware, Winnebago, Ottawa, Ojibway, Sac, Fox and Kickapoo (American State Papers 1:779-80). In 1810, Tecumseh, along with Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Ottawa and Winnebago chiefs, went to visit Harrison at Vincennes to tell him that they would not submit to the occupation of the Indiana lands by whites (Kellogg 1935:276). The Kickapoo were very active in trying to enlist other tribes of Indians in Tecumseh's uprising (American State Papers 1:798-802); and from Harrison's papers one gets the impression that the Kickapoo were the leaders (Esary 1:191-277 passim; also 417-20).

Realizing the state that the Indians were in, Harrison moved up to meet them in November 1811 at Tippecanoe. "The Kickapoos fought in great numbers and with frenzied courage"(Beckwith 1884:133) in this battle, which, of course, ended in the defeat of the Indians. A letter from Harrison to Secretary of War William Eustis indicates that the Kickapoo who took part in the resistance were the Vermilion Kickapoo and not the Prairie band (American State Papers 1:779-80), and another letter says that considerably more than half of the Kickapoo took part in it (Esary 2:21). An account of this battle told by a Kickapoo is also to be found in Harrison's papers (ibid., 1:616-17).

When the War of 1812 was declared the following June, the Kickapoo sided with the British almost immediately. They had not,

as a matter of fact, considered their defeat at Tippecanoe to be the end of hostilities with the United States (Esary 2:77-83). In that year, 1812, Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois led a force of troops up to Lake Peoria where they destroyed a Kickapoo village.[15] And the Kickapoo in turn seem to have taken a whole-hearted role in this war. They "sent out many war parties, that kept the settlements in Indiana and Illinois in constant peril; while other warriors of their tribe participated in almost every battle fought during this war along the western frontier." (Beckwith 1884:133. See also Esary 2: passim.) Their most noteworthy engagement was their attempt to capture Fort Harrison near what is now Terre Haute, Indiana; but the fort was successfully defended by Zachary Taylor. Beckwith (1884:133ff.) has a description of this battle by a Kickapoo who participated in it; and a report of this attack written by Taylor to Harrison is included in the latter's papers (Esary 2:124-128).

The end of this war essentially spelled the end of the Indian east of the Mississippi River; for the Americans had asserted their rights to the area once and for all, and their desire was for settlement. And with the end of this war came the end of the British influence over the Kickapoo.

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[15] Kellogg (1935:291-92) says this march was against the Kickapoo and Potawatomi. Alvord (1922:444) says the village was Kickapoo and Miami. Foreman (1946:26-27) has villages of Kickapoo, Miami and "French and Indian village of Peoria" being destroyed.

American Period

Removal

Complying with the terms of the treaty of Ghent, the United States signed a treaty of peace with the northern Indians, including the Kickapoo, at Portage des Sioux in 1815. The following year, the Kickapoo reaffirmed the land sessions of 1809 in another treaty (American State Papers 2:2, 93). And it was only three years later that they signed away all their remaining lands in Indiana and Illinois (ibid.:196-97. Royce 1881 summarizes these land sessions.)

For some time now, the Kickapoo seem to have been divided into two somewhat separate bands. That this division was recognized unofficially at least as early as 1792 is indicated by the reference to the "Kickapoos of the Wabash" in the American State Papers (1:93-94) for that year. Forsyth's estimate (in Blair 1912, 2:203-04) of the division as occurring "50 or 60 years ago" from 1827 would put it in the 1770's. But indications of this division occur even earlier. Beckwith (1884:119), for example, remarks of the second decade of the eighteenth century: "From . . . the Fox River, Wisconsin, the Kickapoo . . . passed to the south, extending their right flank in the direction of Rock River, and their left toward the southern end of Lake Michigan."

At the time of removal, one of these groups was centered around Peoria and the Sangamon river, designated as the Prairie band. The

other was centered on the Vermilion and Wabash rivers and was designated the Vermilion band. (There may also have already been a third band down in the southwest by this time, see below.) In the year 1819 the United States signed separate treaties with the two groups by which they each ceded their holdings in Illinois and Indiana for land in Missouri (American State Papers 2:196-98). The Missouri land was unfortunately obtained by the government from the Osage Indians, long time enemies of the Kickapoo.

The Prairie band signed on July 30, 1819, and Paschal Cerré was sent by the treaty commissioners to take this group to the Osage River country in Missouri. When he arrived on the Illinois River he discovered that most of the Indians had retreated into the woods. However, he succeeded in taking the remaining Kickapoo as far as a place he called the "Grande Batture" on the Osage River where they camped for the winter, proceeding to their new home the following spring.

The Vermilion (or Wabash) band signed a treaty of cession in August of 1819, but nothing was done about moving them that year. Another treaty, paying them annuities in order to help them move, was signed in the fall of 1820. But instead of going towards Missouri as they were supposed to do, they turned north and joined the Sac at Rock River. There were already some Kickapoo there, and probably had been on and off since 1737. For example, Governor Ninian Edwards

wrote to Thomas Forsyth from Kaskaskia in 1813 (in Blair 1912, 2: 141): "The Kickapoos are among the Sacs--and most certainly if they wish to harbor our enemies [sic] they can not be considered nor ought they to be treated as our friends--under the circumstances the only line I shall prescribe to them will be to keep out of the way of my rangers. I should, however, be glad to send them a talk first requiring them to drive the Kickapoos from among them . . ." Auguste Chouteau, who went to Illinois to try and remove the remaining Kickapoo, found them there. He also learned that there were still several groups of Kickapoo scattered in the woods of Illinois.

These Indians were understandably not anxious to leave their home grounds, nor did they want to settle so near the Osage, with whom they had been on unfriendly terms for a long time. But, in addition, they had received threats of violence from the Potawatomi and Sac for selling their lands (American State Papers 2:197). So the commissioners met with the Kickapoo again in St. Louis, ratifying the land treaties but changing the wording so they read that the Indians exchanged their lands for land in Missouri (ibid. 2:196, 227). The Senate had not ratified the original treaty and desired it amended, perhaps because the original read that the Kickapoo could hold the land in Missouri forever (ibid.: 227, 228). The Kickapoo were also paid some annuities at this time. There were some representatives of the Missouri group at this meeting as well as some of those from

Sac country. Following this treaty, some more Kickapoo did remove to Missouri in 1821.[16]

However, a large number of Kickapoo stayed on in Illinois illegally and never did remove to Missouri. Most of them seem to have been from the Vermilion band. It was this segment of the Kickapoo that was led for a time by Kenekuk, the so-called Kickapoo prophet. He was the innovator of a messianic religion similar to that devised by the Shawnee prophet and containing the mixture of Christianity and conservative "Indianism" common to most of the messianic cults of the American Indians. A large band of Potawatomi joined these Kickapoo to follow Kenekuk. He was a very powerful leader, managing to keep his band in the State of Illinois until the Missouri reservation was changed for one in Kansas in the 1830's. Catlin visited this band still in Illinois on his tour between 1832 and 1839, at which time he not only painted Kenekuk but also included a description of him in the text of his book (1926:111-14). He reports there were six or eight hundred Kickapoo in Illinois at this time living near the southern end of Lake Michigan (see also MacLeod 1928:520-21 and Foreman 1946:215).

All of the Prairie band evidently did not remove to Missouri either, for some were reported living on the south fork of the

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[16]For a rather comprehensive discussion of this removal of the Kickapoo, see Foreman 1946:38-43.

Sangamon and on the Kaskaskia as late as 1824 (Schoolcraft 1851-60, 3:573) and 1825 (Greene and Alvord 1909:1825).

As for the group that did go to Missouri, their stay there was brief and hectic.

> The Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo, and Piankashaw immigrants were in constant trouble with their Osage neighbors to the west. As they were rapidly depleting the game in Missouri, the Indian hunters were obliged to make long excursions far to the southwest across the present Oklahoma. The Osage, former occupants of the country, claimed exclusive right to hunt over it and bitterly resented the newcomers, who, for self-defense, traveled in large bodies as far as the Red River. Collisions were frequent and bloody. (Foreman 1946:44)

The government called these Indians together in an unsuccessful attempt to establish peace between them and the Osage in 1821 (ibid. 1930[a]:214-7). Another attempt was made in 1826, at which council a treaty was negotiated by General William Clark between the Osage, Delaware, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Wea, Piankeshaw and Peoria (American State Papers 2:673-74). That this treaty was ineffectual is indicated by the fact that the government felt compelled to make another attempt at a settlement in 1827 (Foreman 1930[a]:248). Peace was not possible as long as they remained in a competitive situation over the hunting grounds.

The situation finally became so intolerable that the Kickapoo asked the Indian superintendent; General Clark, to see if the government would not exchange their Missouri lands for some near Fort

Leavenworth, Kansas. The government, after the usual delay, consented to this solution in 1832.

So at General Clark's home near St. Louis in October of that year the Kickapoo signed a preliminary treaty relinquishing their reservation in Missouri for one on the Missouri River near Fort Leavenworth. This meeting was also attended by some two hundred and fifty of the Vermilion band from Illinois. And in November of that same year the treaty was ratified by another signed at Fort Leavenworth. The Kickapoo, along with a little over one hundred Potawatomi, were settled on this Kansas reservation in the summer of 1833.[17]

There is one other incident of note which occurred in the northern area that involved some Kickapoo, and that was Black Hawk's war in 1832. The Kickapoo that took part in this were some of those still remaining in Illinois at that date (Stevens 1903 passim; Green and Alvord 1909:xxxi). There were Kickapoo reported as far north as Rock river, Wisconsin, as late as 1832 (Territorial Papers 12:511); and some straggling Kickapoo were reported in the Chicago

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[17]Most of this material is summarized in Foreman 1946:61-64. He says there was a band led by one Kisko that refused to settle on this new reservation because the land was not good enough. However, there is a letter in the Oklahoma Historical Society from Commissioner Ellsworth of Fort Leavenworth to the Honorable E. Herring, Indian Commissioner in Washington, which indicates that their dissatisfaction was allayed by fall of that year. This letter is included in Foreman's collection of manuscripts in the Oklahoma Historical Society 2:44-45.

area as late as 1835 (Hoffman 1835:276). But though the settlement in Kansas in 1833 did not clear all of the Kickapoo out of the North, they were never significant north of the Missouri nor east of the Mississippi again.

Kansas Kickapoo

The Kansas location has remained a home site for some Kickapoo ever since their settlement there in 1833. There is still a group located there at the present time, although this group is probably more Potawatomi in nature than Kickapoo. The Kickapoo in Oklahoma today consider them to be Potawatomi. Likewide, Commissioner of Indian Affairs D. N. Cooley in the report for 1866 wrote (p. 49): "The condition of this tribe is somewhat peculiar, as now organized and resident upon their reservation. The majority of the people are not Kickapoo by blood, but Pottawatomies, who some years since purchased a right to a share in the lands and annuities of the tribe; and when, under the last treaty, allotments were made upon the diminished reserve, a majority of those who took them were Pottawatomies, while most of the genuine Kickapoos continued to live upon the common lands [emphasis mine, BD]." Furthermore, at least forty of the Kickapoo who were still in Kansas at the time Cooley made this report subsequently joined the others in Oklahoma, as we shall see.

Although the major concern of this paper is not with the Kansas group, there are a few other incidents regarding them that are of

interest to us. In 1837 or 1838 some of these Kickapoo left Kansas to hunt on the Red River, where they joined some of their tribesmen already in Texas and on Creek lands and never returned to Kansas (Foreman 1946:207).[18]

In 1851, by mutual request, the Potawatomi, who had been with this faction of the Kickapoo since before they left Illinois, were formally incorporated into the Kickapoo tribe. They were henceforth to be regarded as Kickapoo in matters involving annuities, treaties, and the like (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, Annual Report[19] 1851:61). In 1852 Kenekuk died, and in 1854 they signed articles of severalty (BIA 1852:70-72; 1854:5-6). In 1862, the treaty for the actual allotment of Kansas lands in severalty was signed (ibid. 1864: 179).

During the Civil War, about half of the Kickapoo remaining in Kansas, this time reputedly dissatisfied with the treaty to allot the land, left Kansas to join their kinsmen in the Southwest (Root

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[18]Foreman also says (ibid.:208) that a group left Kansas in 1858, but this is probably a typographical error, for he says they "left their homes . . . under the Kickapoo Prophet," when the prophet had, in fact, been dead since 1852. Evidently there was some error in Foreman's transcription of this information; for he not only has the date as 1858, but the information which he attributes to the Creek agent, James Logan, actually came from the Choctaw agent, William Armstrong, and refers to the migration from Missouri as occuring "some 7 or 8 years ago" from 1845. (Compare United States 1845:508 and Foreman ibid.:208.) Ritzenthaler and Peterson repeat this error of Foreman's (1956:18).

[19]Hereinafter referred to as BIA.

1931-32:153). The Commissioners Report for 1864 says, in part (p. 35): "About one half of the tribe went into the southwestern part of Kansas about August 1, where they engaged in the hunt, declaring their intention to find, if possible, some favorable location to which they might, with the consent of the government, be removed." And again (p. 349): "So great is the dissatisfaction among the Kickapoo Indians in regard to their treaty, that fully one half of the tribe have emigrated to the southern country. The opinion prevails that they have abandoned their reserve altogether, and have gone to Red River with a view of looking up a suitable place for their future home." About fifteen of these Indians returned to Kansas in 1866.

And finally, in 1878, after the Mexican Kickapoo had been removed to Oklahoma and established upon a reservation there, some forty more left Kansas to join them (BIA 1878:69).

In summing up the Kansas Kickapoo, then, it seems that the State became home only to a few Kickapoo; namely, those who had been members of the Vermilion band, became followers of the prophet, and later joined with the Potawatomi and accepted their lands in severalty more or less willingly. The remaining ones split off at various times to form what are now the Oklahoma branch (usually confusingly referred to in the literature as the Mexican Kickapoo) and the Mexican branch proper.

Mexican Kickapoo

We turn now to the Kickapoo that migrated to the Southwest. Just when the first Kickapoo split off from the others in the Midwest and went to the Oklahoma-Texas area is uncertain. Fabila (1945:25) says there was a group in Mexico that received a land grant from Charles III of Spain in 1767. This was, of course, after the time of Pontiac's final defeat (1765), and would, therefore, be a reasonable time for them to have left. And this does seem to tie in with Forsyth's statement (in Blair 1912, 2:203-04) written in 1827:

> It does not appear that the Kicapoos entered into the war against the Ninneway Indians [meaning the Lenape or Delaware] untill after they (the Kicapoo Indians) left the Wabash River, which is now about 50 or 60 years ago and made war against the band of Kaskaskias. I do not mean to say that all the Kicapoos left the Wabash at the same time above mentioned as Joseph L'Reynard and a few followers never would consent to leave the Wabash, and go into the Piraries [sic] . . . "

On the other hand, Forsyth may well have been referring to the division between what later became known as the Vermilion and Prairie bands. The distinction he makes between the Wabash and the "Pirarie" would tend to support this conclusion. W. P. Badger, Indian agent, wrote in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1859 (p. 38) that the Kickapoo separated "60 years ago," one group going to the Southwest. This would put their initial migration at around 1800. Foreman (1946:38) seems to accept Badger's statement. On the other hand, there is no mention of any Kickapoo in

either the Red River or the Nacogdoches area in descriptions of these regions written in 1805 and included in the American State Papers (1:725-40), although it does mention a man from Illinois in the area who came with some "Delawares and other Indians."

According to at least two travellers of the mid-nineteenth century, both of whom met some of the early southwestern Kickapoo, they may originally have migrated there after the Battle of Tippecanoe or the War of 1812. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, a major general in the United States Army, wrote from Indian Territory in 1842 about the Kickapoo on the Canadian River at that time, saying that the tribes defeated at Tippecanoe left for the southwest after the battle (in Foreman 1930[b]:176). One José Maria Sanchez, who travelled in Texas in 1828 and met some Kickapoo in the northeastern part of the state, says of them (Sanchez 1926:280):

> This tribe used to live on the lakes in Canada [sic], and in 1814, when the English invaded the United States of the North, the Kickapoo joined them in the war against the Americans, their chief enemies. In fact, their depredations were terrible, and, when the English concluded a treaty of peace, the Americans sent a heavy division against the Kickapoos, which they could not withstand because of their reduced numbers. They abandoned their country and came to establish themselves in Texas, numbering in all 110 families.

This story, by the way, sounds as if Mr. Sanchez might have heard it from a Kickapoo. Foreman (1946:35, 159) does have some Shawnee leaving after 1812 and settling with Delawares on the Red River, but does not give his source of information.

Or the first migration may not have occurred until about the time of the signing of the treaties ceding their lands in Illinois. This view seems to have been the opinion of Mooney (1892-93:650) and Beckwith (1884:136).

In any event, we know that there were some Kickapoo living in Texas by 1824, for at that time they, along with some Shawnee, requested permission of the alcalde of Austin to make their permanent home in Texas. They are also described at this time as between the Sabine and Red Rivers by General Lamar (in Foote 1935, 1:299). According to the Senate Document on Kickapoo affairs (United States 1908, 3:1885, 2124) the Kickapoo received a cession for a tract of land bounded by a line extending from where the San Antonio road crosses the San Angelo River "up San Angelo river to its source, then east to Sabine river, and down said river to the crossing of the San Antonio road." If such a grant was made, it was actually made to the "Cherokee and their associated bands" and was near Nacogdoches. Chief Bowles, head of this band of Cherokee, had left Arkansas with a large group of Cherokee around 1817 and gone into the then Mexican Texas. There they united at a later date with other immigrant Indians, including Kickapoo, Shawnee, Delaware, Quawpaw, Choctaw, Biloxi, and some Caddo and Creek. This group settled mainly near the Trinity, Neches and Angelina rivers on the land for which they evidently had some sort of a grant from the Mexican government. Mooney (1897-98, 1:143-46) reports this, but evidently did not know of the issuance of

any patent on the land. Practically this same tale is told by Ethan Allen Hitchcock (Foreman 1930[b]:256), but he was aware of a grant: "For this section of country Bowles procured a regular patent from the Mexican government--a fact not generally known; but I saw an intelligent white man who assured me he had seen the patent and that it was brought from Mexico by Colonel Austin himself for Bowles."

There is no doubt but what the Indians lived for a time on the land described above, but there is some disagreement as to whether or not a patent from the Mexican government for this land ever existed. Winkler (1903:95-165) reviews the evidence with respect to the Cherokee and concludes that there was no grant. However, the Senate Document on Kickapoo affairs (United States 1908, 3:1885) writes positively of a land grant to the Kickapoo and goes on to say they occupied this grant from 1825 to 1842, then moving to a tract northwest of Austin where they stayed till the Civil War.

Some confusion probably results from the fact that there was more than one group or band of Kickapoo living in the Southwest from the early 1820's on. The picture is complicated by the fact that the Kickapoo living in Missouri at that time made frequent hunting trips into the Southwest, so that when someone reports having seen a group of Kickapoo in this area, there is no way of knowing whether or not they had permanent settlements there unless the author so states.

However, we do find word of another group settled there about 1825. At that time there was a band of Kickapoo associated with the

so-called lawless Cherokee on the Red River. These Cherokee were followers of a Chief Tahchee ("Dutch") who had left the main group of Cherokee on the Arkansas when the United States government insisted that the Cherokee all move north of the Arkansas. They settled opposite the mouth of the Kiamichi on the Red River, and there, in association with some Kickapoo, are chiefly noted for their battles with the Osage and Tawakoni (Foreman 1946:237-41).

Additional evidence for there being already more than one group of Kickapoo in the Southwest at this time is contained in an 1827 report. Some Kickapoo, to the extent of one hundred and fifty warriors, were reported as living "on the Sabine River" and another "small party on Pecan Bayou" (Foreman 1930[a]:249). They were again reported on the Sabine in 1829 (ibid.:277), and this group would probably be the ones supposedly granted land by Mexico.

In 1836 President Sam Houston of Texas made a treaty with the Indians long settled near Sabine to grant them Cherokee and Smith counties and parts of others, but the Texas Senate did not ratify this treaty. (There is a copy of this treaty among the Foreman papers in the Oklahoma Historical Society.) A committee reporting on these Indians to the Texas Senate mentions that they had been living there since 1829 (Foreman 1946:161). The Texans feared that the Indians were allying themselves with the Mexicans for an attempt to win Texas back for Mexico, apparently not without some reason. There are several letters among the Foreman manuscripts written by United

States and Texas officials relevant to the attempts of the Mexicans to assemble the Indians with the intention of overthrowing the Texas regime. For example, one from Acting Superintendent William Armstrong of the Choctaw agency in August of 1838 (Foreman n. d., 1:185) says in part:

> I have no doubt that attempts are making to to enduce the Indians to join the Mexicans. The Shawnees and Delawares and Kickapoos who lived on Blue have crossed to the south side of Red River opposite the mouth of Washita. There is about two hundred warriors in these tribes, they resided in the Choctaw Nations until the Chickasaws came over and began to settle around them, since which they have left. There are also a few Creeks and Choctaws living in Texas, which with the Cherokees and Caddoes they number some eight or nine hundred Warriors, there is a manifest disposition on the part of the Indians to join the Mexicans. They hold out the inducement of giving the country. Should difficulties arise in Texas and the Indians be induced to cooperate with the Mexicans, it will be almost impossible to prevent the tribes on this frontier from joining particularly the Creeks and Cherokees, and the Choctaws to some extent.

And so, in July of 1839, under President Mirabeau B. Lamar, some Texas regiments attacked and defeated the Cherokee and associated bands, driving them out of Texas (Thrall 1885:115-20; Mooney 1897-98, 1:143-46). From Texas they crossed the Red River into what was then the territory of the Chickasaws, along the Blue and Washitaw rivers, where some of them had lived before (see Armstrong's letter, above).

Although in general the agent, G. P. Kingsbury, wrote favorably of them, they were not welcome intruders there by the other Indians. Finally, in 1841, General Matthew Arbuckle of Fort Gibson sent a detachment of troops to remove them. From here these Kickapoo accepted the invitation of the Creeks to settle on their land on the north shore of the Canadian River, territory which was not at all unfamiliar to them, having hunted in this area since the 1820's.

In 1842 Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock made an inspection of the Indian country and sent back a report on the refugee Indians on the Canadian River (Foreman 1930[b]:256-57, 176):

> In the western part of the Creek and Choctaw Nations, there are several fragments of different tribes of Indians not properly belonging there--as Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Quawpaws, and Piankashaws. Nearly all of them are on the Canadian extending some 60 miles above the mouth of Little River. . . . The Shawnees, about 700 in number, are scattered along the Canadian on both sides of the river above the mouth of Little River. . . . There are about 700 Delawares residing some 60 miles above the mouth of Little River. . . . About 15 miles up the Canadian from the mouth of Little River there are about 1500 Kickapoos living in a body with Shawnees above and below them. The Shawnees, Delawares and Kickapoos all cultivate to some extent--the Kickapoos more particularly--and all of them are permitted to live in the Creek Nation, by the Creek Chiefs, no doubt as a measure of policy to increase their own strength.
>
> There are 1500 Kickapoos high up on the Canadian. Several of these wandering families have recently been driven out of Texas.

The Canadian River remained home for a large number of Kickapoo until the Civil War, and we find several references to them during these twenty years or so. In 1845 they met with the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Osage, and the refugee Indians in the Creek Nation for a peace conference. As Armstrong put it (Foreman n.d. 6:15-16):

> As a matter of course the encroachments of the frontier settlements upon their hunting grounds, excited the hostility of those who depend upon the buffalo for subsistence. Apart from this cause, of itself sufficient, there is reason to apprehend that the frequent attacks of the Creeks, and of the Kickapoos and other Indians living in the Creek country, upon small parties of the Pawnees of Platte, or "Pawnee Mahas," found occasionally in their settlements, may lead to serious consequences, as such attacks have in every instance resulted in the death of one or more of the Pawnees.

He goes on to add that if the commissioner thinks it advisable to try and bring the Comanches to the peace conference, he would advise their sending some Shawnee, Kickapoo or Delaware as emmissaries since they "generally understand well the language and character of the Comanches." The reason the former "understood" the Comanche was that these immigrant Indians were still making journeys into Texas for trading and raiding.

As a matter of fact, Texas was still the home of at least part of the Kickapoo, some of whom may never have left after the defeat of the associated bands. The Senate Document on Kickapoo affairs (United States 1908, 3:1907-08) reports:

> In the year 1839 a general order was issued by the Federal Government for the removal of all Indians from the then Republic of Texas. Through the intercessions of the then acting president of the provisional government of Texas, Lamar, the Commissioner who was charged with carrying out the order of removal was prevailed upon not to molest or remove the Kickapoos, Shawnees, and Delawares, to whom later a grant in common was made for services rendered by them in protecting the border of the Republic against hostile Indians. This grant was 40 miles square, situated on the Brazos River.

In 1848, Commissioner George W. Bonnell gave a survey of Texas Indians, listing as residing on the Trinity River and between it and the Red 1,200 Kickapoo, 400 Delaware, 375 Shawnee, and 100 Cherokee, as well as some Alabamas, Boluxies, Iawanies, etc. So evidently the Indians who had supposedly been expelled from Texas either had not all left or did not all remain away.[20] The commissioner goes on to report (United States 1848:47) that "These Indians have made many advances towards civilization; they have settled residences, cultivate the soil, raise cattle . . ." And at this same time there were, of course, still Kickapoo on the Canadian River in Creek land. In fact, in the same report Robert Neighbors, Indian agent, tells of a band of Kickapoo, Creek and Seminole under Wild Cat (a famous Seminole chief) who were attempting to induce the wild Texas Indians into joining them in Creek lands.

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[20] According to Mooney, also, after the battle with the Texans some of the Kickapoo, Delaware, Caddo and Cherokee scattered to west Texas rather than crossing the Red River (1897-98, 1:146).

In 1849 Captain R. B. Marcy saw a group of Kickapoo near the Clear Fork of the Brazos in north Texas. He reported that they were fine-looking warriors, well armed with rifles and well mounted; they numbered about 100 and were on their way with their families to spend the winter hunting along the Colorado river (United States 1850: 215). Foreman (1946: 207) uses this passage (partly paraphrased), though for some reason he reads Marcy as meeting these Indians on the Canadian River instead of the Brazos. Marcy's description of them goes on to say: "[They] . . . were brave warriors, good shots, and prepared to meet any of the prairie tribes, either in business or in war. They carried out articles to exchange with the wild tribes for mules, that they drove back to the settlements in the spring; thus they formed a commercial and communicating medium between the white traders and the wild tribes and carried on a profitable business while they indulged in the chase, their favorite occupation."

Marcy also saw some Kickapoo in 1852 while exploring the Red River. This band was a group of hunters, of whose appearance Marcy speaks highly (quoted in ibid.: 207): "They were fine-looking, well dressed young men with open, frank and intelligent countenances and seemed to scorn the idea of begging."

In 1850 or so, the group of Kickapoo from Creek lands that had joined the Seminole Wild Cat crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico with him and his band. The date of "around 1850" is pretty well established for this emigration to Mexico (Oklahoma Historical

Society Agency files; Foreman ibid.:208; Richardson 1933:171; Porter 1952:360).

In a report on Indian tribes encountered while making a survey for a railroad route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific in 1853 and 1854, there is included a short description of the tribes, including Kickapoo, in Choctaw and Creek country (Whipple, Ewbank and Turner 1856, 3:9):

> The territory . . . [of the] Choctaw nation extends from the State of Arkansas on the east, and the Canadian river upon the north, to the boundary of Texas upon the south and west . . . several Chickasaw villages are scattered through the central parts; bands of Shawnees, Quapaws, and Delawares are located midway upon the Canadian, and the western division is occupied by various remnants of wilder tribes, such as Topofkees, Kichais, Kickapoos, Caddos, Heucos, and Witchitas. Upon the northern side of the Canadian are Creeks, Quapaws, and Cherokees. All of the above-mentioned have fixed habitations, and, to a greater or less extent, are engaged in agriculture . . . Among those contiguous to our route, residing in the Choctaw or Creek territory, and characterized as rude [as contrasted with semi-civilized for the Choctaws and barbarous for the Kiowas, Comanches, and Lipans] the following are enumerated:
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> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Topofkees | 200 |
> | Kichais | 500 |
> | Kickapoos | 400 |
> | Caddoes | 100 |
> | Huecos | 400 |
> | Witchitas | 500 |
>
> . . . These remnants of tribes have much intercourse with, and are supposed to be considerably influenced by, the semi-civilized class above alluded to . . . . Already they cultivate the soil to some extent, but, retaining many of their old habits, are fond of hunting and a roving life, and commit occasional depredations upon their neighbors.

These are the Kickapoo that had been invited by the Creeks to make their home in Creek country, for they provided them good protection against the wilder tribes to the west (Foreman ibid. : 207).

Complaints about depredations by the Kickapoo in Texas became quite severe about this time. For example, in 1854 the agent Neighbors wrote to Manypenny, then Commissioner (BIA 1854: 158-59), ". . . I would call the attention of the department to the serious depredations committed by Indians residing east of Red River, in the United States Indian reserve. There now reside on our border in the Choctaw and Chickasaw reserve, the Wichitas, Wacoes, Tahwacconas, Keechies, small bands of Ionias, and a considerable band of Kickapoos. They have from time to time crossed into Texas, and have during the year stolen large numbers of horses, and committed other serious depredations on our citizens." And after reporting some murders of white men committed by Kickapoo, he goes on to say that they are not now under the control of any agent and that something should be done about them. Similar reports were made in neighboring years (BIA 1853, 1856, 1857, etc.). In 1857, the Chickasaw legislature voted a resolution ordering the intruding Kickapoo, Shawnee and Delaware to leave their lands. In his letter reporting this action to the Commissioner, Agent A. H. McKisick also says (BIA 1857: 549): "Of Kickapoos, Shawnees, and Delawares, there are three thousand five hundred; of this number two thousand have been born on the soil,

and have never been off it; they are living on the Canadian and False Washita . . . "

In 1859 the government removed several groups of Indians from Texas (among them Wichitas, Tawaconi, Waco, Comanche, Caddo and Anadarko) to the so-called "leased district" on the Washita River near present Anadarko, Oklahoma, and found it already occupied by some three hundred Kickapoo, Shawnee, and Delaware, these being different from the Shawnee and Kickapoo to be found on the southwestern border of Creek land (Abel 1915:56-57; Foreman 1946:283). In 1860, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, now one A. B. Greenwood, recommended that these Indians in the Leased District that did not belong there be removed to some reservation to be selected for them (BIA 1860:18). But before anything more could be done about any of the Kickapoo in Indian Territory, the Civil War broke out.

When the war started, both the North and the South were interested in obtaining the help, or, at least, the neutrality, of the Indians. In 1861 Albert Pike, the Confederate commissioner to Indian tribes, contacted Matthew Leeper, Wichita agent, to ask him to enlist the aid "in arms" of the Kickapoo and Delaware in his area (in Abel 1915:181): "I shall be greatly obliged to you for all assistance you can render in securing the services in arms of the Kickapoos and Delawares. They will be paid like other mounted men, receiving 40 cents a day for use and risk of their horse, in addition to their

pay, rations, and clothing." And in 1862 William B. Dole, United States Commissioner, sent Baptiste Peoria to the tribes in Indian Territory to determine their loyalty and see how many of them would agree to remain neutral (BIA 1862:317-18).

If anything, the Kickapoo sentiments do seem to have been more pro-Union. Creek agent George A. Cutler wrote to Dole (ibid.:200; Abel 1919:66): ". . . the Washitas, Caddos, Tenies, Wakoes, Tewakano, Chickies, Shawnees and Kickapoos are almost unanimously Union." Some Kickapoo took part in an Indian brigade that fought some battles in the South, although the main result of this seems to have been the killing of Leeper and another white man at his agency, and an attack on the Tonkawas.[21] Afterward, they retreated to Kansas, where four hundred Kickapoo were reported as among the refugee Indians in 1862 (BIA 1862:310).

Mainly, however, the Kickapoo did not want to be involved in this war between white men; in addition, they were very dissatisfied with the treaty of 1862. And so, in 1864,[22] the whole tribe, except

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[21] Reports of these engagements may be found in the BIA for 1862 and in Abel 1919:183-84.

[22] There is some discrepancy in the date given for this exodus and the ensuing battle with the Texans. Senate Document 215 (United States 1908:1886) gives it as 1862, probably following the Commissioners Report of either 1867 (p. 293) or 1879 (p. 70), both of which also give 1862. Foreman (1946:209) gives 1862 also. However, the Report of 1862 does not report any Kickapoo leaving for Mexico in that year, whereas the Report for 1864 does. And the Official Records of the Civil War reports the battle as occurring in January 1865 (United States 1896:26-27).

for about one hundred and fifty that stayed behind on the reservation in Kansas, set out for Mexico, where they expected to join some Kickapoo that had gone there earlier. It was quite an exodus, for there were, according to No-Ko-Aht, a Kickapoo, who later gave the story to the agent in Kansas, five different groups that joined together from different parts of Kansas and the Southwest to make the trip. They probably included a group of refugees who had been under the care of the Wichita agent, for by the Commissioners Report of 1866 the Kickapoo have disappeared from the group listed by that agent. There may have been close to a thousand Indians in all.

On the way, three of these groups that had already combined made camp one night on Dove Creek, a tributary of the Concho River, near Knickerbocker, Texas. The following morning, January 8, 1865, they were attacked by some Confederate cavalry in a battle that the Kickapoo have never forgotten. Several of the soldiers were killed, whereupon they withdrew; and the Kickapoo hastily broke camp and continued their journey to Mexico.[23]

When they arrived in Mexico, they found about twenty Kickapoo there who had lived there about twenty years (Root ibid.:155). These

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[23]The official records concerning this battle are in United States (1896:26-30). There are other accounts of it, as well as the journey of these Indians, given in Senate Document 215 (United States 1908, 3:1886), Root 1931-32:155-56, and various of the Commissioners Reports for succeeding years.

may be Kickapoo who had gone to Mexico with the Seminoles. However, there were also some Kickapoo in Mexico in 1840, for there is a letter on file in the United States Indian office from the United States consul at Matamoras, Mexico, written in 1840, in which he informs the government that there are some refugee Indians from Texas down in Mexico serving the Mexican army, including seven Kickapoo (United States 1908, 3:1911-12; also a copy of this letter is on file in the Oklahoma Historical Society). The Indians the Kickapoo met in Mexico in 1865 may have been remnants of this group.

In any event, the Kickapoo found themselves very welcome by the Mexican government as potential protectors against the Lipan, Mescalero Apache, and Comanche, all of whom were causing trouble to the Mexicans in the north. Accordingly, the Mexican government gave them a tract of land at Nacimiento in the Santa Rosa Mountains, where the Mexican Kickapoo live today.

Some of the Kickapoo from Kansas started to return to the United States in the spring of 1866 because they were dissatisfied with Mexico. Of these, forty finally made it back to the reservation.

For the next few years the Kickapoo in Mexico made themselves a nuisance to the people of Texas. They would cross the Rio Grande into that state, raid ranches, steal horses and cattle, and kill or kidnap the inhabitants; and then, when pursued, would re-cross the river into Mexico and immunity from United States citizens. Many complaints were made to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (BIA

1868, 1869, 1870), frequently accompanied with the suggestion that these Indians be brought back to the United States and settled somewhere on a reservation where they could no longer trouble the Texans. One letter, written by one S. S. Brown of San Antonio to Superintendent of Indian Affairs Enoch Hoag in 1870, expressed the state of agitation in Texas over the Kickapoo very well (Oklahoma Historical Society Agency Files):

> Dear Sir:
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> I desire to correspond with you in regard to the exile Kickapoo Indians in Mexico, near the Texas border, who have for years, and are still desolating our frontier. . . . [They] are not hostile to the U. S., but to Texans , and would be glad to return to their own people. My proposition is, that the proper agent send a delegation of their people to them on the Rio Grande. This, in my opinion, would lead to immediate results: --either their return to their former abodes, or their incorporation as adjuncts to the several military posts of our frontier, as guides, scouts, etc., in which capacity they could be made of immense service, and be efficient friends, instead of deadly enemies, which they will always be while domiciled in the border [word missing] and under Mexican influence.
>
> Our people have in vain appealed to the U.S. Military authorities, and to the Department of Indian Affairs at Washington. We are now mustering-in frontiersmen, and the consequences, however vigilant the National Authorities, are not doubtful. National boundaries will not stop our people, once organized and armed as a military body from following their property, and captive wives and children across the Rio Grande. . . .

As a result of such agitation, a delegation was sent in 1871, including some Kickapoo from Kansas, to see if they could persuade the Mexican Kickapoo to return to the United States. This

commission was not successful, mainly, it seems, because the Mexican government did not want them to leave. The Kickapoo were too valuable as a protection against the Apaches and Lipans; and also, of course, they provided an extra source of labor and trade for the Mexicans (BIA 1871:192-97, 460). The United States was interested in removing them not only to protect the lives and property of the citizens of the State of Texas but also in order to avoid any incidents with Mexico that might arise from United States citizens crossing the border to retaliate against the Indians.

In 1873, the government made a second attempt, sending another commission to Mexico to talk with the Indians. While this commission was in Mexico, but before it had arrived at the Kickapoo village, some United States troops, under one General (or Major, the sources vary) R. S. Mackenzie, pursued some Kickapoo across the border into Mexico. Near Remolina they engaged them in a battle in which many were killed or wounded, and took several captives back with them to San Antonio (BIA 1873:169-73).

This time the commission had the blessings of the Coahuilan governor, Cepeda, and the help of his commissioner, Señor Antonio Montero. After several days of negotiations, including a trip by some delegates of the Kickapoo to check on the welfare of the captives in San Antonio, a large number of them agreed to come to Indian Territory, providing they could travel without going through Texas. They still considered themselves at war with Texas.

This condition was agreed upon, and a route arranged around the state of Texas. In 1873, about three hundred and fifty-five of these Mexican Kickapoo arrived in Oklahoma on the north fork of the Canadian River.

In 1875, another one hundred and forty-four were brought from Mexico to the reservation in Oklahoma (BIA 1874; 1875). And in 1878 the Oklahoma group was joined by forty of the Kansas Kickapoo who had decided to make their home with this group (BIA 1878:69).

The reservation was officially allotted to them by executive order in 1883 (ibid. 1883:223), and although they consistently opposed individual allotments, Congress enacted allotment legislation relevant to their lands in 1893. This allotment was based on an agreement with some supposed representatives of the Kickapoo obtained by members of the so-called Cherokee commission. That the tribe itself did not want any such agreement is made perfectly obvious in the records dealing with this transaction.[24] In 1895, the remaining lands were opened to white settlement by Presidential proclamation.

However, the trouble over land and its settlement was not ended for the Kickapoo by any means. At first a number of them, known as the "Kicking Kickapoo", simply refused to take their allotments, settling instead in a group on land supposedly reserved for school

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[24] See especially the Commissioners Report for 1891 and United States 1908, 3:1899-1900. For a good summary of the work of this commission see Chapman 1939:62-74.

purposes. The President of the United States, Grover Cleveland, was appealed to in person by a delegation of Kickapoo to come to their aid when the Department of Interior attempted to remove them forcibly from this piece of "school land." Cleveland convinced them that he personally would see that they were dealt with fairly if they would take their allotments; and they did so, in 1895 and 1896. At this time they were also given by Cleveland the right to pick their own agent, and they chose one Martin J. Bentley.

In 1901, the administration of Kickapoo affairs was taken out of Bentley's hands, following a general policy of the Indian Department, and put into the hands of the school superintendent. At this time, a number of Kickapoo became disgusted and began moving, by families and small groups, back to Mexico. By 1906, there were three hundred of the Oklahoma Kickapoo back in Mexico and only twenty-eight left in Oklahoma (United States 1908, 3:1929). Bentley was still concerning himself, unofficially, with their affairs; and when the Mexican government denied these Oklahoma Kickapoo the right to settle with their relatives in Nacimiento, Bentley began negotiations to buy them some other lands in Mexico.

At this time the United States government removed the restrictions from their allotments in Oklahoma, enabling them to be sold. Immediately several parties descended on the Oklahoma Kickapoo, still mainly in Mexico, and began swindling them out of their land. There seems to have been some aid and collusion of

certain government officials in this transaction. In any event, the situation became serious enough that a full-scale investigation was made by a Senate committee into these land deals, and an attempt begun on the part of the Senate to restore the land to the Kickapoo (United States 1908, 1-3 passim).

Bentley was allowed to take the proceeds from the sale of some of the allotments, with the permission of the Indians involved, and buy them some land in Sonora, Mexico. When he did, a number of families settled on it. This community flourished for awhile; but the Indians gradually began leaving it until by 1916 Sonora was practically deserted. Its failure was probably due to its being so far from both Nacimiento and Oklahoma, where all of the Sonoran families still had relatives, friends, and property. By 1954 there was just one family left in Sonora.

Today there are about three hundred Kickapoo in Nacimiento, around four hundred in Oklahoma, one family still in Sonora, and the so-called Kickapoo of Kansas, who are probably more accurately designated as Potawatomi.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

General Setting

Today the Oklahoma Kickapoo live in approximately the same general area that their reservation formerly covered, viz., northwest of the present town of Shawnee on the North Canadian River. Of the original 22,504.24 acres alloted only 8,444 acres remained in 1952.[25] This land is mainly included within a triangular area from Harrah east to Meeker, south to just north of Shawnee and up through McLoud to Harrah again. It includes, then, parts of Oklahoma, Lincoln and Pottawatomie counties. House Report 2503 (United States 1953:675) lists Kickapoo only in Lincoln and Pottawatomie counties. But the original reservation extended into Oklahoma county as well (p. 698), where the town of Jones is, and there were still some Kickapoo at Jones in 1952-53.

In general, this area of Oklahoma is very desirable land, being rolling and green and well watered. The Kickapoo holdings are

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[25] United States 1953:1924 and 82, respectively. Page 1236, same report, gives 8,817 acres as Indian owned, but this figure is for 1945.

scattered throughout the countryside, their homes usually being set back from the main roads, and, if possible, shielded from them by groves of trees.

There is no real village today. However, there is a plot of three acres of tribal land that is sometimes referred to as the village. This is the only land that the tribe owns in common (listed as trust land in ibid.: 64) and it was donated to them by their last "queen". It is located south of Highway 270 between McLoud and Shawnee in a patch of woods. This land is supposed to be open for any Kickapoo who wants to build a home there, and in 1952 and 1953 three wickiups were there, as well as an open shed, a menstrual hut, and a peyote tent. Just to the south of this "village," which is in the woods, there is a cleared area that is used as a ball field (Figure 1); and just south of this field, also in woods, is a patch of ground which is a communal burial ground (Figures 2 and 3). In a sense, this is a cultural-geographical center for the tribe, since they all feel some ownership of and interest in these three acres. But tribal gatherings are also held in other places, people are also buried in other places, and as mentioned, most of their homes are elsewhere; so it would not be accurate to speak of it as their headquarters or "home place."

Population

A government document reports that there were 400 Oklahoma Kickapoo in 1953 (ibid.: 522. This appears to be an estimate.). The

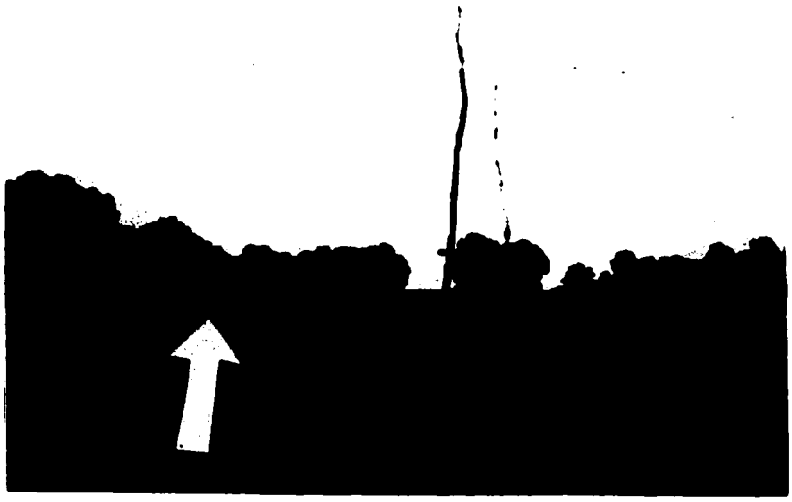


Figure 1. Ball field south of the "village". Arrow indicates north goal.



Figure 2. Grave, showing marker.



Figure 3. Grave. Arrow indicates log used for carrying the corpse to to the grave.

author also did a census in 1953. It is difficult to give an accurate figure of their number, partly because they do not want to be counted (nor, for that matter, to have much of anything to do with government officials at all). Also, the population is a very fluctuating one. There is a constant trickle of individuals and families moving back and forth between Nacimiento and Oklahoma. There are migratory workers who are gone, frequently with all or part of their families, for a good portion of the year. Some of the younger individuals move "permanently" to another state; and also, sometimes some of those who were considered to have moved out permanently change their minds and return to Oklahoma. These factors cause the size of the population to vary considerably from year to year and even from season to season.

Then there is the additional problem of who is to be considered a Kickapoo. To the Oklahoma Kickapoo, bearing a Kickapoo name seems to be the single most important criterion in deciding whether or not an individual is Kickapoo. For example, if an individual has a Shawnee father and a Kickapoo mother, he is considered Kickapoo only if he has been named with a Kickapoo name at a Kickapoo naming ceremony. Therefore, this is the criterion the author used in deciding whether or not to include individuals in this census.[26] There are a

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[26] Just why having a Kickapoo name is considered so important to the members of the tribe will become clear in later discussions of social organization and ceremonial life.

few exceptions to this general rule. There is one full-blooded woman who was never given an Indian name at all. However, she is allowed to participate in all of the Kickapoo "doings" and has several children, all of whom have been so named, so she was included. The other exceptions consist of about three individuals who are half-breed Kickapoo without Kickapoo names but all of whom, again, have remained active participants in Kickapoo culture and have several children with Kickapoo names.

The author's census, as compared with the government's figure of 400, seems to have been fairly complete. The information was collected initially from one main female informant, spot-checked with another informant, and then checked informally by personal conversations with some other adults and by observation.

This count includes 106 adult males, 97 adult females and 176 minor children, making a total population of 379, with 203 of these being adults. There were six families with children the exact number of whom was unknown, so that the number of minor children reported is less than it should be.

For the 203 adults, the information tabulated includes: place of birth, age bracket (over or under 40), marital status; spouse's ethnic origin, place of birth and age bracket; source of income; habitation (e.g., city, rural, rural with Indian house, etc.); whether or not they participate in the Kickapoo ceremonial life; their clan

and moiety as well as that of their spouses, and the number of children, whether these are adult or minor, and whether or not they have been given Kickapoo names.[27]

One interesting feature of this population emerging from the census is the large number of individuals born elsewhere than Oklahoma.

Table 1. Place of Birth of Adults

Where Born	Females	Males	Totals
Oklahoma	71	72	143
Kansas	3	7	10
Sonora, Mex.	8	11	19
Nacimiento	8	15	23
Unknown	7	1	8
			203

Thus, 52 of the 203 adult so-called Oklahoma Kickapoo were actually born somewhere else. This is 25.67 per cent; and 20.69 per cent of the adult population was born in Mexico. This is not too surprising in view of their history, but it is an unusual characteristic for an American Indian tribe, some of the effects of which will become clear later.

Characteristics

In general appearance and manners, the Kickapoo resemble other Oklahoma Indians, though they are perhaps even more reticent

[27] The results in most of these categories will be found in their appropriate places in the text following.

in their contacts with whites than is usual. The older Indians are not often seen in town. The young adults are frequently in town either to work, shop, or for amusement; but even here they tend to associate with Kickapoo rather than others.

Their level of acculturation is low, and they are economically poor. An agency report to the Federal government in 1954 describes them briefly thus (United States 1954:421-22):

> Voluntary isolation of the tribe within the small geographical area has not been conducive to promoting acculturation and assimilation. Therefore, the tribe has continued to live in old tribal customs which have denied them the training and experience necessary to assume full citizenship responsibilities . . .
>
> It is estimated that 90 percent of those over the age of 60 are considered incapable of managing their affairs without supervision, and of those under that age, it is estimated that only half of that group is competent to manage their affairs independently of supervision. It is doubtful whether even those considered competent to manage their own affairs will do so. Nearly three-fourths of the tribal members are full-bloods with about one-third of the total membership unable to speak English, and a larger percent being unable to read or write. Although tribal members possess some of the best agricultural lands in central Oklahoma, their economic level is considerably lower than the non-Indian population, as they have resorted to the leasing of their lands to non-Indian farmers and existing on the rental income. The acculturation of tribal members is quite incomplete, with many of the Indians still living in crude huts similar to the types used by their ancestors years ago.

By and large the picture is a depressing one. These Indians have a particularly long and bitter history of conflict with and mistreatment by the whites, enough so that mistrust of whites and white ways is a part of the up-bringing of all Kickapoo children. And yet it is impossible for them to function in the modern world, as we shall see, without more or less constant contact with white culture and dependence on it.

CHAPTER IV

TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

As has been indicated, the Kickapoo are economically poor. Furthermore, as is the case with most American Indian groups today, they are operating within two economic systems of different types. First, they participate in the money (or market) economy of the larger white community. They sell their labor; they sell some products of their labor in the form of handicrafts (though there is not much participation of this type); they rent their lands in return for money; and they buy numerous goods and some services provided by the white community, such as foods, clothing, automobiles, etc.

Secondly, they participate in the kin-based economy of their own community. This includes not only the normal division of labor and sharing of production and consumption within the nuclear family; but it also extends to the whole Kickapoo tribe. So that, for example, what one Indian has he shares with the others. His services he does not sell to another Kickapoo, but when called upon to help with the building of a house, the gathering of cat-tails, or collecting of nuts, etc. he does so gratis. The women sew for each other. If a family is without food or bedding or a roof for their heads, those who have it will provide them with groceries, or help them build a home, etc. This kin-based system

does not extend to all Indians, just to the Kickapoo, since they consider themselves to be related to all Kickapoo. I have seen beadwork and feather work sold to Indians from other tribes, even to individuals to whom the seller might feel quite close. And yet, any Kickapoo who comes to Oklahoma from Mexico, stranger or not, is received into the group in Oklahoma as kin and the economic rights and obligations will automatically be extended to him.

This situation, of course results in conflict. A man who does earn a good salary cannot keep the fruits of his labor for his immediate family, in spite of the pressures on him from Western culture to "be a good provider" and to "provide his children with advantages"; for if he does not share with other Kickapoo he is considered stingy and not a "good Kickapoo." This conflict is constant, particularly for the younger men who are employed steadily and have families to raise: they must constantly be making decisions as to how much they can contribute to the larger group without depriving their own families, and how little they can contribute without being subject to some form of ostracism from the other Kickapoo.

Occupations and Division of Labor

The division of labor within the family among the Oklahoma Kickapoo is similar to that of his rural neighbor. The man is, ideally at least, the provider and the woman cares for the children and the home.

Most of the men either do agricultural work or work at some unskilled or semi-skilled occupation.

Table 2. Sources of Income for all Adults.

Source	Number
No visable means of support	22
Farm labor	39
Farm labor plus leases	4
Income from leases only	6
Armed services	7
Unskilled, semi-skilled	55
Small business	1
Migratory labor	16
Crafts (e.g. leather, jewelry)	4
Unknown	38
Other	11
Total	203

The "farm labor" category applies to the men who do labor for farmers in the area, such as building fences, cutting trees, etc. The number shown as receiving some incomes from leases is too small, as I sure a check with the agency would reveal.[28] The "armed service" category is composed of young men serving out their draft years, except for one who has decided to make the army his career. The "unskilled, semi-skilled" category is primarily men who work at Tinker Air Field, which is just east of Oklahoma City. There are a few men who work on construction (when they work), two men work for the railroad, and one as a filling station attendant. The only small

[28] Leases tended to be given as the means of support only when no other means was known. I did not obtain information from the agency on this point. As a matter of fact, after my initial visit to the agency I studiously avoided it since I did not wish to be connected with the agency in the minds of any of the Indians.

business is owned by a man who has moved his family to California where he has a small self-service laundry. And the "other" category includes such things as old women whose relatives support them, one man in the penitentiary for murder, and one or two men who act as interpreters or do other small jobs for the agency.

These figures are also interesting when broken down by age brackets among the males:

Table 3. Source of Income of Males by Age. *

Source	Under 40 years	Over 40 years
None visible	3	9
Farm labor	8	11
Farm labor and leases	1	1
Leases	1	1
Armed Services	5	0
Factory, etc.	25	6
Own business	0	1
Migratory	2	4
Craft	1	6
Unknown	11	5
Other	4	1
Total	61	41

*There are 4 whose age bracket was unknown, so they are not included in this breakdown.

From this we see that of those under 40 years of age, 40.98 per cent are engaged in factory or other un-skilled, semi-skilled occupations; while of those over 40, only 14.63 per cent are so engaged. Likewise, of those under 40, 18.03 per cent are engaged in some sort of farm work (including migratory labor) and of those over 40, 39.02 per cent

are. This shows a definite trend away from their traditional farming occupation.

A government report for the year 1954 (United States 1954:123) says of their sources of income and their general economic condition:

> Individuals derive income from wages or from welfare grants. Twenty-two families engage in agriculture and sixteen in non-agricultural enterprises. Twenty-seven families receive total or partial support from welfare sources.
>
> Their allotments are nearly all in rich river bottom land which is comparable with some of the best in central Oklahoma, yet their economic level is lower than that of any tribe under the Shawnee Subagency jurisdiction. Very few farm their lands or work in gainful employment, but subsist entirely on rentals derived from their lands. (p. 81)

(Comparable figures are given in United States 1953:114.)

Note that since the government data are by families and mine are by individuals, the figures would not be expected to be strictly comparable. The median income per family as figured by the agency in 1945 is between $1,200 and $1,399 (United States 1953:114). There are also figures given in this report for the breakdown of land ownership (p. 82 and 1237) and for the number and kinds of farm products (pp. 1238-41).

The men also help with the planting of the garden crop, on which almost all families depend to some extent. In addition, they may help with the house-building, particularly in the construction of the heavy framework of the Indian house, or with carpentry if a white-styled house is built. Likewise, they may help in keeping the house in repair. If the family owns a horse or a car for transportation, the man takes

care of these. (As a matter of fact, I have seldom seen a women drive a car, and those I saw were always young women.) A good bit of the contribution of males, and a great deal of their energies, are devoted to ceremonial life, and this will be discussed later.

The women take care of the home and the children and contribute any lease money they may have to the family. Women do most of the building of the house, when it is an Indian house. They are responsible for making the mats for the exterior and for helping to raise both mats and slats. As a matter of fact, the houses are generally considered to belong to the women, which reflects their prime role in its construction and care. (This is not true if a man buys or builds a white-style house, in which case it is his.) Women are also responsible for keeping the house clean and neat.

Although much of the clothing is purchased today, the women still make a good portion of it, they keep it in repair, and they do the laundering. All of the so-called Indian dresses are made by the women, and the younger ones now make cotton dresses and blouses in western style. They also make mocassins and do beadwork for trimmings and for jewelry. In addition, they make quilts and some still weave mats for the interior of the houses.

The everyday cooking is done by women. They also plant, care for, and harvest garden crops, gather some wild plants (as, for example, nuts), and take care of preparing these foods for storage.

Houses

Most of the Oklahoma Kickapoo now live in either a modified version of the old wickiup, or in a small white-style house, or partly in both. Specifically, the population distributes itself in the following manner:

Table 4. Type of Habiutation by Adults

Type of Habituation	Number of Adults
Indian House only	52
Indian House and white-style house	29
Rural white-style house	50
In towns	18
In cities	5
Other States	18
Other	7
Unknown	24
Total	203

In other words, of the 203 adult Kickapoo, 81 of them still build and at least partly live in the modified version of the old Indian house. This constitutes 39.90 per cent of the adult population. In the summer of 1953, there were 24 of the Indian summer houses in Oklahoma. In the fall of 1954, there were 10 winter houses. The difference here can partly be accounted for by the fact that many of those who have Indian houses were off doing migratory labor in October and November, while the author was there. And part of the difference is due to the fact that some of those who do still build summer houses do not build winter ones but use white houses in the winter instead.

We also find that, of those whose habituation is known, 64.04 per cent still live in the country rather than in towns. This figure would undoubtedly be larger if all the unknowns were properly assigned. It is not surprising to find so many of them still living in the country since

almost all of them still have some ownership, or partial ownership, of allotments in the country. It is also interesting to note that, if we include those who now live in other States, most of whom do live in towns or cities, we find that 20.20 per cent are non-rural. These figures again indicate the trend towards assimilation into white culture.

The white-style houses are usually either two or three rooms: a combined living-and-sleeping room, and a kitchen; or two living-bedrooms and a kitchen. Occasionally there is only one room, in which case the cooking area will usually be separated off by a curtain. (Such an arrangement is not too inconvenient when one considers the fact that much of the cooking is actually done outdoors.) Such houses are usually unpainted, with bare, unvarnished wooden floors, no plumbing, and heated by means of oil stoves. Most of them have rural cook stoves inside. They depend on wells for their water, and an outhouse or the woods serve as a toilet. Kerosene laterns may be used for light, although today many of these houses have electricity.[29] In general, such homes are essentially like those of the very poor rural whites.

The Indian summer houses are built very much as they used to be (Figures 4, 5, and 6). They now have plank sides instead of bark, but as Michelson points out (1929[a]: 183-88), the planks are vertical instead of horizontal as among the Fox in Iowa; and the roofs are usually made of cat-tail mats, though occasionally a bark roof may still be seen. Cat-tails for the roof mats have to be gathered from thirty miles away, as

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[29] And, as of 1960, the inevitable television set!

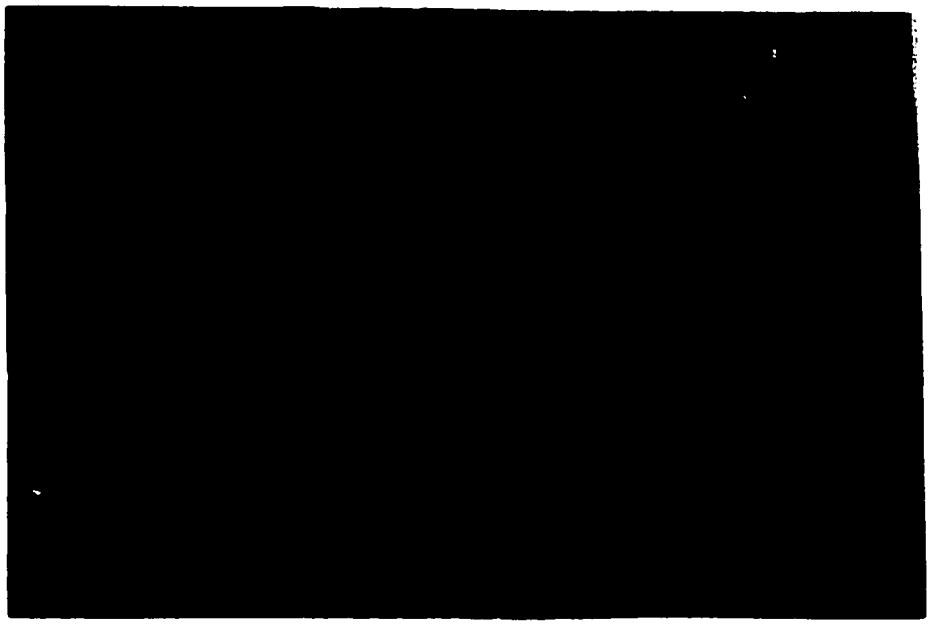


Figure 4. Summer house with a bark roof.



Figure 5. Women making reed mats for the roof of their summer house.

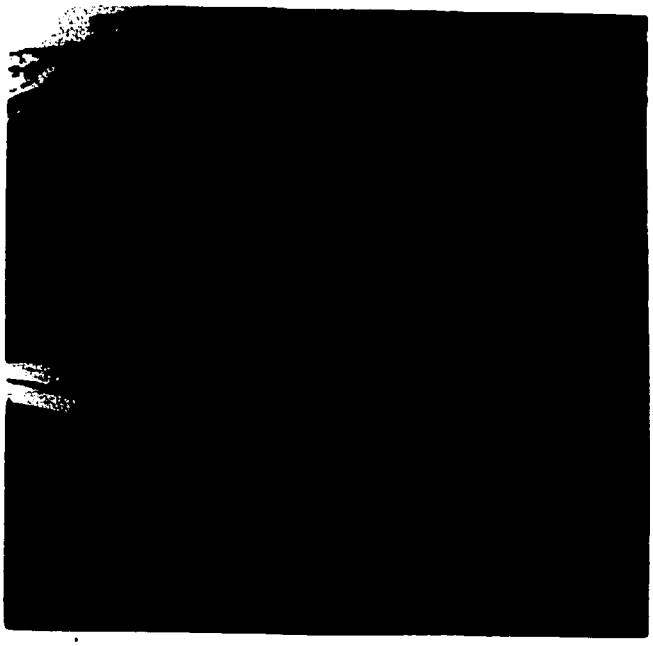


Figure 6. Porch scaffold and frame of deserted summer house.

there are none in their immediate area. (Descriptions of such mats can be found in the very early literature. See, for example, Willoughby 1935:134-36.)

The bark used in Oklahoma now by the Kickapoo is from the elm tree. As described by one informant:

> The elm bark used for houses is stripped off all the way around the tree. They take most of the bark of the trunk. They cut V's around the top and bottom of the piece they want to remove. They then cut down in a line at one place vertically to open it. Then they get a long pole that is blunt and about like an ax handle and peel it off with that, going in under the bark around the tree. They punch holes in it while it is wet in the corners and tie it through these with wire to the house poles.

Details of the pole framework can be seen in Figures 7, 8, and 9.

These houses always have the door opening on the east end of the house with a canvas hanging over it. There is usually a roof extending out over additional pole frame supports, again as long as the house, to serve as a porch. A platform or scaffold about waist high (approximately three feet) and about three or four feet wide extends all the way around the south, west, and north sides of the interior of the house. A scaffold is also built along the south and north sides of the porch, starting two or three feet from the house front in order to leave room for passage between it and the house front. This bench serves as the sitting and sleeping furniture.

There is of course, no flooring in these houses. The packed dirt is kept neatly swept by the woman of the house, usually her first task of the morning.



Figure 7. South side of deserted summer house, patched with canvas.



Figure 8. Interior of deserted summer house, showing west and north scaffolds.

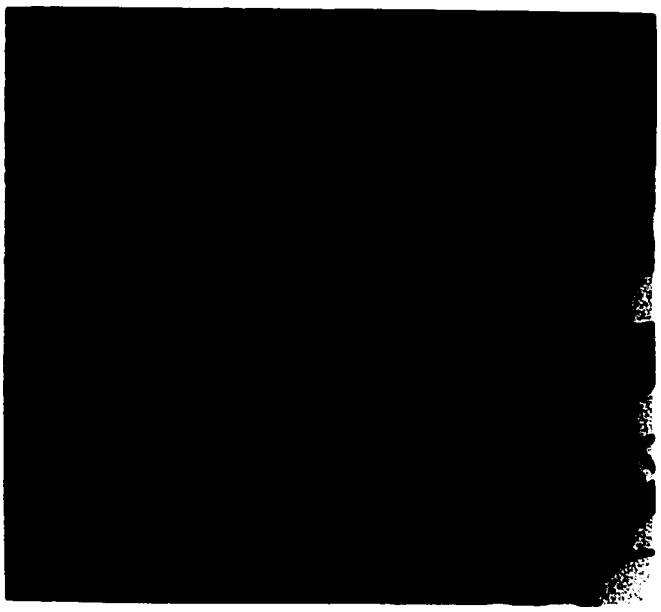


Figure 9. Inside view of the west end of the roof of a deserted summer house, showing frame construction.

There is a smoke hole left in the center of the roof, and a space for a fire on the floor in the center of the house. All of these homes are equipped with this smoke hole and fire space, plus a heavy chain for suspending pots over the fire from the center pole, because there are sacred meals which are cooked indoors. However, when weather permits, the cooking is done over an open fire outside. There is often a brush roof built as a sort of shed outside, to serve as a "summer kitchen". Under this there is frequently a plank table with benches and something which serves as a cabinet to hold utensils and some food. If a family has both a white-style and an Indian house, the sleeping takes place in the Indian house and the cooking and much of the other living in the white house.

The winter houses are made entirely of mats on a pole frame. The shape of this house varies some from that of the summer house (Figures 10 and 11), being more of a long oval than rectangular. The cat-tails for these mats are gathered in September or October, and the houses built in either October or November. The mats may be removed from the roofs of the summer houses and used on the winter ones. There is no porch on these houses, but they again face the east. They also have no benches or scaffolds around the walls inside, these being replaced by mats or blankets laid on top of a layer of grass around the walls. The fireplace is again the center of the floor, with a smoke hole provided in the center of the ceiling. Actually, these houses are quite warm and snug, the major drawback being the accumulated smoke.

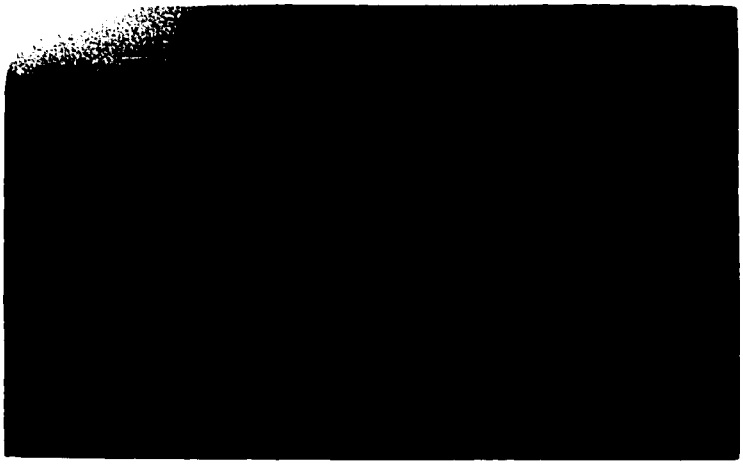


Figure 10. Winter reed mat house, viewed from the south.

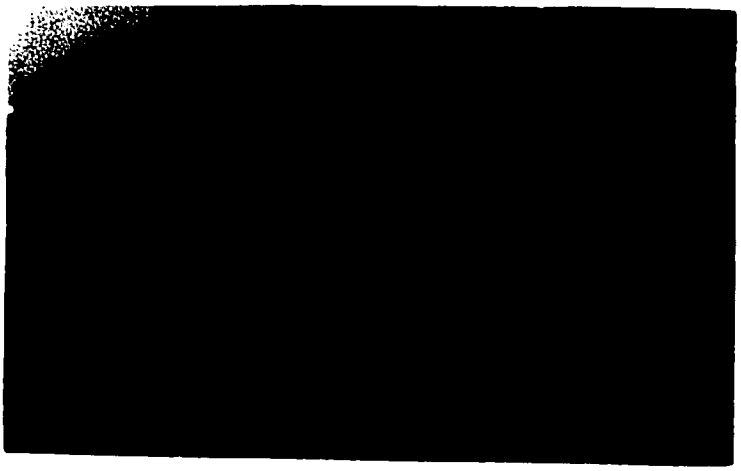


Figure 11. Winter house viewed from the east. Note stroller; also the frame of the summer house in the background.

Another structure, rarely seen today, is the nianotegáni, or menstrual hut. This is a small replica of either the summer or winter house, depending on the season, although it is square instead of rectangular in summer, and oval rather than oblong in winter. This house is, as the name designates, used for isolating women during their menstrual periods for purposes of eating and sleeping. It is also the place where babies are born, if the woman bears her children at home. I saw only five of these in 1952-53, though it is possible there were others.

Household Furnishings and Utensils

The furnishings in the white-style houses consist of one or more iron beds (depending on the number of people in the family and their affluence), a few straight chairs, and probably a table or two. Some of the people who have more income will have more and better furnishings, including perhaps curtains, linoleum or throw rugs, radios, sewing machine, television, and so forth. The bedclothes are generally either hand made cotton patchwork quilts, or the cheap cotton "Indian" blankets available at any chain department store. In general, then, these homes are similar in furnishings also to the poorer homes of the rural whites in the same area.

The cooking and eating utensils vary, depending partly on the family's economic condition, partly on their conservatism. The minimum that everyone seems to have is a deep iron kettle, skillet, a

sharp knife, enamel ware dipper and cups, milk pail and buckets for water carrying and storage, metal enamel coffee pot, and wooden spoons.

The most common form of cooking is boiling, for which the iron kettle is used. If they do not have a stove for cooking, which many of them do not, they cook over an open fire. The iron kettle may be hung from a pole laid between two upright poles with forks at the ends, or set on an iron trivet over the fire (see Ritzenthaler and Peterson 1956: 35, Figure 13).

The wooden spoons have a handle six to ten inches long with a bowl about five to eight inches in diameter. They are used much as a bowl would be, by dipping the spoon into the cooking pot and then eating the contents of it with one hand while holding it by the handle with the other hand, meanwhile sipping at the liquid (Figures 12 and 13). These always appear at ceremonies.

Water is frequently kept handy in a metal pail or milk can with a dipper or cup beside it.

Another almost standard item is an enamel dish pan, which is used for mixing flour into breads, for some treatments of corn, and sometimes for washing dishes. There are also many metal enamel plates, as well as cups, in use. Inexpensive table ware is also common. Those families who live in white houses, and the richer and less conservative of those in Indian houses, will also have some glass dishes and more variety of pots and pans.

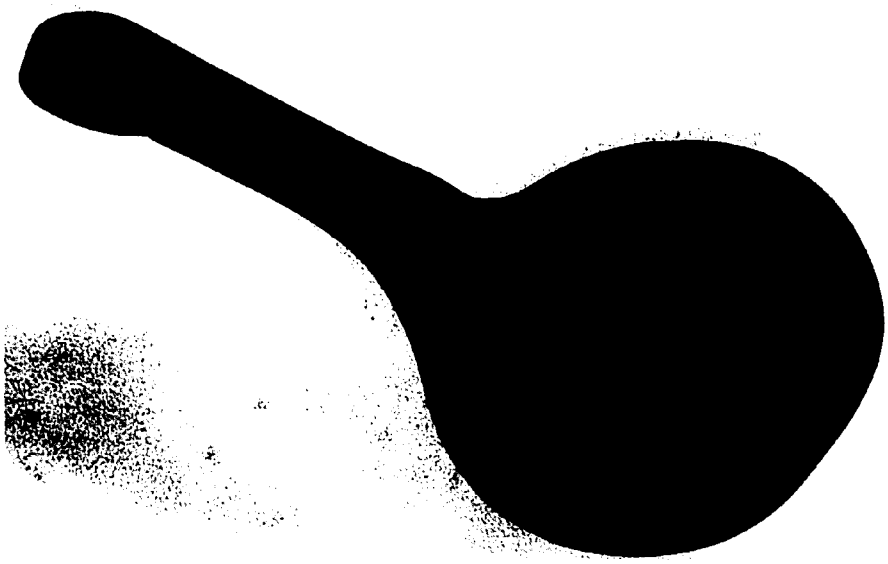


Figure 12. Wooden spoon.

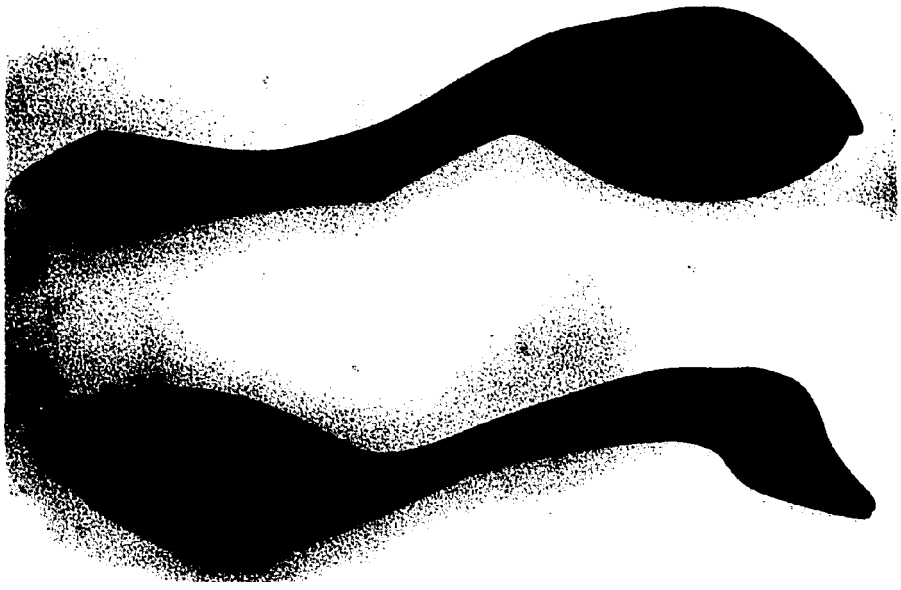


Figure 13. Wooden spoons in the form of a turtle (above) and duck (below).

Since they still make many of their own variations on corn, the old wooden mortar and pestle is a common utensil. They prefer hickory for the mortar, and I was told that they go "up to Creek country" in the fall when the sap is down to get the wood. This is chiselled out and then burned with hot coals (Figures 14 and 15). The use of the mortar and pestle is discussed and illustrated for the Mexican Kickapoo in both Ritzenthaler and Peterson (1956:34 Figure 12) and Fabila (1945:66).

There are still a few women who tan deer hides, when they can get them, and these will have the wooden implements for this purpose[30]

Another article seen infrequently now in Oklahoma is the cradle board, but its use is not restricted to those newly arrived from Mexico. Modern western baby furniture is rare, but an occasional stroller may be seen. Babies are sometimes bedded down in hammocks improvised from blankets. Normally, small babies sleep with their mothers.

A few of the older women still use the old basketry techniques to weave mats for the scaffolds inside the house, but these are rare today. Rarer still are baskets themselves, there being no one to my knowledge who makes them in Oklahoma, although there are some in use that have been brought up from Mexico.

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[30]See Ritzenthaler and Peterson 1956:79-80, Figs. 33-34. The process among the Oklahoma Kickapoo is the same.



Figure 14. Woman demonstrating the use of a mortar and pestle.

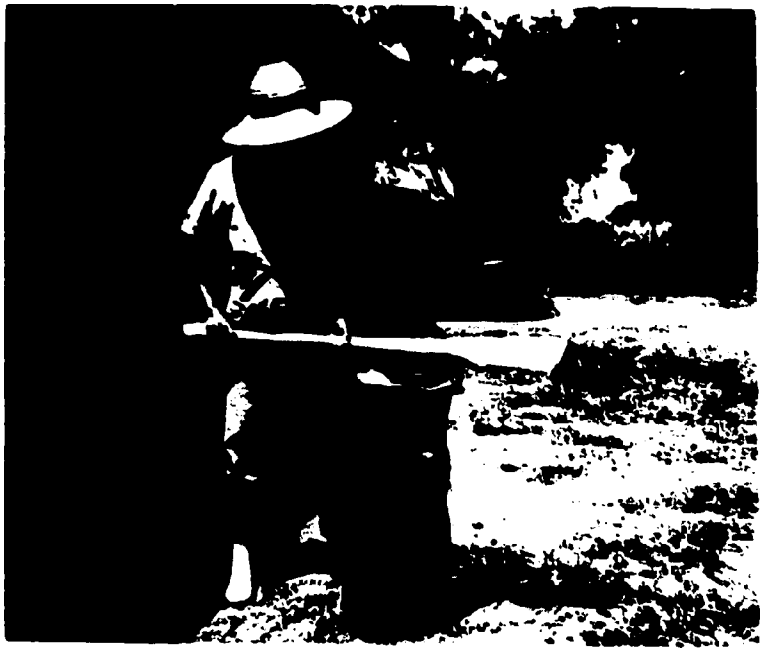


Figure 15. Knocking the excess corn off the pestle.

Foods

The staple food of the Oklahoma Kickapoo is still corn, which they grow themselves. The other most common foods to be found are the home grown squash, pumpkin, and beans, and the commercial staples of sugar, wheat flour, coffee and beans.[31] In season, watermelons and cantaloupes are a favorite fruit. They also consider canned peaches to be a treat. Those with a Mexican background make some use of tomatoes, onions, and peppers as well. And all of them use meat when it is available to them.

The corn is still of the crescent-shaped, **Eastern Complex variety.** When fresh it is fixed in a variety of ways. It may be placed in a kettle, cob and all, and boiled. Or, they may scrape the kernels off and boil it as a soup, adding some meat and perhaps some potatoes, if they have them. Or they may fry the kernels. Or they may put the cob directly in a fire, without the husk on, and keep turning it till brown. Much of the corn is dried for later use.

> To dry corn, they buy a brand new tub; it must be new. They pick it early in the morning when it is cool. The husks are removed, the ears thrown in boiling water and boiled about an hour. Then they take it out and lay it on the husks and let it cool. Usually four to six women work together on this. When the corn has cooled, they get a spoon and a big pan and scrape off the kernels row by row into the pan. They then divide it into three sizes and put the different sizes into different pans. When they have a pan full, it is poured out onto a tarp, smoothed out, and left in the sun. It takes about a day

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[31] United States 1953: 1241, lists major items of daily diet for Indians in the Anadarko area office, which includes the Kickapoo, as: beans, potatoes, bread, meat, wild game, seldom eggs, corn, milk, and almost no vegetables or fruit.

and a half to dry, being gathered into a bundle at night and brought in out of the damp, and then respread the following day. This is stored in flour sacks put in tin cans, usually.

Of the corn that has been separated for size, the biggest size is cooked with meat bones in soup. They also use it to pound to grits, which are boiled in water. Some boil meat down and pour this broth into the grits, or some add a little sugar. This large corn is also used for evening feasts, being boiled with spare ribs.

The medium-sized kernels are also boiled with meat, but are not pounded into grits.

The little size is sweet and is boiled with pumpkin.

For hominy, they use corn which is dried while still on the stalk. These ears are picked when dry, fifteen or twenty of them braided together by the husks, and this braid hung in the house. To make hominy, they take a braid of these ears and pick the corn off the cob with the hands or with another cob. They prefer blackjack and oak for their wood ashes; they say it is "stronger and makes more ashes". Holes are punched in a dishpan to sift the ashes through so there will not be any coals in it. These ashes are boiled in water with the corn for about thirty minutes, stirring and occasionally taking out a kernel to test it to see if the peeling is coming off. When it is done, it is removed and rinsed about five times in a big clean tub or dishpan. Then it is dried about two days and put away, ready for use. When it runs out, they make more; and it keeps this way for two or three years.

They also parch corn that is dried on the cob.

Squash and pumpkins are fried or boiled, with perhaps a little sugar added. (Those of Mexican background, by the way, do more frying than those without.) These are also dried for storage.

The pumpkin is dried after they have already dried the corn. This, again, is done by women, maybe three or four working together. One might scrape it with an implement made from a barrel stave. And then another one cut it and take out the seeds. It is cut in circular pieces, rings. These rings are put over a clean stick that the bark has been stripped from,

> and this is hung between two forked sticks set in the ground. The round pieces from the bottom and top are cut so they have legs like a man and these are put over a string. When it is dry, it is put together like a hooked rug, all of the pumpkin braided or woven together.

Water and coffee are the most common drinks. The coffee is made by simply boiling the grounds in a pot. It is preferably sweetened, although it is drunk with the usual variations, i.e. black, with milk, with sugar, or with both.

The Kickapoo are also fond of sweets, and will drink carbonated drinks when they can. They generally favor the fruit flavors especially, and will laughingly refer to the red-colored varieties as "Indian pop".

The bread that they prefer, and which is always served at "doings", is the "fry bread" common to Oklahoma Indians.[32] This is made by combining wheat flour, salt, baking powder and water into a dough. The dough is patted out between the hands into shapes similar to a tortilla or a small pizza, and then fried in deep fat.

Some of the Kickapoo also keep some animals, which add to their diet. Chicken is the most common, though there are some milk cows and some pigs. A government report (1953: 1239) lists three owners of 15 beef cattle; 23 of 51 dairy cattle; 21 of 126 pigs; 35 of 350 chickens; 4 of 25 turkeys; and 20 of 36 horses and mules. They do buy meat when they are able, mostly ribs and soup bones and salt pork. They

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[32]The author also had the occasion, in 1958, to see this bread being made by the Fox Indians at a festival in Tama, Iowa.

also keep dogs, which are eaten on ceremonial occasions and might therefore be regarded as a food supplement.

They also gather some wild foods still, particularly nuts. Use is still made of the wild "Indian potato" (probably Apios americana).

Clothing.

The clothing of the Kickapoo today is for the most part not unlike that worn by the poorer, rural, white south-westerner. The men generally wear cotton work trousers (wool if available in winter), long-sleeved cotton shirts, and a brimmed hat which is usually a cheap straw in the summer. For extra warmth on cool evenings in summer, they will wrap a blanket around their shoulders. It is also used in the winter, unless a man is fortunate enough to have some sort of coat. Their shoes are of western hard-soled variety for the most part, though they frequently wear the soft-sole moccasin of buckskin at dances. Some of the very old men wear them most of the time, as do some of the poorer ones. Their hair is also usually in western style, although,again, the very old men are apt to have it combed back behind their ears and clipped off straight at the nape of the neck (illustrated in Ritzenthaler and Peterson 1956: 26 Fig. 4). Some of the younger ones also still affect this style, especially if they are but recently from Mexico.

The only item of dress specific to these men, aside from the soft-soled moccasin, is a cotton shirt of special style that is considered

to be a Kickapoo shirt. These shirts are made by the women and are similar to the woman's blouse (see below): straight-tailed and straight-sided, with long, puffed sleeves, and a square yoke in back and front. However, the man's shirt also has a rectangular piece set in the front, running about half-way down, which is pleated and has buttons and button holes on it; a soft collar; slits of about four inches in the side seams up from the hem; and the ribbon trim around the yokes and sleeves have little "tails" left on them. Such shirts are commonly worn by many of the older men, and by others at "doings" (Figure 16).

The "real Kickapoo men's dress," which is no longer seen in Oklahoma, is illustrated in Figure 17.

There is more variety in the women's dress. The younger ones wear cotton dresses, or cotton blouses and skirts (or wool in winter), and shoes with or without socks. They also wear regular American underwear, except that brassieres are not very common. Occasionally they will wear blue jeans or cotton men's pants, although this is usually restricted to the very young. There are also, however, several women who still wear the so-called Indian dress; and here again, this is mainly restricted to older women and some of the younger ones who have not been in Oklahoma very long. However, most women wear these at dances. This dress consists of a full cotton skirt and a full matching cotton overblouse (Figures 18, 19, 20 and 21). The blouse has a square yoke and full sleeves that reach to the elbow, forearm, or wrist. They prefer material with a small, all-over print, preferably

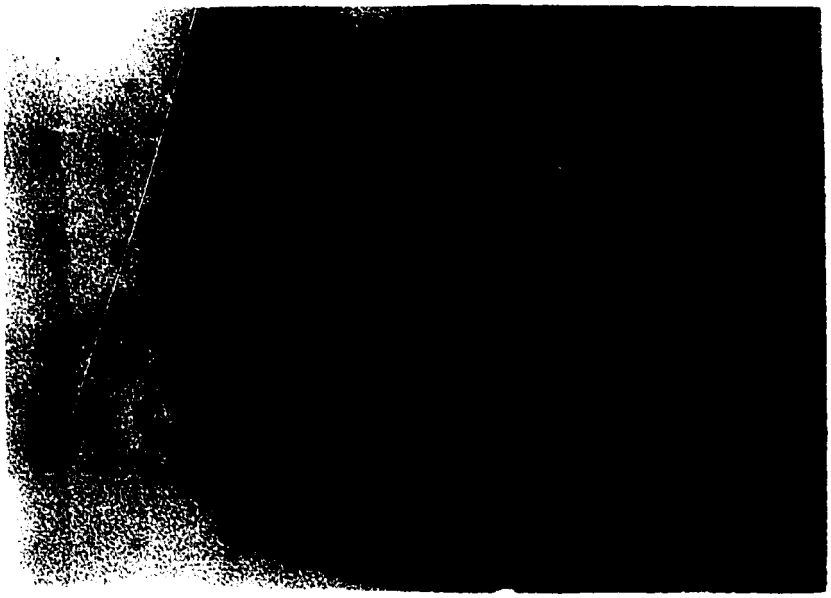


Figure 16. Man's shirt. Note the pleated yoke and the ribbon "tails".

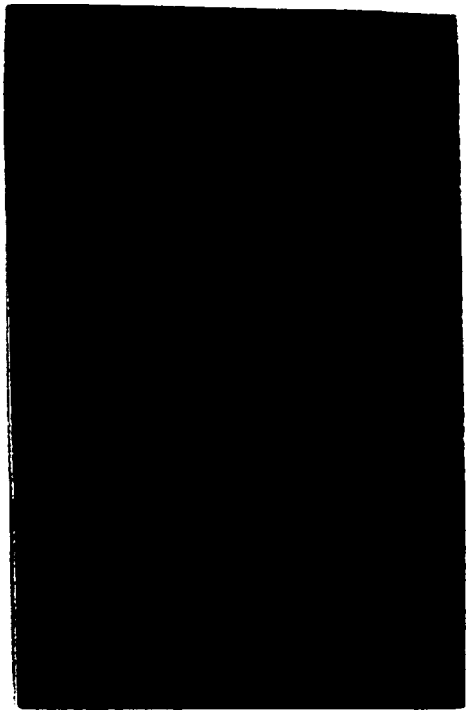


Figure 17. Man wearing what the Kickapoo consider to be "real Kickapoo man's dress".



Figure 18. Kickapoo woman; side view of dance dress.



Figure 19. Kickapoo woman; front view of dance dress.

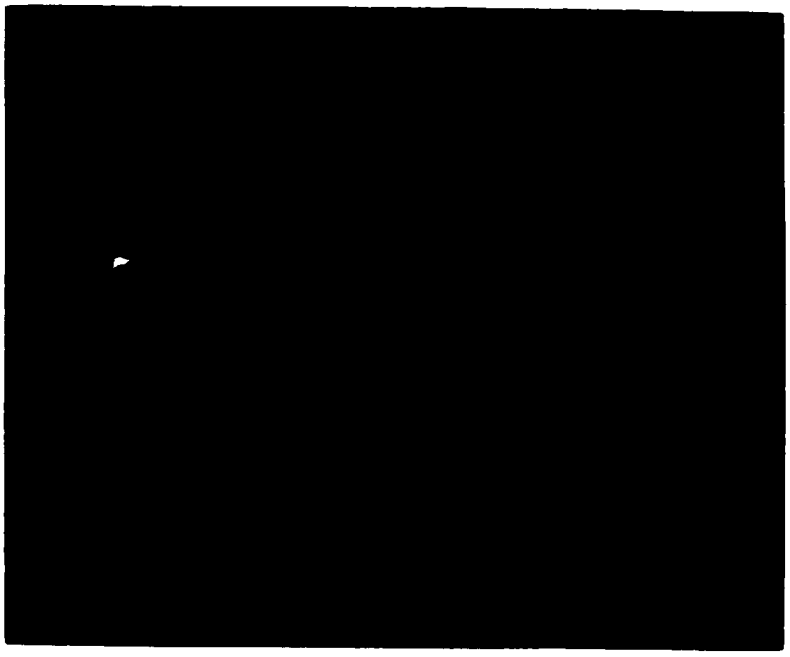


Figure 20. Women beside frame of summer house; showing everyday dress.



Figure 21. Woman's dress.

floral in design, and a finishing touch of two or three rows of ribbon (or tucking, if ribbon is not available) is added to the bottom of the skirt beginning about three or four inches up from the hemline. A fancier dress might have matching trim around the yoke of the blouse and around the cuffs of the sleeves. The dress that they consider to be most characteristic of the Kickapoo is made like this, but has, in addition, a large collar, circular in shape, that hangs down over the shoulders and has a small ruffle on it. Decorations on this blouse would be ribbon or ornaments made of German silver, or in the absence of these, sequins. The only underwear worn with this dress are the other skirts of the same type underneath, old ones that would no longer be worn outside.

The soft-soled moccasin is worn with this dress, sometimes plain, but preferably decorated with beads on the top of the toe and instep, and ribbon work with or without beads on the side flaps. The moccasins, by the way, are frequently worn by women in the summer time, regardless of what type of dress they wear, and are worn by nearly everyone at dances.

As for hair styles, among the younger women there is as much variety as one would see on any street in the Southwest in small towns. The older women, however, all wear their hair long and either done up in a knot in the back or hanging down the back in a single braid.

Earrings, pendants and bracelets are favorite forms of jewelry, and are made either of beadwork or of German silver, more often the former today.

As for the children, they are dressed like the rural white children: mostly blue jeans and cotton T-shirts for the boys and cotton dresses or blue jeans and cotton or T-shirts for the girls. Most small children are barefooted in the summer time. Infants are diapered, either with regular diapers or with cotton rags.

Summary.

As far as their technology is concerned, the Oklahoma Kickapoo do not differ widely from the poorer rural whites in Oklahoma. The more acculturated Indians pursue the same kinds of occupations as the whites, live in white-style houses, wear western clothes (except at Indian functions), and, with the exception of some small items (such as wooden spoons, beaded jewelry, or mortar and pestle, for example) use the same tools, utensils and ornaments. The only technological area in which this more acculturated group differs markedly from the white neighbors is food. For their diet will still contain a large amount of corn processed and prepared in the Indian manner, a preponderance of beans and squash, and an emphasis on boiled foods.

At the other extreme, the least acculturated ones still follow subsistence farming occupationally, live in Indian wickiups, and regularly wear items that they now consider to be Indian dress, e.g.

moccasins. They do use western tools, utensils and ornaments, though perhaps not in such variety as the more acculturated ones; and they will also retain more items of Indian manufacture (such as mats, cradle boards, etc.). As far as their diet is concerned, they have added fewer western items, although they do depend primarily on domesticated meats rather than game today.

And there are also, of course, individuals and families ranging between these two extremes.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Introduction

Although the Oklahoma Kickapoo do not occupy a village, or even live on contiguous farms, they are in a very real sense a community. That is, they are tied to one another by bonds of kinship, marry mainly within their own group,do continual visiting back and forth, call upon each other for and supply each other with economic aid, and participate as a group in a very rich ceremonial life. Each individual's primary social ties, therefore, are with other Kickapoos.

There are, at the same time, several factors operating that tend to break up this community. Already mentioned is the fact that the Kickapoo do not live together. This means, of course, that they no longer have the constant contact of daily living that is usually a primary factor in determining a community.

Likewise of major importance is the amount of economic dependence on the non-Indian culture around them. Census results of the author in 1953 showed that all but 33 of a total of 203 adults were directly dependent on the non-Indian population for their income. And

besides being dependent on them for income, much of their food, clothing and tools is now purchsed from the whites.

Also important factors with regard to breaking up the community are all the functions that the State of Oklahoma and the Federal government have taken over from or have superimposed upon, Kickapoo culture. These include such things as the regulation and punishment of crimes, providing hospital care for certain types of illnesses,. regulation of their land holdings, and enforced public education of the children.

Nevertheless, as we hope to indicate in the following description of various aspects of their social organization, the Kickapoo have managed to maintain some integrity as a community in spite of these various adverse pressures.

Kinship System

The Kickapoo kinship system is of the Omaha type,[33] and, as Morgan noted,[34] agrees precisely with the Miami, Sac and Fox, Menominee

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[33] For an explanation of the Omaha type, see Spier, 1925: 69-88; also Murdock 1949: 224.

[34] Morgan 1870: 217. Actually, according to his own schedules, the agreement is precise with the Shawnee and Menominee. These three (Kickapoo, Shawnee, and Menominee) differ from the Miami and Sac and Fox in the designations of: (a) Father's brother's wife, which translates as "aunt" for the latter and as "mother" for the former. (Morgan translates the term as "aunt" for the Shawnee, but it is the identical term that he gives for "mother", so this is evidently an error.) (b) Mother's sister's husband, which translates as "uncle" for the latter and as "father" for the former.

and Shawnee. Murdock classifies them, in his nomenclature, as Neo-Omaha.

Figure 22 shows Kickapoo terminology in chart form, as reported in the 1860's by Morgan. Figure 23 shows their terminology in chart form, as collected in 1952 and 1953 by the author.[35] Comparison of these charts shows two changes that have occurred in the intervening century.

1. Father's sister's husband, called "uncle" in Morgan's schedule, is now referred to as "brother-in-law". This becomes particularly interesting when we compare it to the Fox system, as reported by Morgan and as reported by Sol Tax (1937: 243-82) in the 1930's,[36] because we see that the same change, i.e. father's sister's husband from "uncle" to "brother-in-law," has also occurred in the Fox kinship system.

2. The other area of change is in the mother's brother's line. Although the mother's brother and his wife are still called by the same terms as formerly, there is some inconsistency in the designations of their children. Here the terminology sometimes follows the traditional

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[35] Some of the Kickapoo terminology is also reported by Jones 1913: 333-34. C. F. Hockett also collected information on this, but unfortunately it has not been available to the author.

[36] There are some errors in Tax's article. See Michelson 1938: 177-79.

Legend for kinship diagram (Figures 22 and 23):

A = No. θa; father

B = Nɛkia (Nɛkiha); mother

C = Nɛmiθǝe; older sister; or Nɛθimɛ; younger sibling

D = Nɛθɛθɛ; older brother; or Nɛθimɛ; younger sibling

E = Nɛkuiθa; son

F = Nɛtaniθa; daughter

G = Nɛnɛkua; nephew (son of sibling of opposite sex)

H = Nasɛmiθa, neice (daughter of sibling of opposite sex)

K = Nɛsiθǝe; uncle (mother's brother)

L = Nɛθɛ Kuiθǝ; aunt (father's sister)

M = Nɛmɛso; grandfather

N = Nokomɛθa; grandmother

S = Nosiθɛm; grandchild

R = Ninɛmua; (brother-in-law)

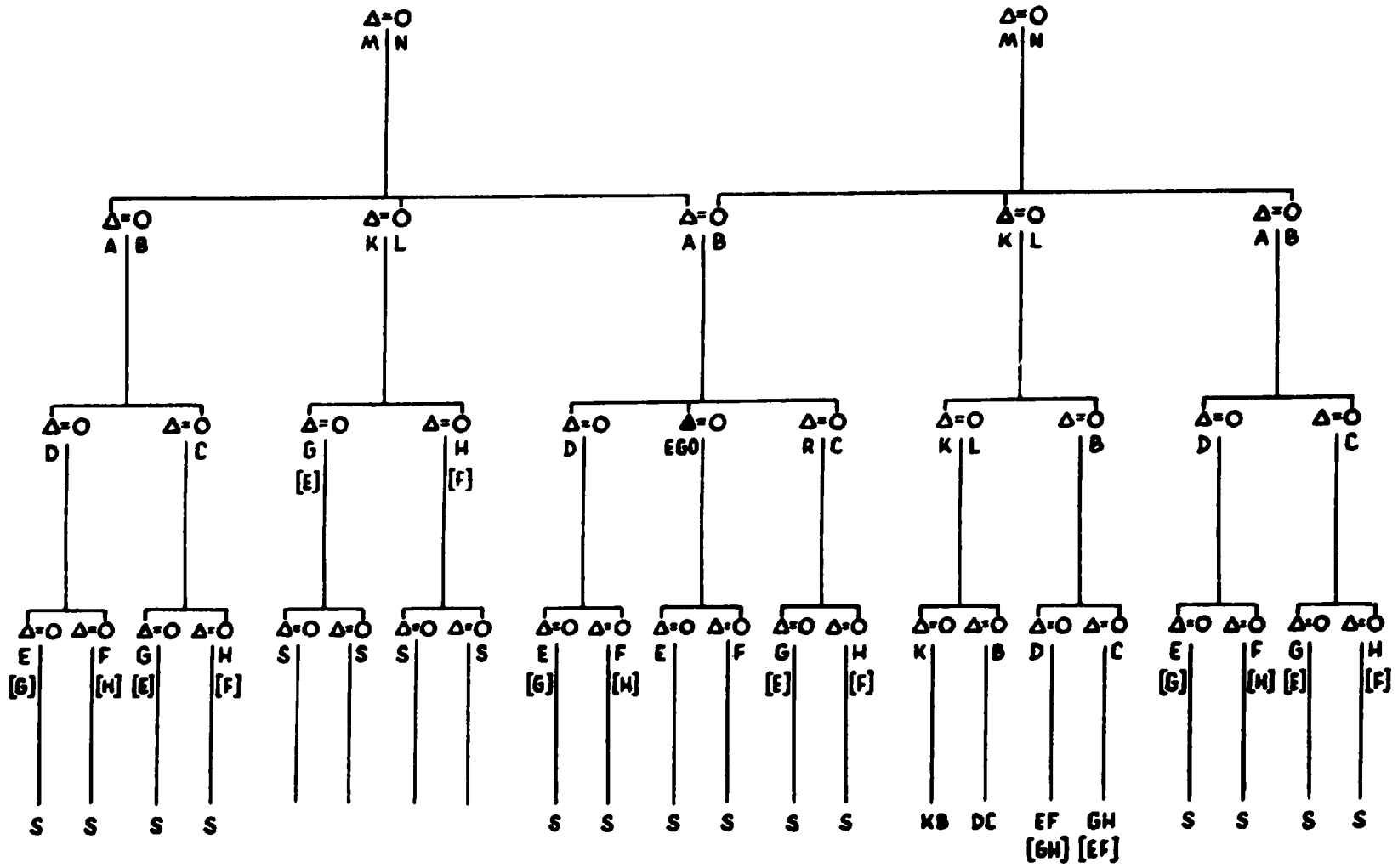


Fig. 22. Kickapoo kinship terminology in 1860, after MORGAN (Terminological variants for female speaker are in brackets)

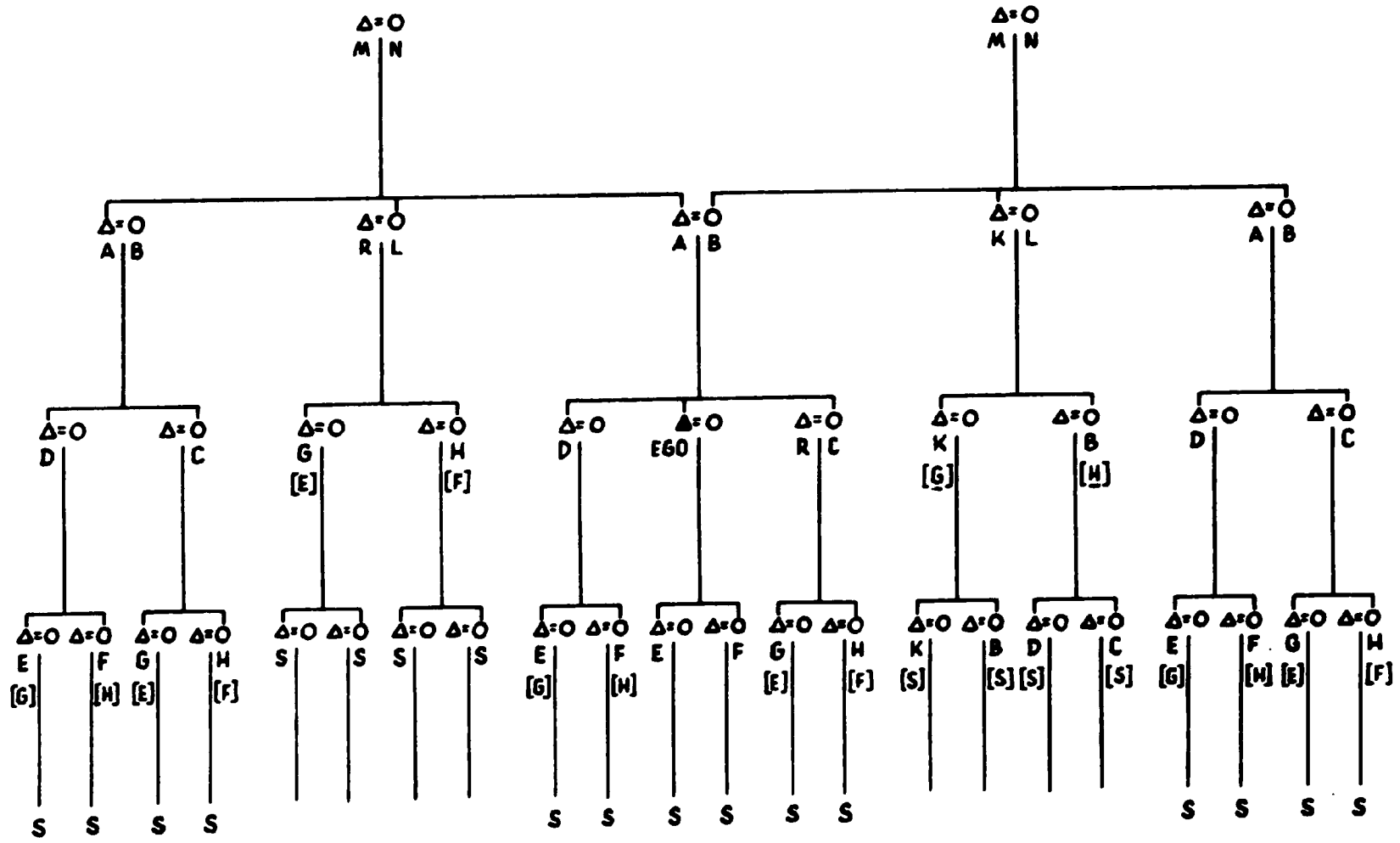


Fig. 23. Kickapoo kinship terminology in 1952-53 (Terminological variants for female speaker are in brackets. Alternative terms are underlined.)

pattern of mother's brother's son being mother's brother, and mother's brother's daughter being mother, as shown in Figure 22. But these same relatives are sometimes (particularly by the younger and more acculturated) called "nephew" and "niece", female speaking, with their offspring in this case being grandchildren, as is indicated by the alternate terminology shown in Figure 23. Unfortunately, I do not have a comparable example in my data for a male speaker to see whether the change in this case is to son and daughter, rather than nephew and niece, as would be expected.

Just how to explain the first change (father's sister's husband from uncle to brother-in-law) is unclear to me; and this is in some ways the most interesting one, in view of the fact that the same change has occurred in the Fox system. One thing that is noticeable, however, is that this change is consistent with the fact that the children of father's sister, are called by the same terms as the children of my own sister, and therefore by the same terms as my brother-in-law's children elsewhere.

The reason for the second change probably lies in the disintegration of the old clan system. The clans, as will be seen in some detail later, are now relatively disassociated from the kinship system. They are no longer patrilineal, nor even "true" bodies of kindred. The only senses in which they are still bodies of kindred are (1) they tend to be exogamous; and (2) the members of each clan feel related enough to each other that they still, for example, call all female members of their own clan grandmother. The fact is, however, that the clans now function primarily in a ceremonial context.

Now, as pointed out by White (1939: 566-73), and later supported by Murdock's data[37] (1949: 240-41), the Omaha type of kinship system, of which the terminology relating to the mother's brother's line is the diagnostic feature, represents the patrilineate in its most strongly developed form. And when the clan takes precedence over the family in determining the designation of certain relatives, generational differences are ignored at some points. This is the case with the older "true" Omaha terminology, where mother's brother's son is mother's brother and the daughter is mother again. What seems to be happening in the case of the Kickapoo is that, with the breaking down of the strong patrilineal clan system, relatives now tend, in some cases, to be named with reference to families again instead of with reference to clans. Thus we find that, instead of ignoring generational differences in the mother's brother's line, generations are being recognized, particularly by the younger Kickapoo, and the children of mother's brother became niece and nephew (female speaking) with their offspring in turn being grandchildren. More simply with the breaking down of a strong patrilineal clan system, the family principle of naming kin is now beginning to supersede the clan principle again.

Perhaps it would not be remiss at this point to comment upon Murdock's classification of the Kickapoo kinship system. He places

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[37] "The view that Omaha structure represents a mature form of of the patrilineate thus receives substantial confirmation."

them in the category, as mentioned, that he calls Neo-Omaha (1949: 240 and 337). The Fox, on the other hand, he places in the category he labels Neo-Fox (Ibid.: 234 and 335). Now, Murdock has only eleven major categories for all of the some two-hundred and fifty kinship systems he classified; and it does seem rather strange that the Kickapoo and the Fox, whose terminology agrees so precisely (as does most of their social organization) should be classified in two different major categories. Why is it, then, that the Fox and Kickapoo are placed in two different categories? Let us examine Murdock's treatment of them.

The characteristics of their social organization that he uses for classifying them are shown in chart form in Figure 26.

Neo-Omaha societies are defined as those with Omaha-type kinship terminology in which "traits may be expected to (have altered) in the direction of bilateral characteristics." (p. 239 and 236) The Fox-type societies are defined as having symmetrical cross-cousin terms (as do Omaha) and in addition as being in a state of transition with respect to descent (p. 232). From this it would seem that any Omaha-type society that fulfills the criteria of the Fox type also fulfills the criteria for the Neo-Omaha. So it would be arbitrary as to whether such a society was placed in one type-category or the other. Thus, the Fox Indians, who have the Omaha-type cousin terminology and are changing from patrilineal to bilateral, could very well be placed in either the Neo-Omaha or Fox. Murdock probably chose the Fox-type for them because he

Characteristics of Kickapoo and Fox Social Structure as listed by Murdock

	Kickapoo	Fox
Descent:	Patrilineal, with exogamy	Patrilineal, without exogamic kin groups
Cousin Terms:	Omaha	Omaha
Residence:	Neolocal, some patri-locality	Neolocal
Clans, Demes:	Absent or unreported	Absent or unreported
Kin Groups:	Moieties absent: kindreds unreported.	Bilateral kindreds present.
Exogamy:	Bilateral extension of incest taboos	Bilateral extension of taboos
Marriage:	General polygyny, non-sororal or unspecified.	General polygny, non-sororal or un-speicifed; alternative, general polygny, ex-clusively sororal.
Family:	Independent polygynous families	Independent polygynous families
Aunt Terms:	Distinct for mother, mother's sister and father's sister; One term for mother, mother's sister, another for father's sister	Distinct terms for mother mother's sister, and father's sister
Niece Terms:	One term for daughter, brother's daughter; another for sister's daughter*	One term for daughter, brother's daughter; another for sister's daughter*

*This should, of course, be modified by "male speaker" ... for if the speaker is a female there is one term for daughter, sister's daughter; another for brother's daughter.

Figure 26

felt that the lack of exogamous kin groups and the presence of bilateral kindreds[38] indicated that they were in the process of changing their rules of descent. We arrive at this conclusion since these are the two areas in which they differ, according to his description, from the Kickapoo.

We should carry this one step further, for it is the Neo-Fox sub-type of Fox that the Fox are placed in. This comprises "previously unilinear societies with asymmetrical cross-cousin terminology which have lost their kin groups or their exogamy in consequence of adopting bilocal or neolocal residence, and which have not yet developed a typical bilateral organization of Eskimo or Hawaiin type." (p. 233) This is such a specific definition that it would almost seem to have been written for the Fox Indians, and, indeed, this is the only tribe Murdock places in this sub-type.

In general, then, it seems that Murdock put the Fox in a different category than the Kickapoo because he felt that they showed more change

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[38] A kindred he describes thus: "In our society, ... it includes that group of near kinsmen who may be expected to be present and participant on important ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, christenings, funerals, Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners, and 'family reunions.' Members of a kindred visit and entertain one another freely, and between them marriage and pecuniary transactions for profit are ordinarily taboo. One turns first to them for aid when one finds oneself in difficulties. However much they may disagree or quarrel, they are expected to support one another against criticism or affronts from outsiders. The kindred in other societies has comparable characteristics and functions." 1949: 56-57.

than the Kickapoo. As a matter of fact, he describes them as being Neo-Fox from Neo-Omaha (p. 335). However, a system of classification that obscures so much similarity is distressing to me.[39]

As far as their nomenclature is concerned, the Kickapoo are bilateral, i.e. they recognize a group of relatives to whom they are related through their fathers, and they recognize another group of relatives to whom they are related through their mothers. There are today pressures towards both patrilineal orientation and towards matrilineal. The former is in the form of the patrilineal emphasis of western culture, with one's family name coming from the father (and therefore family identification), the emphasis of his role as head of the house, his legal responsibilities for his family, etc. The latter stems from the fact that the stability of marriages is so low that children frequently find themselves separated from their fathers for much of their lives. And of course pressures, primarily economic in this case, are very strong towards emphasis on the nuclear family rather than on larger bodies of extended kin.

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[39]There is another aspect of Murdock's work with these tribes that is also disturbing, and that is that he is not consistent with regard to time depth in his reporting. For example, he still reports the Kickapoo, Fox, and Omaha as polygynous, although they are not anymore, of course, and have not been for some time. But he does not consider the clans as clans anymore. Why he should choose to retain polygyny and reject the clans is unclear to me.

Nevertheless, in spite of such pressures, the old kinship system still functions as a classificatory system to the extent that there are still prescribed and proscribed forms of behavior for all mothers, all brothers, etc. As might be expected these roles have become somewhat modified; and in the following descriptions of the roles that go with the various kin terms, some of the conflict resulting from the aforementioned pressures will be indicated.

Mother:

Traditionally, the mother is there to make the home for the children. It is her duty to feed them and keep their clothes for them and coddle them when they are small. When the child marries, the mother is "through with them," meaning that one would not turn to one's mother for help after marriage, but would go to some other relative.

Actually, today both girls and boys tend to return to their mothers if their marriage fails, although everyone says that they should turn to some other relative. And in case of divorce, the children usually do go with their mother; but it would not be at all unusual for them to be left by her with their grandmother, i.e. for a woman to leave her children with her own mother if she has trouble in her marriage.

It is still true that any classificatory mother might fulfill this role, though the tendency is for one's own mother to do so.

Father:

The father role is similarly mainly that of provider. A man does not train his own sons, nor do they come to him for advice. To his daughter he is a protector and provider. He also is supposedly through with his children after they marry.

Actually, today the younger fathers tend to adopt a role more similar to that of fathers in western culture, i.e. including both training and advising their sons, and to some degree their daughters. However, there are also a number of them who do not take any responsibility for their children at all, only incidentally and as long as they are living with the children's mother.

In matters pertaining specifically to Kickapoo culture, such as teaching of songs, roles in rituals, etc., the father is still not supposed to do the training. One's grandparents and uncles and aunts are (see below).

Sibling:

Brother to brother and sister to sister are companionate roles. They will ask for and give each other advice and act as confidants to each other.

Although the terminology distinguishes older from younger siblings, the writer was unable to distinguish much in the way of behavioral distinctions. A boy is supposed to be somewhat of a protector to his sister, and this aspect of the brother-sister relationship is perhaps

more emphasized from a boy to a younger sister. He should also take responsibility for her support if she should need it. These latter two aspects of a boy's role towards a sister are very similar to the role of the father.

A boy's sister can take the place of an aunt, with respect to a feast or a dance. A boy can ask either a younger or an older sister to give a dance for a religious purpose.

Uncles and Aunts:

A boy depends on his mother's sister or his father's sister (or, if necessary, his own sister) when it comes to giving a feast or a dance. (The inclusion of the mother's sister here is undoubtedly recent, since under the older patrilineal clan system she would not have been of the proper clan.) He gets his training from and can ask advice of either his maternal or paternal uncles. These relatives also stand in the role of helpter and advisor to a girl. The phrase "strong advisor" is used to describe this relationship, or "the parents don't count as much." Here again, this is mainly with regard, today at any rate to training and counsel in matters pertaining to ceremonial life. However, it does extend over into more secular matters so that a girl might sew for an aunt or vice versa, and a boy might go to his uncle for money, etc.

Grandparents:

These are the "strongest advisors". It is to the grandparents that children are encouraged to turn for help, training, and advice. In

them lies the wisdom of the tribe, and they are most particularly sought for advice in matters of folklore and religion. But they may also be turned to for aid in secular matters. As a matter of fact, grandmothers in particular are quite apt to assume a good bit of the burden of rearing the grandchildren. (I was told by one informant that children went to the father's father in older days.) It is not at all uncommon to find an old or older woman keeping any number of her grandchildren, either with or without one or both of the children's parents there to help. This is carried to the extent that there are even cases where the grandmother is keeping her son's or daughter's step-children.[40]

In-laws:

There is no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo.[41] All in-laws are considered to be "pleasure relatives." As one informant put it "You can tease them all. You tease your mothers- and fathers-in-law in a clean way and your brothers- and sisters-in-law in a nasty way.

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[40] Interestingly enough, and perhaps for some of the same reasons, this pattern is also a common one among the lower class American Negro family. Compare Frazier 1953: 138.

[41] However, among Michelson's notes there is a folk-tale of a man accidentally exposing himself to his mother-in-law and then committing suicide, which is suggestive of some former existence of such a taboo. Also, such a taboo is reported for the Fox (Jones 1939).

Like you could say to your sister's husband, 'Oh, let's go lay around somewhere'." A rather interesting institutionalization of this lies in a pleasure dance they do called the in-law dance, in which brothers and sisters-in-law dance together around the fire to the accompaniment of obscene songs and much laughter and giggling.[42]

Clans:

Clan is, in some respects, a poor term to use for these groupings among the Kickapoo, because these groups are no longer hereditary (i.e. they are not coextensive with lineages: one is not a member of a particular clan by virtue of birth); nor are they even strictly exogamous anymore. However, since they are evidently survivals of what were once patrilineal clans (named, exogamous bodies of kin with descent in the male line), since they are referred to as such in the literature on the Kickapoo, and since it is a more economical term than the alternatives, it was decided to retain its usage here.[43] That these groups

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[42]Although the songs are apt to refer to sex between the two, such as one that says: "I'm dancing with the woman with the bare behind," they may contain other types of obscenities too. There is one, for example, about the cutting off of the testicles of an Osage.

[43]Of similar groups to be found among the Shawnee, E. Voegelin (in Trowbridge 1938: 16) says: "Trowbridge here uses 'tribes' for that form of social grouping among the Shawnee which we would now call 'gens' or 'patrilineal clans.' By the twentieth century these groups had lost their unilateral character to such an extent that Dr. C. F. Voegelin and I adopted the term 'name groups' for them; but it becomes clear from the Trowbridge material that unilateral descent was once associated with them." For a discussion of these name groups, including the distribution of them and some associated characteristics, see C. F. and E. W. Voegelin 1935: 617-35.

were clans at one time is indicated by: (1) the Omaha kin terminology which, as mentioned above, is associated with well-developed patrilineal clans; (2) some features of lineages are still retained, e.g. one still calls all female members of one's own clan grandmother and all male members grandfather regardless of age;[44] and (3) these named groups still have a strong tendency to be exogamous. As a matter of fact, if questioned, the Kickapoo are apt to tell you that members of the same clan can not marry; and if their attention is called to some of the cases where they have done so, the informant will modify his statement to "They didn't used to marry."

Today the clans function mainly as ceremonial units, membership in which is determined not by birth but by naming. The person who names an infant bestows a name from his own clan. Thus, an Eagle names a child with an Eagle name, and this fixes the child's clan affiliation as Eagle. Who names a child is determined by the parents. Theoretically, the father choses a namer for the first child, and the mother for the second, the father for the third, and so on. The namer is usually a relative: grandparent, sibling, or either maternal or paternal aunt or uncle. There is definitely the feeling that the privilege of naming the children in a family should be spread around among various people. There is one man who had five children and named

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[44] For a discussion of this practice and its relationship to lineages, see Radcliffe-Brown 1941: 1-18.

them all himself, and he is referred to as having been very selfish about this.

Along with the naming of a child goes the privilege of rearing the child, if the namer so desires. The namer has the right, theoretically at least, of taking the child as his or her own; but in actual practice this is seldom done (although not at all unknown, even today). The relationship of the namer to the namee today is quite comparable to that of the compadre in Latin American countries. The namer will bestow gifts on the child, take responsibility for it if anything should happen to the parents, and will even be the one to hold an adoption for the namee if he survives him and the namers own parents do not.

Although these name groups are no longer clans in the classic sense, the importance of them is not to be underestimated. One's name, and therefore his clan, determines his right to participate in the ceremonial life of the tribe. If one does not have a clan affiliation, one cannot participate in the ceremonies. To illustrate, there is one older woman in Oklahoma today who, through some misadventure, was never named. She is a very conservative Kickapoo in many ways, wears Indian dress, has had all her children named, has practically all of her social relations within the Kickapoo group, is always invited to all of the ceremonies as a guest, and is treated, naturally, with the kind of behavior her position in the kinship system warrants. Nevertheless, she cannot be an active participant in any of the ceremonies; she cannot perform any of the required roles; for she has no clan

affiliation. As a matter of fact, they worry about what they will do about funeral and adoption for this woman, for the roles people perform at these rituals depend upon clan affiliation.[45] Her role is so anomolous that the leaders are always meeting to consider what to allow her to do about rituals that normally would be performed by her or on her behalf.

According to the writer's information, there are nine of these clans represented in Oklahoma today. But before proceeding with what we have, it would be well at this point to indicate that there is much about the clans that is still confusing. The information is unclear, and undoubtedly incomplete, in many areas; and there are probably errors in the census that serve to confuse the issue. However, in presenting the data, we shall try and point out the discrepancies and uncertainties.

The names of the clans and the number of adult members in each, as received in the census, are as follows:

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[45]When asked why, since she causes so much trouble and concern, they did not go ahead and name her, those present responded with much hilarity and the question: "Who could carry her out to a tree or water or around the group?", a good question since she must have weighed close to 200 pounds. More to the point, of course, is that one does not name adults, one names children.

Name of Clan	Number of Adult Members
Blackberry	61
Eagle	43
Water	24
Bear	16
War (Soldier, Man)	16
Tree	9
Coon	8
Elk	5
Buffalo	2
Total[46]	194

Jones (1913:335) has also given us a list of the Kickapoo clans. His is as follows, with the order rearranged to make comparison with ours easier: Blackberry, Bald Eagle, Water, Bear, Man, Tree, Elk, Buffalo, Fox, Turkey, Thunder, and Wolf.

There are several discrepancies in these two lists that deserve consideration. Jones has Fox, Turkey, Thunder and Wolf that do not appear in our census; and he does not mention any Coon clan, which does appear in ours. Although the Fox does not appear in our list, I was told that there were "only a couple of people with Fox names in

[46]This does not reach our grand total of 203 adults because the clan affiliation of a few was not obtained, and because our total population includes, as mentioned before, a few individuals who are included as Kickapoo although they do not have Kickapoo names, and therefore have no clan affiliation.

Oklahoma" (though none of them turned up in the census), and again that the "head of this clan is in Mexico". So this clan is undoubtedly still in existence. The situation with regard to a Thunder clan is quite comparable, i.e. I was given two Thunder names at one time, but neither of these turned up in the census. In checking, it turns out that one of these names belongs to an individual who is a minor, and consequently his clan does not appear in the census (since only the clan and moiety affiliations of adults were collected.) The other individual does appear in the census, but is listed as a Tree. The latter's name translates as "Lightning-struck-a-tree", so we can interpret this in either of two ways: it may be that because of tree being in his name he was assumed, mistakenly, to be a Tree, or it may be that since there are no other Thunders in Oklahoma, he functions with the Tree clan at ceremonies and such. Be that as it may, we do have some evidence of the survival of this clan. As for Turkey and Wolf, there was no mention made of either of these at any time, so they do not survive in Oklahoma.

Even more puzzling to me is the Coon clan. The loss of some clans, along with the loss of so many other things under the impact of Western culture, is not hard to understand. But the addition of a new one at a time when everything else seems to be disappearing is hard to explain, and I do not know how to do so.

The Eagle clan is said to be the "strongest" or "most important". The head of the Eagle clan is in some situations the head of the tribe. And persons belonging to the Eagles are supposed to be "strong".

The Water clan is said to be "open". This is the clan into which outsiders i.e. non-Kickapoos,can be adopted; and persons belonging to this clan are said to either have non-Kickapoo ancestry or to have been named by an outsider. They say this is the open one since "water is open to anybody to jump in or bathe in; it is free."

The Fox members are supposed to be "bad, to steal and be sneaky."

The War clan is in some respects anomolous. Although one is named into it as an infant, including both males and females, it is also said that anyone who has been to war can function with this clan at ceremonies. Also, War does not have a head man, and in the reciprocality system (discussed later), the War clan members do not serve anyone ("since they are crippled and disabled") but anyone may act as servants to them. This one may, therefore, have grown out of a former war society.

Other aspects of the clans, such as head men or chiefs, reciprocality, their roles in ceremonies and feasts and in regulating marriage, will be discussed in the appropriate sections.

Moieties

The moiety divisions of these Indians are the Black faces (oškaɬE) and White faces (Kiɣ·goha). Jones (1913:335) translates these as "paints with charcoal" and "paints with white clay," respectively. This same division occurs among the Fox and Sauk (Michelson 1927:123).

As with the clans, one receives his moiety affiliation from his namer at the time he is named, i.e. he receives the same moiety as his namer. Of the 184 adults whose affiliation is known, 108 are Whites and 76 are Blacks. Ideally, the population would be half one and half the other.

There is some suggestion that the various clans may have belonged to one or the other, but not both, of the moieties at one time. As a matter of fact, one informant informed me that this was the case, that the Eagle, Buffalo, Bear and Fox are Black and the Coon, Water, Blackberry and Tree are White. Our census data show the following breakdown with respect to the way the various clan members are distributed in the two moieties:

Clan	Black	White
Eagle	40	3
Blackberry	8	53
Coon	1	7
Water	7	17
War	9	7
Tree	0	9
Elk	5	0
Bear	4	12
Buffalo	2	0

With the exception of the War clan, then, each clan is much more heavily loaded into one or the other of the moieties. It is of course possible that the census is in error and that the 3 White Eagles should be Black, the 8 Black Blackberries White, etc; but that would be rather a large error. It is also possible that this is another area in which the culture has changed. Be that as it may, the evidence is certainly here that at least at one time the moieties may have been composed of specific clans. There is negative evidence in that the Fox do not have this association of particular clans with a particular moiety.

An Eagle is leader of Blacks; a Coon of the Whites.

These groups, again, are ceremonial groups, their primary function being to divide the Kickapoo into two competing factions for the games and races that are one of the major elements in many of their rituals. But to state that "the division is for rivalry in athletics only" as Jones did (ibid:335) is a bit misleading; for, as we shall see in our discussion of ceremonies and rituals, the moieties function definitely in a religious context.

Marriage and Family

The "normal" Kickapoo family consists of a man, his wife, and their children. However, it is not at all infrequent to find an older relative, such as a grandparent or an uncle or aunt, living with the family unit. Likewise, though they do tend to be neolocal today, it is not uncommon to find young married couples living with either the husband's or the wife's parents.

As a matter of fact, the household is a rather fluctuating unit among the Oklahoma Kickapoo, for their feelings of community and kinship are such that there are quite apt to be "strays" living with a family for any length of time, varying from one or two days to weeks, to a year or more. Thus, many of them who do not have any place of their own (or who rent out all of their land and/or have no immediate family) will live with one family for awhile and then another and another, and so on. It is said of these individuals that they "just live around." There are notes to the effect that this was also common in the 1920's, according to information in the agency files now residing in the Oklahoma Historical Society (year 1923). Or if a marriage breaks up, one of the parties will go and live with some other family. Or when someone comes up from Mexico, he or she (and perhaps some of their family and/or friends) will move in with some family with which they have relationship ties, or simply one whose name and location has been given to them by friends in Mexico. The frequency of the maternal grandmother's rearing her grandchildren has already been mentioned and constitutes another common household unit to be found.

As might be expected, the family is not a very stable unit. Many of the adults have had more than one mate; and many of the individuals have been reared in more than one household. But whether or not there is less stability today than formerly would be difficult to demonstrate, for we have no comparable information from an earlier time period.

We might note that they were considered to be unstable by the agents in the 1920's (Oklahoma Historical Society, Agency files)

Marriages do not ever seem to have been a religious contract (See Marston's Report in Blair 1912), as of course is generally true of the American Indian. Although some of the younger people have a civil ceremony or even occasionally a minister today for their first marriage, the more common pattern is for a couple simply to start living together. The only remnants of the old customs left in Oklahoma[47] occur in the case of a young couple marrying for the first time. In this case, it is usual for the parents to hold a feast for the young couple, which formally recognizes the union, and to which guests bring presents of such things as cooking utensils and bedding for the young couple. (This celebration is, of course, a far cry from the custom of the groom giving a horse to the bride's brother, and the bride giving gifts to the daughters of the groom's sisters.) The feast may be done in addition to a civil ceremony. Any subsequent marriage are of the common law type.

The marital characteristics of the Kickapoo as they occur in my census are as follows:

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[47] Jones (1913:332) has a description of these customs among the Oklahoma Kickapoo. These customs probably are still practiced in Mexico, as I received a description of them from one informant, now about fifty years old, who was raised in Mexico.

Marital Status	Females	Males
Single	3	21
Married	69	67
Married, formerly separated or divorced[48]	8	5
Separated or divorced	9	8
Spouse dead	5	5
Unknown	3	0
Total ever married	94	85

This shows an overall total of 179 married adults out of 203. There are more single males than females mainly because the females tend to marry younger, i.e. as soon as they become adults. What appears to be discrepancies in this list (as for example 69 women currently married and only 67 men) are due to there being some individuals married to non-Kickapoos.

The ethnic origin of the spouses in these 176 cases are:

Ethnic Origin	Females	Males
Kickapoo	56	62
Potawatomi	5	3
Sac, Fox, Shawnee	13	8
Other Indian[49]	8	6
Caucasian	7	3
Unknown	5	3
Total	94	85

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[48]This category includes, I am sure, less than actually have been married before; for this information was usually revealed only in the case of persons who had children by someone other than their current spouse.

[49]The "other" Indian includes 1 each of Creek, Cheyenne, Cherokee, Arapaho, Comanche, Pawnee, Sioux, Paiute, Klamath and Yavapai, and 2 each of Oto and Seminole.

Out of a total of 179 married, 53 are married to non-Kickapoo, this being 29.54 percent. Of these 53 mixed marriages, 34 occur among Kickapoo under 40 years of age, 16 among Kickapoo over 40, and 5 of them with the age bracket unknown. Of the total 179 married persons, 90 are under 40 years old, 75 over 40, and 14 with age unknown. Expressed in percentages, although only 54.55 per cent of all those married (where age is known) are persons under 40, 68.00 per cent of the mixed marriages (where age is known) involve persons under 40.[50] This certainly indicates that the younger Kickapoo are marrying out more than their parents did. However, in this regard, it is very interesting to note how frequently the Indians discussed in the latter half of the eighteenth century in the Illinois/Indiana area were of mixed parenthood. (See, e.g., Pease and Jenison 1940 passim.)

In spite of the fact that almost 30 per cent of those married have married non-Kickapoo, the custom of tribal endogamy is still very strong. Theoretically, any mixed marriage must be approved by the council of clan heads; and two cases have been brought to my attention where Kickapoo were "disowned" for marrying whites. Of non-endogamous marriages, those with other Indians are decidedly preferable to those with non-Indians. And of other Indians, the Central Algonkins are the least objectionable, particularly Sac, Fox or Absentee Shawnee, with whom they not only have close cultural affiliation, but also have had geographic proximity for a long time. The Potawatomi involved

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[50] The chi-square information on this relationship is: $x^2 = 5.237$, d.f. = 1, and p. = < .025 (1 tailed).

in these mixed marriages are, of course, from the Kansas Kickapoo group.

The reasons for the relatively large number of mixed marriages that occur in spite of the strong pressures for tribal endogamy, are not hard to understand when we consider their marriage requirements in conjunction with the small population.

As far as eligibility for marriage is concerned, the Kickapoo are quite limited. Eligible partners should fulfill several criteria. They should both be Kickapoo. They should belong to different clans. They should not be related to each other, and this stipulation includes not only all one's classificatory parents, siblings, nieces and nephews, etc., but also any adopted relatives.[51] And finally, the age difference should not be more than about ten years.

As for how this relates to the small population size: of the total of 203 adults approximately half would be male and half female, at any given time. Of these estimated one hundred females, only about a fourth or a fifth would fall in the appropriate age group for any given

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[51] This refers to relatives adopted to replace dead relatives. The exclusion of adopted relatives has ramifications that are not always immediately apparent. For example, in the words of one informant: "G. K. 's son (K) and B. couldn't marry, although they went together. G. K. 's father died and they adopted B. 's father's father. G. K. 's brother died and they adopted B. 's father. B's brother died and so they adopted one of G. K. 's sons (not K). If G. K. 's daughter died, they would adopt B. or her sister ... and if B. or her sister died, they would adopt G. K. 's daughter." In other words, these two families, though not related otherwise, are related "in the adopted way", which makes them ineligible as far as marriage is concerned.

male, cutting his potential mates within the group down to about 20 or 25. This number would be made even smaller by eliminating those who would be prohibited by virtue of their kinship affiliation, either "real" or adopted. And finally, those who are members of the same clan as our hypothetical suitor should also be eliminated from eligibility. The chances of their being someone qualified are, therefore, very limited indeed. And in addition there are always the factors of personal preferences and personality compatibility and the like. With these things in mind, it is not hard to understand why there are as many mixed marriages as there are. It also helps us to understand why there are as many clan-endogamous marriages as there are. There are twelve such marriages, all of which occur within the Eagle or Blackberry (except one) and these are, as can be seen above, the two most heavily populated clans. The parties to these marriages, by the way, are subjected to a certain amount of teasing because of them.

There is another factor in the increase in "marry-out" that should be considered also, and that is that their lives are no longer confined within the Kickapoo community. Today the Kickapoo go to school with whites and other Indians; they work with them; they attend social affairs (dances, ball games, and such) given by other tribes; and in general, they have many more opportunities to meet and become involved with persons who are not Kickapoo themselves. This means, of course, they now have a greater opportunity to select a spouse from some other group.

In spite of the looseness and general instability of the family, the relationships within it are generally of a very warm and friendly nature. Friendly teasing, helpfulness and genuine concern with each other's problems and welfare are characteristic forms of behavior within the family.

Although childrearing is not a subject that was of particular interest to me, some observations were made in this area. The Kickapoo are generally quite permissive and tolerant with children. Parents are not strict with their children in the areas one might predict, that is, in the areas where the parents are not rigid themselves. The permissiveness is with respect to such things as going to bed at a specific time, staying out of the dirt, eating between meals, and other such things that would horrify the ordinary middle class American mother. At all night ceremonies, for example, the children stay up as late as they wish.

But in the areas where it is considered important to the Kickapoo, they are firm in disciplining the children. Thus, children are early taught to treat elders with respect,[52] to behave in the proper manner towards the various categories of kin, and to assume some responsibility for those younger than themselves. As a matter of fact, all of the older people assume some responsibility for the younger; so that, for example,

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[52] Jones (1923) has some notes on punishing impudent children that were published after his death.

when children are running around at "doings," any convenient adult will chastise a near child for a misdoing or snatch one away from something potentially dangerous, etc. Children are also taught very early to respect those things that are sacred; so, for instance, though they run and play all around at any of the ceremonies, they stay off the ceremonial area in front of the house and do not interfere with any of the paraphenalia.

The author has never observed any harsh punishment of children; but one informant, with respect to punishment, said: "They used to make you fast when you misbehaved; they would blacken your face the next day and you fasted till noon. Or they switched your legs with a switch. Or if it was cold, they would throw you in the water, even if they had to break the ice. They don't do this anymore."

Infants are nursed sometimes until they are two or three years old. A young woman told me that those who nurse as long as three years do so because they are lazy. For they do not menstruate as long as they are nursing a child and therefore do not have to observe all the taboos connected with menstruation, such as cooking themselves extra meals and so on.

Children are generally taken wherever the mother goes until at least school age.[53]

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[53]With respect to childrearing, Michelson has a short essay on how the Fox Indians feel a child should be raised (Michelson, 1925c.)

A note about bastardy might not be remiss at this point. Bastardy is recognized as children born to a couple that have not established a more or less permanent union, i.e., have not and are not living together as man and wife. Bastards are not supposed to be named with a Kickapoo naming ceremony, but looking over the genealogies it is evident that they frequently are. And they are treated much the same as other children, their illegitimacy being forgotten for all intents and purposes most of the time.

Notes on Government and Crime

Only sparse information on government and crime was obtained, probably due mainly to the fact that most of my information came from women. Also, of course, the Federal government has now assumed most of the responsibilities in these areas.

However, some remarks on the punishment of crimes in the old days were made by one informant.

> It used to be considered awful if people had babies without marriage. They used to run the woman off if she did this. L's grandmother's sister had a baby like that and they ran her off and told her not to come back. Today they don't think much of it.
>
> For a guilty man, they usually tied his hands and when they roamed they put him on a horse and when they camped they put him in a certain place where they could watch him. They just fed him very little, kind of starved him. This they would do for thirty days.

> If a man caught his wife in adultery, the other man was starved. (She did not know what was done to the wife.)
>
> If they really got mad, like if a man killed another one in his own tribe, they would build a big hot fire and throw him in the hot coals. This was just for murder, killing, but not of some one from another tribe.
>
> For stealing, they burn his finger off in a hot fire.
>
> These punishments were the Kickapoo's own laws. They always got four judges, who are already in that office and always Eagles, and these four decide whether to burn the offender or starve him or whether to stick his head in the fire. Don't know what they put his head in the fire for, maybe to put some sense in it!
>
> There was no punishment for breaking mourning, since they always mourn, except they don't do it for spouses from other tribes.

Today, of course, punishment for crimes is not handled by the Kickapoo themselves, but is handled by the constituted white authorities. They do have some say in it, however, to the extent that there is always the weapon of ostracism from the group; and to the extent that it is sometimes a matter of their discretion as to whether or not an individual's misdeeds are called to the attention of the white authorities.

The information on government is somewhat unclear. There is a council of the headmen of clans. It is supposed to be composed of the headmen of all the clans; but I was also told by more than one informant that there were eight councilmen, which does not strictly coincide with the number of clans there are. This discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that the War clan does not have a head man (which again reflects the anomolous position of this clan.)

The position of head of a clan is supposed to go from father to son, preferably to the eldest of his own sons. In the event that the man has no sons, it could go to a classificatory son, providing, of course, that this son is a member of the same clan. However, in examining the current situation (the clan head, from whom he got the position, and to whom it will go when he is deceased or incapacitated) it is clear that the position does not always go from a man to his son anymore. We find two clans that do not conform. The man who is currently head of the Bear clan is training his nephew (sister's son) for the role. He has no sons of his own, it is true; but I was also informed that this nephew will in turn pass it to one of his sister's sons. The head of the Blackberry clan, who has no sons, will pass the position on to one of his daughter's sons. Now probably one or both of these men has classificatory sons, so we wonder why the headship will not pass to one of them. It may be that there are none who are also members of the same clan as the current head. But if such is the case why should they decide to pass it on in the two ways indicated above? It could be that these men named the individuals to whom they will pass their role, in which case they could claim them as their own to raise; but this is speculative and here again more information is necessary before the reasons are clear.

In addition to these eight councilmen there is a chief, who is always an Eagle, and a second chief, who is a Coon. These positions are also supposed to be inherited from father to son.

There are no women on the council at present, and, according to one informant, there are never any women on it. But according to another, they can have two old ladies on it "if they want to," and these would be selected by the council and chosen without regard to their clan affiliation. It may be that in this case, these are temporary members who serve when there are problems before the council involving women (though this is uncertain).

The council meetings are held at the chief's house, usually in midmorning. Anyone can request that the council meet to settle a problem, and the chief will decide whether or not they should. When they do meet, the chief always sits on the western side of the house inside, facing the east. He tells the "speaker" (second chief) what to say, but he does not talk much himself. His approval is necessary for the decisions of the council. The speaker, who sits on the north at the left of the chief, does most of the chief's talking for him and makes the announcements to the tribe of the things that the council decides upon. The "listeners" (councilmen) sit on the north and south sides of the house, and of course present their views and arguments on the issues. I was informed that decisions have to be unanimous and consequently the council sometimes has to meet several times on a single problem.

The business of the council is concerned mainly with social and ceremonial problems today. If an Indian has committed a wrong, such as stealing or knifing or being drunk and disruptive, the council will meet to decide whether or not to turn him over to the white authorities,

or to disown him, or what to do with him. They will also discuss the propriety of certain marriages, particularly with regard to mixed marriages. ("If they didn't like the marriage, they would talk to her parents and if she did it anyway, they might disown her or take her to the white man law and have her put away"!) They also discuss ceremonies, feasts and dances, to set the dates for them, etc. Or in some cases to decide whether or not a ceremony should be held at all. They will, for example postpone a ceremony for at least four days if there has been a death. Or they will determine whether or not it is proper for a given individual to hold a certain ceremony. As mentioned before, they have met several times to consider problems relating to the woman with no name. ("She likes to give evening feasts and other kinds, for the dead and for her son who was in the army. But the council met and refused to let her. So she had to beg and beg. So they felt sorry for her and let her give them. But they turned her down on naming her.") Or if someone wants to be adopted into the Kickapoo tribe, the council will have to decide whether or not to take him.

There used to be a queen in Oklahoma, but she died several years ago and has never been replaced. (It was this woman who left the Kickapoo three acres of land in tribal trust.) Information about this role also varies. I was informed by one individual that there were only two queens; that this started in Mexico where the first one had a vision telling her to be leader; that the tribe thought this over and

decided to let her; and that when she died her daughter became the next one. And when she in turn died, it "just faded out."

However, another version, which is probably more accurate, does not include its beginning in Mexico; and we do find mention of a queen as far back as 1791 in the documentary literature (American State Papers 1:133). All informants do agree that there is someone eligible for this role today who has not been approved by the council. There is also agreement that this woman's role was mainly a religious one rather than primarily political. Her approval was evidently necessary before holding a religious dance.

Adoption

There are today several Indians of other tribes who have been adopted into the Kickapoo. I know of a Potawatomi, two Shawnees, two Foxes, and a Pawnee. I was told there were some Comanches adopted in Mexico.

> They left since the Comanches are rough and they like the the way the Kickapoos live. One man left and took his mother with him. He left since the Comanches steal horses and kill. Nowadays there are a lot of Comanches who live away from their own tribe. They have better feelings from living in Mexico with the Kickapoo.

In order to be adopted into the Kickapoo, an individual has to give up all of his rights and relationships in his own tribe. Then it is necessary that the council meet to decide whether or not to accept him.

They get into the Kickapoo by having dreams. In these dreams they see objects and Indians and hear talks, and they think this is the best thing for him to join with the Kickapoo. The Kickapoo will ask him why he wanted to join, and he tells about his dreams. They tell him if he is telling the truth he can whistle up in the sky; and if not, he can't. If he can make the whistle up in heaven, he will be admitted. The ones adopted are taken by the Kickapoo and are full members of the tribe, but only if they can make the whistle. And they have to believe all the things the Kickapoo believe. An outsider adopted in would be adopted into somebody's family. He goes into some person's camp and lives with an old man and calls him grandfather. And then later when he can talk Kickapoo and knows things, he builds his own home.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS AND CEREMONIAL LIFE

Introduction

The religion of the Oklahoma Kickapoo is essentially an animistic nature religion, with the belief in manitous as its basic component. The manitous are animal and humanoid spirits that control the universe; and most of the religious practices of the Kickapoo are concerned with dealing with these spirits in order to keep life untroubled and secure.[54]

The manitous are arranged more or less hierarchially, with the Great Manitou (kɛcimɔ̀nito), as the most powerful. He is alternately referred to as the Creator (kisihiat^{h}), Great Spirit, Supreme Ruler, Our Father (koθɛnan), and God.

Next is a series of what might be called major manitous, which are always included in prayers and that are considered by the Kickapoo to be very close to the Great Manitou and very strong and powerful. These include the four winds (or directions), the sky, sun, moon, stars, earth, and waters.

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[54] Jones (1905:183-90) described the concept of manitou as being one of a supernatural essense or power that pervades the universe. However, Fisher (in Jones 1939:11 n.) points out that this interpretation of manitou is denied for Menominee, Ojibwa, Winnebago and Cree, and suggests that Jones was influenced by the concept of mana when he wrote about the Algonkin manitou. I am inclined to agree with Fisher.

And next, in addition to these, there are manitous in or of all sorts of other things, which are considered of various importance. These latter include anything which is of importance to the Kickapoo way of life; including, therefore, such things as the animals and plants they use and know. There are manitous corresponding to corn, to squash or pumpkin, and to all the animals after which the clans are named. An example of one of these is the conception of the bear manitou:

> He is the earthly grandfather. So they talk to him in prayer, too. After the flood, the Creator turned a man into a bear since he was so good. He wanted him to live again. He was named the "watcher-of-the-earth." He was sort of a guard, right next to God. In Indian he was called wɛ.taθeʔ. His spirit is talked to which at the same time is a bear. He is not the same as the first man, but is a branch off the first man.

Of praying in general, one informant said:

> The Creator is the main one to pray to. He stays on the western side, in the west, all alone. When one prays, there are different things to pray to. To get well, pray to Our Father because you are asking for health and he is the only one that can give it direct.
>
> But if you want rain, speak to Thunder for it. Also, if the prayer wasn't answered, talk to him and he might lead it on a little further. Maybe Thunder can't get any further than the next spirit. Maybe another above him might be the Northern Lights (čakinaθo). You would ask them for rain if Thunder doesn't answer you. If these didn't, try the Northern Star (kɛcimɔkua or Big Bear). After him, another star, like Morning Star (waθɔeɔ). You don't have to see them to pray to them. After that, all the creatures in the White Road (wapidipuɛ).

And another:

> The four winds are always mentioned in every prayer. They begin with the earth always (grandmother); next the four winds (east, west, south, and north, in that order). They mention those since they are not ours but are the Creator's and you are thankful he has put them there for you to use. Also, they always mention the sky, sun, moon, stars and waters. Those are mentioned in every prayer. If you want a rain prayer, you mention the Thunder and mention the sky, moon, and sun again.

In addition to these, special mention should be made of tobacco and also of thunder or thunderers. The former is referred to as the first messenger (pðekiθenaKUA), "the one who leads our thoughts," and is very prominent in its use in connection with prayers. The most powerful prayers will be said with the use of a small amount of tobacco sprinkled either to the winds or on waters or a fire. The latter is, to the Kickapoo, the second messenger, and in prayer is called "grandfather" (nɛ nɛ mɛkiHð). It again is very prominent in Kickapoo prayers, and they believe that Thunder is very helpful and efficient in taking their prayers where they will be answered.

The belief in manitou and the performance of the rituals dealing with it are considered to be the "Kickapoo way." As one informant put it:

> The Indians [meaning Kickapoo] believe in the Great Spirit. That way was given to them in their heads and their hearts, not in books. Four dimensions ago they got it and they still live by it. They were given a choice before birth of whether to take the way of inventions or the Kickapoo way. They came from the Great Spirit and follow the Indian path to get back to him. It is hard to explain all this

> because it is the universe. The songs are not songs, they are the words of the Great Spirit given to us. All this is what the Great Spirit left to us.

In other words, it is holding these beliefs and participating in the rituals that really makes one a Kickapoo; and it is said of one who no longer takes an active part in the religious aspect of Kickapoo culture that "he is not really Kickapoo" or "he is not a good Kickapoo."

Durkheim's interpretation of religion (1947:passim) as functioning to promote group solidarity, to reinforce group ties, seems very applicable here. Its appropriateness is probably partly because the life situation of the Kickapoo and of the Australian aborigine have a very relevant feature in common, viz., both groups are separated for much of the year, but gather together again at specific times in order to hold their ceremonies. And for both, these ceremonial occasions are the only times that the whole group is together. With respect to the Kickapoo, the gathering occurs in the summer months primarily. During the fall and winter many of them are off working as migratory laborers, and those who are always do try and return for the spring feasts.

In general, with respect to ceremonies, paraphenalia, beliefs, and the related social organization, the Kickapoo religion is very

much like that of the Fox Indians as reported by Michelson,[55] Tax (1937 passim) and Jones (1939:10-23 and 79-109 particularly). As a matter of fact, they are so similar that it is probable that there has never been more than a difference in detail between the two.

Clan and Moiety

As has been mentioned before, the religious activity of the Kickapoo is organized around the divisions of clan and moiety. The moiety determines which side an individual will be on in any of the games or competitions involved in ceremonies; and it determines whether an individual sits on the north or the south side of the house or sacred ground at such affairs. The Blacks are always on the north side and the Whites on the south. At adoptions the Whites play the Blacks in a moccasin game or a ball game. When an eating contest occurs, again it is the Blacks versus the Whites. And the teasing and rivalry between these groups is very much enjoyed by all.[56]

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[55] Michelson has copious and detailed descriptions of some of the gens festivals of the Fox, including the translations of both songs and prayers. He also has much other information about their religious life scattered throughout his writings. But no where have I found that he makes any attempt to describe Fox religion as a whole, nor to organize his information in such a way that any clear picture of their religion as a system emerges. This is unfortunate, since he does have the most detailed (and probably also the most accurate) information of any writer in the area.

[56] Compare Jones 1939:80-81, and Michelson 1929[c]:8 and 1925[g]:548 for the Fox; Skinner 1924:22 for Prairie Potawatomi; and ibid. 1923:12 for the Sac.

As for the clans, they are the unit that determines the roles played by individuals at ceremonies. Thus, in one example, when an Eagle gives a clan ceremony (or gens festival), he is served by Blackberry and the ones invited to eat are Water, Tree and War. Again, at the Green Corn ceremony witnessed in 1953, the one giving it was a Water, the head servant was a Blackberry, and the one responsible for feeding the green corn to the Water man was an Eagle. Upon inquiry it was learned that a different individual could substitute for any of the specific ones involved, but it would be necessary that the substitute belong to the same clan as the individual for whom he was substituting. Therefore, it is the membership in a given clan that is primary in determining who functions in what capacity.

The feature of specific clans serving others has been termed clan recriprocity by Fisher (in Jones 1939: 79), who also made an attempt to pair the larger and better known Fox clans with respect to their reciprocal functions. That such reciprocity also exists (or existed) among the Kickapoo clans seems quite certain, but I have been unable to pair them as exclusively as Fisher does the Fox. There seem to be contradictions in the data. Summarized in the table below is the information collected on the various clans and the clans which act as their attendants.

Clan	Attending Clans
Blackberry	Coon, Tree, Buffalo
Eagle	Blackberry, Coon, Tree, Elk and Bear
Water	Blackberry, Eagle
Bear	Blackberry, Water
War	All other clans
Tree	Eagle, Blackberry
Coon	Eagle, Blackberry
Elk	Thunder, Water
Buffalo	Water, Thunder

This table is derived from statements made by informants as to which clan serves another, and from witnessing ceremonies where the clans of the various participants were known. There is, however, probably some error in the table. For there is also some evidence that the clans, ideally at least, do occur in reciprocal pairs, which is not reflected in the chart above. For example, one informant summarized the attendant role by saying: "Coons and Tree serve Eagle and Blackberry; Eagle and Blackberry serve Coon and Tree. Water serves Fox, Soldier, Bear and Elk, and is served by them." And there does seem to be a preponderance of occassions throughout the field notes where the Coon and Tree are associated, and similarly for Blackberry and Eagle.

It may be, of course, that here we have again an area where things are changing; that is, where once the rules about who could act as servant to whom were quite rigid, now things are more flexible and they are more apt to use whoever is available and willing and competent. All we can say for sure at this point is that what has been called clan reciprocity does exist in some form for the Oklahoma Kickapoo; but just what the details of the arrangement of these are, is not determined.

We might add here that this ceremonial reciprocity extends to some extent into other areas of life, so that, for example, a woman would feel free to ask another woman to help her make a dress or a quilt because the other woman belonged to the attendant clan of the first. By and large, however, such aid is confined to ceremonial occasions.

Bundles

A central element of Kickapoo religion is the possession and veneration of so-called "medicine bundles" or sacred pacts. These are called mīcam^{i} by the Fox (Harrington's orthography, 1914:135) or mī'cámi (Michelson's orthography, 1927:24) and mi.sami by the Kickapoo (mine). For a general description of Sac and Fox bundles, including an analysis of the various kinds of uses of them, see Harrington (1914). He mentions having collected some for the

Kickapoo also.[57] Some of the contents of a Kickapoo bundle in the possession of the Milwaukee Public Museum are described by Skinner (1922:12).

Unfortunately, I was unable to learn very much about these bundles. This was due in large part to my age and sex. These sacred objects would be drained of their power if they came in contact with a menstruating woman; so they are largely kept away from any younger women. And this meant that not only was I unable to see any, but also most of my informants, being women, did not know too much about them. However, age alone also seems to be a factor, for I was told by one young man (in his early thirties) that the old men would not tell him much, that it was "very hard to find out things." Therefore, what follows about the bundles should be regarded as inconclusive.

Just how many sacred pacts there are among the Oklahoma Kickapoo is uncertain. There seem to be four major ones (called church bundles by one informant, which is the term I have adopted) with a fifth, legendary one.[58] The names of three of these are

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[57]See also the reviews of this monograph by Skinner (1915:577-79) and Michelson (1915:576-77).

[58]A group was supposed to have left the main body of Kickapoo ("a long time ago, before there were very many whites around," and again "this group disappeared a long time ago before the whites came") and taken one of the major pacts with them. When the world ends, this group will be reunited with the Kickapoo. "When the Kickapoos meet the group that strayed with the fifth bundle, it will be judgment day. So maybe it means that they all will die. They dread that day to come. Some asked L.B. last year if you saw any Kickapoos where you come from. One old guy said maybe they sent you to compare notes."

pəčəkui, mɛsəkuaI and mɛsimisaMI. Just what the relationship of these is to the clans, is, again, uncertain. One informant stated at one time that one "contained" Eagle, creeping Blackberry, and Elk; another mostly Bear but also some Water, Tree, Coon and Thunder; another Bear and Deer; and another Water, Tree, Buffalo, Tree Blackberry, Coon and Waterbirds. So there is evidently some association of particular clans with these bundles, although it seems likely that it is a matter of majority rather than a one to one relationship. That is, it seems that most of the Eagles, for example, belong to a particular church bundle. Or it may be that the organization of these is like that described for the Fox by Tax (1937.262-66), that is, an individual necessarily belongs to the one associated with his clan (name group) but also may belong to others, so that the end result is that there are representatives of several clans in each church bundle. An individual does, among the Kickapoo, acquire membership in one of these pack groups from the person who names him. But it is possible that there may also be other ways of obtaining membership, although none was made known to me.

In addition to these four packs it is also possible, perhaps probable, that there are packs belonging to the individual clans, since this is the case for the other central Algonkin groups. However, I have no certain knowledge of these. And it is also possible that all of the bundles referred to as being open during certain ceremonies

might be one of these four discussed above. It is also possible that these four are all that remains of the old clan bundles and that the ceremonies connected with them are all that remains of the old gens festivals. These questions cannot be answered at this time.

The bundles are kept hanging from the roof inside the Indian house on the west side. These are supposed to be kept in the home of the headman of the group. However, in one case the bundle is kept in the home of a close relative of the headman because he does not have an Indian house himself. One of them, that is kept by the head Bear, is so sacred that they do not hold ordinary adoptions or any such at this house. One informant told me that she thinks that is why this particular man never married; because this pack is supposed to be kept where it is very quiet and clean.

The bundles are always wrapped in deer skin.

> It takes a certain man to go get the skin that covers the whole bundle. The skin is deer killed while fasting four days. It is killed with bullets now but used to be with bow and arrow. They doctor the gun before they use it. They have a feast for four whole days before going on the hunt. The man is chosen. He will belong to that bundle. He goes alone, until he gets a certain kind of large buck: one with horns that point inwards. It has to be an old buck. A yound girl who has never menstruated cleans and tans it all alone in the wilderness and she will bring it to the man who killed the buck when it is done.

The bundle contains guord rattles filled with river pebbles, Indian tobacco, several kinds of herbs wrapped in small pieces of buckskin, and some fetishes from animals, as, for example, an eagle wing fan,

or a fox claw, or a coon tail. There is also frequently a little pealed stick, which I was informed represents the Creator (and is used in connection with some of the ceremonies, as will be seen later); and at least one of them contains a skin for a drum head.

With reference to this latter pack, I was told by a woman who "belonged to it" that "it used to hang in my grandmother's house and was burnt down with the house. My father had to replace it and I just don't know how he did it. Everything was burnt to ashes." I received the distinct impression that she thought he had resurrected it.

Time and again in the description of ceremonies, reference is made to a bundle being open. There is always one open at a sacred feast; and it seems that, except for some ceremonies concerned with life crises of individuals, it is an integral part of all ceremonies.

Religious Paraphenalia

In addition to the medicine bundles and their contents, there are several other items more or less sacred in character that play a prominent role in the religious life of the Oklahoma Kickapoo.

Indian Tobacco

Perhaps the most important item, other than the bundles, is Indian tobacco, which, as has already been mentioned, is considered to be the first or strongest messenger in taking their words or wishes to the manitous. The most effective kind of prayer is accompanied

by a pinch of tobacco thrown on a flint fire. But tobacco is also effective simply if carried, or if tossed to the wind or on the water.

> Tobacco is alive to an Indian. They all like to smoke and can't do without Indian tobacco. If there is going to be a storm a man or woman gets out and sprinkles some of it on the ground and prays. This is the same as giving the storm a smoke: they give it a taste of tobacco and it evaporates in the air and the storm will go around them.

The young men who fought in World War II carried some of it with them in small buckskins tied at their belts. "J.R. saw a woman in the ocean on the way to Europe, and he sprinkled it on the water and told her not to scare him; and she smiled at him and disappeared in the water."

The tobacco is raised by an old man, usually a widower or a bachelor so that he will not be contaminated by being around any unclean woman. It is not necessarily planted every year, but just when needed as they begin to exhaust their supply. Thus, as many as three or four years might go by without a crop. The seeds are kept hidden in a small piece of buckskin until they are needed.

When the old man decides it is time to plant a crop, he gives a small feast of dog and black corn. He asks one cook of his servant clan to cook and stays in the house until the people eat. The cooking is done in the morning, and the eating at noon. The planter has tobacco seed and will burn a very small amount of it and say a prayer before and after the eating. Only old people eat at this; no younger women or children are included. The food is divided into

two bowls, one on the south scaffold for the men and one on the north for the women. The bundle of the church of the man who plants is open during the praying and eating. This is to tell the Creator that he is going to plant the tobacco.

Then he retires to the woods to plant the tobacco. While it is growing, he guards it during the day. "J. A. is out at the village guarding the Indian tobacco now. He stays there all the time." "They will not let anybody see the plants for it will kill the plants if anyone does." He raises only six or eight stalks, and sits under a tree to keep watch over it during the day.

When it is ready, he picks only the small tender leaves from inside the plants, and buries the rest of it. Then the leaves are dried in the sun and stored in powder form in buckskin.

When all of this is done, and the tobacco is ready for distribution, the planter takes it around to all the Indian houses. He carries it in a plain buckskin bag. He will start out before the sun is up and carry it to as many houses as he can before noon. At noon he will stop and remain at the last house. Then the next day he will again start out before the sun is up and continue the deliveries. He will do this every morning until it is all distributed.

When the people see him coming with the tobacco, they know what he is bringing. They will tie their share, just "a pinch," to the cross pole in the center of the west end of the house; and each house that receives it gives a small feast, called "receiving a

new messenger in the house." This they do as they receive the tobacco.

This is a short feast using one dog and black corn, for which one man is asked to pray and one to cook. The eating occurs at noon and anyone nearby is invited to come and eat. The food is put in one bowl, on the south side inside the house, and anyone but the one giving the feast may eat. They pray immediately before and after eating.

When the planter has distributed tobacco to all the houses, he returns home and holds a small feast himself. For this feast an appointed cook prepares pumpkin or corn ("something that can be cooked right away"), while the planter sits on the west scaffold. Again, anyone who is nearby is invited to eat, and praying is done before the meal. Everyone likes especially to partake of this feast, for it is considered particularly sacred, "They know they have been blessed." The planter holds an eagle fan in his hand and fans the guests as they go by him on their way out. In his prayer he tells the Creator that he has delivered His messenger, and that they are thankful their houses are all built and it is summer. This feast is completed before noon, and when it is over the time is considered especially right for them to have their summer ceremonies.

Anyone who wants tobacco can obtain it by asking the planter for it, or asking another member of his clan. When a new couple

marries, they should have some for their home. Both the boy and girl will ask someone in their clan for some, for they would not get it from their parents unless their parents happened to belong to the same clan.

Drum

Another object that figures prominently in the religious life of this group is the kettle drum. The base of this is a big iron kettle of the same type as those used in preparing their soups. It is stored in an Indian house under the scaffold on the west side, usually remaining at the house of the last person giving a dance until it is needed for another one. The top of the drum is a deer hide that is cleaned and tanned but not smoked. This also hangs on the west side of the house near the ceiling. The drum stick is carved new for each occasion, being about a foot and a half long with a slight crook on the striking end. And finally, a long rope is necessary to tie on the drum head. This is kept and passed around with the hide and kettle, until it wears out, at which time someone will buy a new one.

At one adoption (C. R.'s) I was fortunate enough to see the drum re-tied, for it was too loose to begin with and did not produce a sound that pleased them. The hide was well-soaked first and then laid over the kettle. Then a stone about an inch or an inch and a half in diameter was laid under the hide about an inch from the rim, and the rope twisted around it three times, beginning over the pebble in a

clock-wise direction. Next, another pebble was placed in the same position about four or five inches further to the right (looking down at the top of the kettle), and the same tying process repeated. This was done for a total of eight pebbles, going completely around the rim. When the last one was in place, the rope was brought around under the kettle to the stone on the opposite side. A stick was placed between this pebble and the next one to raise the tied part of the rope so that the loose end of the rope could be passed through here and tied, which was done. This was then tightened by stepping on the rope with the foot and pulling it tight. The rope was then run under the kettle again to the next comparable spot between pebbles on the opposite side, and the process repeated, and so on until all but about four feet of the rope was used. Then it was looped over the top to the opposite side, put through the rope already there and tied, making a sling for the neck. The drum carrier wears this over his neck and supports the kettle with his hands.

The drum always contains water; and during the course of the evening, the drummer will shake it to re-wet the hide whenever he feels that it is drying out and losing its resonance.

The kettle drum is used for all of the important dances given by this group. Although they do occasionally dance to a Plains type drum today, it is the kettle drum that is used when the songs and dances done are Kickapoo. It is the younger people primarily who sometimes prefer to use a Plains drum, but this latter does not have

the sacred character of the kettle drum and so is only used for "fun dancing."

Sacred Foods

There are some foods which are regarded by the Kickapoo as being of a sacred character and that are never used except in connection with feasts. There are also some foods which are eaten at particular feasts but which are also eaten at other times.

The two foods which are reserved for use at sacred feasts are dog and black corn. A soup made of these two items is the most sacred feast of all. Anyone can raise either of these and donate them at will to a feast; and when one donates either of these, he is automatically blessed by the feast.

The dogs that are to be eaten should be kept clean, primarily by being sure that the animal does not get any scraps left from the meal of a menstruating woman. They are eaten only as puppies; full-grown dog is never eaten. They are killed the night before the feast in question, by the servant cooks.

> It takes as many men as there are dogs to be fixed, usually four to every feast. They cut a fresh pole about the size of a baseball bat and lay the dog on the ground. Someone holds the head while another man kills the dog with this blunt stick. They build a fire west of the Indian house, singe it, and clean it and butcher it. Then they bring it in the house and hang it up in the west end of the house over night.

Practically everyone eats dog. The grandmother of one of my informants, however, did not. But she did not lose status for this because "she talked to dogs." Once, for example, "she got up early one morning and a little puppy talked to her and told her there was going to be a funeral and she wanted to be the sacrifice. And sure enough an old person died and so she sent the puppy to be used." This woman has "passed on" the not-eating-dog to her granddaughter, which, again, is quite respectable so that the granddaughter does not lose any status by not doing so.

They also have this tale of using dog as a substitute for deer:

> They used to use deer when they were plentiful. But when the deer vanished, an old man fasted for days and days in the woods to find out what else they could use. He got a vision which told him that the dog was a clean animal and a companion. He told the families to save puppies and tie them up and give them clean food, not scraps left by a sick woman. And every time they want a feast, they are to get a young puppy and kill it. He also showed them how to kill it. And he said to use it like they used to [use] deer. In some songs they have words referring to dogs, and the old man was shown these. They use these songs at the squaw dance and feasts. They say dog is a sacred animal and belongs to the home and shouldn't be driven away. They are always in the midst of humans and you never see a wild dog. So thereafter they used deer when they could get ahold of them, but used dog when they couldn't, since they had been given permission.

There is undoubtedly some lore surrounding black corn, but this is not included in my information.

Squash is a food which also turns up as a feast food, although it is also eaten as part of the everyday diet of the Kickapoo. A small feast, or one which needs to be done quickly, is apt to feature squash, since it cooks rapidly. It is also apt to be used on the occasions when the Blacks and Whites are having an eating race.

Melons, including watermelon and cantelope, are eaten ritually at the Green Corn ceremony, which is the only occasion where it is given a special place.

Fire

Fire which is made with flint is sacred and has several restrictions surrounding its use. The fire in an Indian house is a flint fire, and it is supposed to be kept burning all the time. Some older person in the house has the responsibility of keeping watch over it and tending it so that it will not go out. If the fire goes out, and older man living in the house has to start a new one. This he does with the contents of a small cotton or buckskin bag, containing a flint, some tinder from rotted wood, a piece of metal on which to strike the flint, and some straw. There is no specific punishment threatened for letting the fire die, but it is considered best to let it burn as long as possible. When a family moves, they should carry part of the fire with them.

A woman has the job of carrying off the ashes each morning: "This can't be done by a man." Women are prohibited from stepping

over the fire, for it is said that if they do so they will menstruate longer than they are supposed to during their period or menstruate the rest of their life. It is all right for a man to step over it.

In addition, one is not supposed to burn wood that has been struck by lightning or their house or some other property of theirs will burn. "A lot of them have, too!"

It is coal from the flint fire that is used to blacken the face for fasting.

That the fire in the Indian house has to be a flint fire is illustrated by the following statement: "They had a lot of rain not far back and the Indian homes got real wet; and so the Indians had to go a long time without fire in their houses since the tinder in the flint bags got wet and took a long time to dry."

Trowbridge (n. d.) has reference to sacred fire among the Kickapoo. His account says that the Indians told him that they got concerned over losing their old way of making fire by wood, rather than by flint and iron. And so they appointed a special old man, Meθkwaa nīnewaa, to be the keeper of a bag containing two pieces of wood for starting fires, and to start fires with this for ceremonial occasions. Unfortunately, I had not seen this account until after doing the field work, so I was unable to check this with present practices. However, there is at least one ceremonial occasion at which a bow drill is used to make the fire today, and this will be referred to in its proper place.

The Kickapoo also, of course, make many fires with matches for ordinary uses such as cooking the daily meals or smoking cigarettes; but these are not then considered sacred.

Invitation Sticks

The Oklahoma Kickapoo still use invitation sticks. These are six to eight inches long, pealed, and unpainted. They are given to those individuals who are invited to be the participants in a particular ceremony, such as, for example, the ones chosen to be the dancers at an adoption or to be the players at a moccasin game. Each invited one receives one stick, which he or she brings to the ceremony with him and returns to the individual holding the ceremony.

One further comment seems in order before leaving the subject of religious paraphenalia, and that is that today anything which is of Kickapoo manufacture tends to have associated with it some feeling of sacredness. Many times I have been told that they consider it wrong to sell anything that they make for themselves, such as their own style of clothing, or the wooden spoons, or moccasins; and that that is why one does not see any of these things in the possession of other Indians or in museums. In other words, to let a non-Kickapoo have any of these things would be to profane them. Another aspect of this same feeling of sacredness that attaches to such things is the fact that so many of the Indians who never otherwise wear the special clothing or use the other Kickapoo artifacts will nevertheless

have them and use them on ceremonial occasions. Such things are, in other words, felt to be the proper paraphenalia for sacred occasions.

Community Ceremonies and the Calendar Round

The Kickapoo have a regular ceremonial season. This starts in the spring, as indicated by hearing the first thunder of the season. In Oklahoma, this usually occurs late in February or early in March. To the Kickapoo, this is a sign that it is time to have their spring feasts and to build their summer houses.

> Just before they build their summer houses in the spring, each clan [I think this should actually be each bundle group] gives a feast. This one is something like the coming of spring. They welcome the spring. These are given in the winter house. Then later they give a feast in their summer house to report to God that they built them and he looks down and blesses them.

These spring feasts start in March, but since there are several to be given, they do not complete them until April. These officially open the ceremonial season, and after they have been given, anybody can give evening feasts for the dead, or naming feasts for babies born during the fall and winter, or adoption feasts for those who have died. The other ceremonies (for naming and adoptions) can be given throughout the ceremonial season, i.e., until the end of their fall.[59]

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[59] In the fall (November) of 1954, I was told that the Kickapoo were laughing at the Sac and Fox because the latter were holding an adoption at that time, and "it is really too late in the season for adoptions."

When the corn ripens, which is early July in Oklahoma, there is a series of sacred feast-dances (gens festivals?). This is the main social season for the Kickapoo. The food is relatively plentiful, the weather is good, and these ceremonies are very well attended. There are four of these major dances: the Green Corn with its supplementary War Dance; a "Squaw Hop" (so-called because the women do the dancing at these) given by an Elk man; a "Squaw Hop" given by a woman who is either Coon or Tree; and the last one is also a "Squaw Hop" given by a Water man. During this season, also, evening feasts are given for the dead, which is considered to be their noon meal and at which all the food must be fresh.

Fall comes when they have harvested and dried their crops. They use these crops, around September and October, to feed the dead their evening meals. Then they take down their summer houses and build their winter ones. The season is closed with ceremonies called tying-up-the-bundles, which officially puts everything to sleep for the winter.

During the winter, that is, from late October to about March, small private feasts may be held by an individual to give thanks, or in case of illness or some other crisis; but there are no large, social ceremonies held. With respect to winter religious activities, one informant said:

> The Indians don't have any [large] ceremonies in the winter, no evening feasts for the dead or

> anything, since the spirits sleep in the winter. If someone dies in the summer, they can have the dance the same summer or they can wait up to four years for the old people; it all depends on when they can get things ready.
>
> They can have personal feasts for men or women who are going on a long journey, or for people who are sick, or for thanks during the winter. If a soldier returns, he will dance inside the house but the women don't get to see him, just the men do. They also do fasting during the winter. That is supposed to be the best time for it. If a man has a sickly family, he can fast and that will help them get well. They go out in the woods by themselves and pray as long as they want to.

A prominent part of their religious behavior in winter is the telling of religious myths and folk tales. As a matter of fact, it is considered dangerous to tell such stories in the summer. They should properly be told on winter evenings inside the winter houses.

There is a general pattern followed for the larger sacred feasts: An individual is in charge of giving it. The members of his servant clan are his cooks, and the giver appoints two or maybe three of these to take charge of cooking the feast food. These are men, and they will in turn ask other men to help. The giver either does the praying himself or asks someone to do the praying for him. Invitations are sent to a specific number of individuals, usually eight, to be the principle participants (i.e., to lead the dancing, or play the moccasin game, or play ball, or have an eating race, etc.). These invited ones receive their invitation in the form of a little invitation stick (though in the case of the war dance they are small feathers instead),

which they bring back with them when they come to the feast. In conjunction with the sacred feast, which is consumed inside the house by invited ones (sometimes with the help of the cooks and a few guests), there is also usually food prepared outside for consumption by any of the other people that may come. The giver usually does not eat himself. The feast food usually is either dog and black corn, or squash; but the food for the people outside can be anything (usually the standard meat, yellow corn and potato soup with fry bread). The feast food, again, is prepared over a fire made by striking flint (and in one case by a bow drill) and is cooked in the large kettle suspended from the cross pole of either the rack outside the house or inside. The praying is done inside the house, and includes the use of some Indian tobacco thrown on the fire, and on some occasions also some food "fed" to the fire. Sometimes a rattle or a flute is used in conjunction with the praying. If there is singing, it is done with the accompaniment of these or of the kettle drum. The giver always sits on the west scaffold, the Blacks sit on the north and the Whites on the south (if this distinction is the principal one made at the particular feast). Or the individuals distribute themselves north or south depending on the particular arrangements specified for the various clans, if that is the principle distinction used. The praying is always done by men, even if the ceremony is being given for or by a woman. And the singing is always led by the men, although there are some songs that the women can join in singing.

If there is dancing, it is usually done on the ceremonial ground outside; and if the dancers go in a circular direction, it is always clockwise around the fire. The food for these affairs is contributed by any number of persons voluntarily, though ones relatives are expected to contribute; and anyone contributing food is automatically blessed by so doing.

Those of these ceremonies that have been described to me, and those witnessed by me at various times, follow. These are given more or less in the order in which they occur during the ceremonial season.

House Dedications (ǝpakɛnikɛkǝ)

> When the first thunder is heard in the spring, they start to build their summer houses. If it is necessary to discard any part of the winter house [and this same applies to parts of the summer houses when they are dismantled for any reason], the parts should be put on the west side outside and covered up and let rot. None of it should be burned, and the wood or cat-tails or bark should never be used for anything else.
>
> When the house is completed, a house warming, or dedication, is held. The house is considered to belong to the woman, and the feast is for her to ask for protection, happiness, cleanliness, and to give thanks.
>
> The food is cooked on a flint fire. The food is not dog, but can be anything like corn or squash or turkey. She would invite the neighbors and friends who would help to make the home happy. They eat inside, with two pans of food, one on the north and one on the south. They can have either a singing service, or a short service.

The men sing inside and the women can't come in till after the singing is over. Whoever gives the feast can't eat. The food is cooked inside by men of her servant clan, and it only takes one man in this case since it is such a small doing.

The eating takes place at noon, and the cooking and prayer are done in the morning. They eat as soon as the food is done. Then the feast is over and she has her home.

This ceremony is done the same way for the winter houses when they are built in the fall.

Spring Feasts

When they hear thunder they get ready for the spring feasts. They already have the puppies fattened and corn laid aside. A man comes around and asks what you have for the feast, and what you give is your prayer, your part of the feast. You will give either pumpkin, or corn, or a puppy. The man who comes will tell you when the first feast is to be. They will have four of these, and these are the ones that every Church bundle gives. The Pəčəkui was first this year; and the MɛsimisaMI will be the first next year.

They bring in the food that evening; they tie the corn in a little cheese cloth or towel, and it is hung on the west side of the house. There must be someone in there to know who has brought it. If someone brought a dog, they would tie him outside so he wouldn't run away. The ones who are giving it are the ones to bring food. By sundown, the food is all there.

They appoint four cooks of the servant clan. These kill and clean the puppies and hang them on the inside on the west side of the house. By dark they are all cleaned and hung. The cooks will sleep at the house so they can get up early and put the food on.

In the early morning the pray man prays while they cook the food. They may have ten or twelve pots and it is cooked indoors. The pray man is the head man of the clan (bundle group?), usually. His tobacco is hanging in this house, the winter one, and he unties it and burns some to pray. He prays on the southeast of the fire, kneeling.

When he finishes, he unties the bundle and asks other members of his clan to come in and help him sing. They sing about two hours. The songs are about the passing of winter and the coming of spring and they pray to the thunder they heard and are glad it came in a good mood. They are something like "wake-up songs," from a deep sleep. The plants will wake up and the animals and all at the first sign of thunder.

The food is already cooked. About ten or twelve o'clock they call on the ones to eat. Any clan except that giving the feast may eat. Everyone knows that there is a feast and can go over to it whether they were invited or not. Maybe twenty-five or fifty will come. It is a pray feast, so even if you just touch the food you are blessed in every way, healed or blessed.

The pray man will pray on the west side with all the members of his clan he has asked to sit with him. There are no women among these, but some will be there to eat. All other members of his group will stay home.

There are a lot of pans: four on the west, eight on the south, eight on the north, and four near the door. There will be turkey, dog, plain corn, and these are just put here and there so each side has some of the food. The pans on the west are always two on each end of the scaffold and contain just pumpkin. The people can mingle around in there and eat out of whatever pans they please. They can take any they want. The pumpkin is put on the west since she (pumpkin) is a watcher for everyone. She is a guide, or guardian to everybody; the grandmother to everyone. They put her on the west

since she is an old lady and clean (never menstruated) and can sit where the men are on the sacred end.

The bundle is still open while they eat and is spread out in front of the man praying behind the tallest west pole on the scaffold.

Then they eat and he prays a short prayer afterwards. After the prayer, everybody sits and waits for announcements since they know there is another feast. One of the cooks announces where the next feast is and what group. And those people take note of what clan, for the members will take something over there that same evening.

This is done the next day the same way for the new clan.

Green Corn (ǝhamučinipɛtɛA) and War Dance (ǝniokonɛkakǝ)

This event is, in some ways, the most prominent and popular event in the whole calendar. I was fortunate enough to witness this for two consecutive years, and both times the attendance was the largest of any of the events during the season. In spite of having witnessed it twice and discussed aspects of it with a number of people, there are still quite a few things about it that are not clear to me. It seems to be a combination of several things, and may actually combine more than one original ceremony. Initially, it is a form of harvest celebration, in which an individual (B. W.) is fed his first fresh, or green, corn of the year. Until this is done, he cannot eat any of the year's fresh foods (cannot "eat anything green," as they say); and not only can he not, but neither can a vast number

of other people who also "belong to that group," all of whom have to wait until he is fed in order to be able to eat fresh food themselves.

Secondly, there is also, in combination with this, dancing solely by warriors during the day, in celebration of their war exploits and thankfulness for having returned from battles safely. In addition, the Green Corn is supposed to be followed by a Four-Day War Dance, which is given by a soldier's aunt, in order that the soldier may feed those who were killed in the war, including both Kickapoo casualties and their slain enemies. This Four-Day is looked upon as a continuation of the Green Corn, and thus magnifies the War Dance aspect of the Green Corn.

The combination of war dance and harvest ceremony seems at first glance a strange one. But it is possible that this derives from the old pattern of the hunters leaving the village after having planted their crops and not returning until harvest time. This interpretation seems to make some sense, since looked at this way, the celebration of the battle victories would coincide with the harvesting of the summer's crops and the two would thus naturally go together.

There is one individual (B. W.), a Water, who is the person who has to be fed. In 1952-53 he was still a youth about seventeen or eighteen years of age. He acquired this position by virtue of the man who named him having held the role before him. As a matter of fact, it is rather interesting that some dissension arose over his succeeding

in this role. It seems that there was another, somewhat older boy, who had been named first by the old man, and the role should have gone to him. However, his mother was not anxious for him to have this responsibility, so she petitioned the elders and held a prayer-feast to have him exempted. The other boy's mother did want her son to have it, so after much discussion around and some little argument, the elders decided to let the two mothers have their way! There are still many people with whom this rankles, though: "It really belongs to the old man's son," "There is a man living who should be it," "This boy's mother caused this doing since she wants him to be leader," They had a council and looked it over and found out the boy wasn't really it; but they had already had one dance and let the boy have it," etc.

With respect to the rest of the tribe, whether or not an individual can eat fresh foods before the Green Corn ceremoney depends primarily on whether his namer was one who could or could not. Therefore, within the Water clan there are some persons who can not eat green before the Green Corn ceremony, and some who can. Those who can not eat before the Green Corn are called θəeθakuačik, "forbidden to eat."

There are also other, smaller, "eating green" ceremonies held by other clan heads. Within the Tree clan, for example, there are individuals who can not eat anything fresh until the head Tree man holds a feast using a pumpkin (instead of corn) from his own garden.

Some other clans evidently do this also. The exception is the Eagle clan, for they are not supposed to have to wait for any feast. (However, there is one Eagle man I know of that does "belong to that group that cannot eat green.")

The end result tends to be that everyone waits for some ceremony of "eating green," whether they were named as having to or not; and the main tendency is to wait for the Green Corn ceremony. "They just wouldn't feel right about it otherwise." And again, one informant told me: "The Kickapoo say that if you eat green stuff before the dance, there will be no rain. I do not believe it." But upon inquiring, I learned that she also waited! And I attended a Sac and Fox affair held before the Kickapoo had had their Green Corn in 1953, at which several Kickapoo were present. At this affair the soup contained green beans, which the Kickapoo commented on to each other and left uneaten. And even the woman with no name was heard to ask another person "Has T. eaten any green yet? I sure am getting hungry for melon," so she has evidently applied the restriction to herself.

Summarizing, then, there are those who were named as not being able to eat fresh foods until either the Green Corn or one of the "eating green" feasts done with pumpkin by their own clan head; and there are those who were not so named, most of whom set their own ceremonial choice for it. "Anyone who hasn't eaten green sets his own date for it. A. K. hasn't eaten it yet, either, and he will probably

wait for B. W.'s dance [referring to the Green Corn]." This is in contrast with: "N. gives that [pumpkin] feast, and when he does all the Trees can eat greens." And again, ". . . man who is waiting for the Green Corn before leaving to go to work, since he is one of those who can't eat green stuff before the ceremony."

One further restriction is that anyone who has eaten green foods cannot eat at the home of a Kickapoo who has not.

The individual who feeds the corn to B. W. at the Green Corn is an Eagle boy, and he likewise acquired his role from the man who named him. In 1952 he had to travel almost one thousand miles to be in Oklahoma for this ceremony. In 1953 the tribe could not raise enough money to bring him home for it, so they used a substitute for him, and were unhappy about it.

The Green Corn is held in late June or early July, depending on when the corn is ripe, how rapidly they can assemble the necessary food, and when the necessary participants can all be there. When the time and location (an Indian house) have been decided upon by the council, everyone is notified and donations of food are offered. People bring food the night before, and the dogs are prepared in the prescribed manner. B. W. begins fasting that night. C. W., evidently by virtue of his being an old warrior, is the director or leader for this ceremony. He and B. W. and the man who is selected to pray and lead the singing (J. A. both years I observed) stay at the Indian house overnight. The selected cooks also stay at the house, for they have to put on some

kettles of dog soup early in the morning. Before daylight, C. W. will dance outside on the ceremonial ground while J. A. sings four songs inside with kettle drum accompaniment. Other warriors could dance with him if they were there and up.

Eagle feathers (or those of other carnivorous birds if there are not enough eagle feathers available) have been sent to all of the warriors of the tribe, and early in the morning, B. W. sits in the west end of the house to receive these. As the warriors return with these they set them in front of B. W. and he nods his head to them. This is their commitment to be there for the dancing in the afternoon, but they may stay or leave as they choose during the morning.

The women who are responsible for cooking the noon meal begin their preparations outdoors in the summer kitchen in the morning.

Since this particular ceremony was witnessed twice and the two performances were virtually identical, the description that follows is a combination of the two performances with information received from informants incorporated where applicable. This has been done for reasons of economy.

> By the middle of the morning, the women are busy outside with their preparations for the regular meal. The boy to be fed, the one to feed him, the servant cooks, the man to lead the praying, and some men to sing are in the house. There are others outside milling around, or sitting on the porch, or on blankets under shade trees, gossiping and joking.

The men cooks in the house cook some pumpkin, and in the late morning, around eleven o'clock, this is set out in two pans inside the house, one on the south scaffold and one on the north. Four Black men sit at the north and four White men at the south bowl. At a signal from the leader, they race to see which side can finish their pumpkin first. When one side wins, they signify it by whooping. (One person informed me that at this time a small bite of pumpkin is passed around to everyone, but this did not occur at either of the ceremonies I witnessed. It may be that this applies in the case of other eating green ceremonies. In addition, one year the eating race occurred at the time those outside were eating the melon, as described later).

When this is over, the lead singer comes out and sits on the ground just inside the shade cover of the porch. He begins to beat the drum, and the men who will help him sing gather around him, some kneeling and some sitting. They then begin to sing, and the warriors come out onto the cermonial ground and dance, confining their dancing to the space between the fire and the singers. Some of the dancers are dressed in regular clothing, one or two of the younger men have feather costumes, and one or two wear beaded breech cloths. A few have their faces and some parts of their bodies decorated with black or white. And during this round of dancing, those of the singers who are eligible may step forward and join the dancers for a few steps or a song. (One year it rained very heavily during this portion of the celebration, but everyone ignored it.)

After a half hour of this, the music changes and some women enter the ceremonial ground, going around the fire in a dance. The men form a line and dance around the fire for this also. This is done for four or five complete circles around the fire. Then the women form a semi-circle facing the singers, between them and the fire, and the warriors dance vigorously between them and the singers, whooping as they dance. This latter dance lasts for only about two minutes.

Next, the drummer starts the songs for the warriors to dance again. There are four different songs done at this time, with prayers said by the lead singer in between them. While the praying is going on, the warriors stand quietly. During the last song, a small bit of corn is brought out to the cooks, the dancers, and others of those there who are committed to the Green Corn as their first eating of fresh food. At this time a parched ear of corn is fed to B.W. inside the house by F.A.

When this is completed, the canvas is spread and the dishes set out for the meal. If it is necessary to eat in shifts, the dancers and singers will be served first, others later. A plate of food is taken in to B.W., with which he breaks his fast, and then it is time for the others to eat. There is a prayer said before the meal, and those eating may sit by the canvas or carry their plates to the porch or under a tree if they wish.

After the meal, which is cleaned up immediately by the women, there is about a half hour to an hour of rest. At the end of this, the singing and dancing for the warriors begins again. During the dances, men will join and drop out more or less at will, though there will always be at least three or four who dance continuously.

After about an hour of this, a few women join again for a dance done around the rack. During this dance the leader will bring to a young warrior (J.R. both times I saw the dance) a pealed switch about three feet long, with which the warrior raps on the porch roof. At this signal the dancers stop where they are. The warrior then makes a short speech in which he tells some of his war experiences, says how thankful he is to have returned safely from the war, and to show his thanks he throws out a handful of coins for the children. The dancing commences again immediately and continues while the children scramble for the coins. When all have been retrieved, the warriors whoop and the dance ceases.

At this time a canvas is spread on the ground immediately in front of the porch. The men cooks bring eight enamelware basins from the house and

fill them with dog soup from the kettles hanging over the fire outside. (One year these were all taken into the house, the other year all but three were taken in, the latter being distributed one on each scaffold of the porch and third to the south of the fire.) Meanwhile, another male cook has sliced melons and placed the pieces on the canvas in front of the porch.

When all is ready, everyone is summoned by the cooks to come and eat. Some are asked to come into the house, which they do carrying their wooden spoons with them. Others will sit either by one of the pans of soup outside, or around the canvas. When everyone is ready, they all sit very quietly while there is a "talk made" inside. (In 1952 the men in the house had an eating race at this time and the eating was not started outside until the men had emerged from inside the house, each one carrying his spoon.) When the praying is finished, everyone takes a piece of the melon and eats in silence, continuing until all of the melon is consumed. The rinds and seeds are depositied on the canvas, and everyone remains sitting quietly while another prayer is said inside the house. When it is completed, which takes about fifteen minutes, everyone rises and two of the men cooks remove the canvas, carrying it to the west of the house where they dispose of the refuse.

After another interval of rest, the singing begins again for the warriors to dance. During this period of dancing, there will be a line of women standing along the south side of the ceremonial area, stepping in time to the music. At various intervals, the music changes and the women again join the dancing for another "striking of the post," which follows the same pattern as that described in the morning; namely, the dancing proceeds in a circle around the fire while the women are dancing, a warrior will strike the post with the switch, make his speech, the dancing resumes for a few minutes at a fast pace, the warriors whoop, and the dancing ceases. This is done once to assign a woman to lead the dancing during the night, once for a woman to lead the evening meal, and once for a warrior to ask an

aunt of his to give the Four-Day dance for him. (One year the post was also struck to offer some tobacco to the singers.) And each time, when the post is struck the striker offers money (which used to be goods instead) to the person he is addressing.

When it is time for the dancing to cease for the afternoon, C W comes out and strikes the post and announces that the dancing is now over and it is time to eat.

The women have been preparing the supper during the afternoon, and when the dancing is over, the places are laid for the meal. A prayer is said before eating, and, if necessary (which it usually is for this affair), the eating takes place in shifts.

After the supper has been cleaned up, there is again a short rest period, and then the dancing will begin for the evening. The dancing at night is not war dancing but is social (or as they say, "fun dancing") and of the kind described in connection with the Four-Day dance. The women do most of the dancing, although there are several dances in which the men are encouraged to participate.

When just the women dance, the usual pattern is for them to dance around the fire area in a clockwise direction. And usually most of the women at these wear Indian dress.

This dancing continues throughout the night, with an intermission near the middle of the night for another meal. When light begins to show in the sky, the dancing ceases and everyone goes home.

Dawn finishes the first part of the Green Corn ceremony, though I was told by one informant that the dancing used to continue for four consecutive nights.

The Four-Day dance, which follows, is also supposed to be given on four consecutive nights; however, one year (1952) it was

held only one night, and the next year it was held for four nights but spread out over two weekends. The man who is in charge of the Green Corn (C. W.) will select a young man to ask an aunt of his to put on the Four-Day. ("If the man does not know who his aunts are, C. will tell him"!) Both of the years I saw this celebration the aunts happened to be aunts by adoption. The aunt does not have to belong to the servant clan of her nephew, but those who cook for the dance should belong to the servant clan of the woman giving the affair.

The religious purpose of the Four-Day as well as an interesting commentary on one of the social functions it performs is contained in the following statement:

> The dance that L.C. gave she was told to give by G. W. during the first part of the Green Corn. He was in the war, and when he tapped the roof he said: "I leave it up to Mrs. C. to have a feast dance." It is in memory of those people they killed in the war. They put some food in the fire grandfather; he ate it up; he is the messenger.
>
> The Supreme Ruler gave them this dance. They didn't find it themselves. It is like praying and paying the Creator. The young fellow was in the war. He kind of gave thanks to the tribe.
>
> Mrs. C. is his aunt by adoption. He has been kind of tied up inside ever since his aunt had scolded him for not stopping a fight that G. M. was in. This is why she was chosen. She has been complaining about things and people, calls herself Chinese, Japanese and even Russian. That is why they got her to give the dance.

In other words, the woman in question had been having strained relations with many others in the tribe and asking her to give the dance was a means of reintegrating her with the group again.

Four-Day Dance, 1952

Observed: I arrived at the Indian house at ten in the morning. There were two old men and three old women sitting on the porch, plus two younger women and some small children in the yard. Around ten-thirty some men began to sing in the house. Presently they were joined by a rattle, which kept time to the singing. This continued for almost half an hour. Then they were joined by a three or four note flute for a short song. When this was over, at about eleven o'clock, other old men emerged from the house.

The women then set the table in the summer kitchen for the noon meal, which was eaten without any special prayer or ceremony.

After the noon meal some of the men left. The others sat on the porch, and the women cleaned up after the meal and began the preparations for the evening meal. During the afternoon other families arrived, many of them bringing contributions for the feast. And the women frequently joined the women cooks in working around the kitchen, the children played with their friends, and the men gathered together on the porch or under shade trees.

By four or five o'clock most of the Kickapoo were there. The women set out canvas and linoleum south of the ceremonial ground and placed the dishes and utensils around. After the food was put on these "tables," but before anyone was seated around it, four men, including C. W., gathered a small portion of everything that was on the table and carried it into the house, where they remained for about two minutes and then came out carrying the empty receptacles. (This was the food for the dead, which was put in the fire inside.)

C. W. then seated the aunt with her nephew across from her and then called the others to come. When the places were full, C. W. said a prayer and everyone ate. The food consisted of soup made from beef and pork ribs, potatoes, and fresh corn; fry bread; melon; hard candies; and water and coffee.

About an hour after everyone had eaten, the drum was brought to the eastern end of the ceremonial are and put on a blanket, on which eight men then sat, arranging themselves around the drum. One of these took the drum stick and began to lead the singing.

The women, led by the aunt, then came out and began the turkey dance around the drum. This was followed by the in-law dance, the face-to-face, the forty-nine, and the holding-hands.

While the latter dances were being done, someone brought out a large Plains drum and some of the younger men started beating it and singing to it. This started a competing dance of the pan-Indian variety (the Kickapoo call these Plains dances), which finally attracted most of the dancers and the singing drowned out the voices of the Kickapoo songs. So the old men removed the Kickapoo drum finally, and retired to the porch. After about a half an hour of the Plains songs, three men and a boy of about twelve years came out in feather costumes and did a series of war dances. The aunt who was supposed to be leading the dances all night danced on the edge of the grounds while these dances were done. Then another "Plains dance" was started with the large drum.

Some of the old men sat down on a canvas in front of the porch at this time and told the aunt they wanted to get the Kickapoo dances started again, so she went in and asked the singers at the large drum to stop. They did so, and the kettle drum started up again, this time with the singers sitting just in front of the porch area.

The dances went smoothly for a short while, but there were several younger adults there who had been drinking, and because they became so obstreperous the principle singers decided to end the affair. They removed the cover from the drum, which indicated that they were through, although they should have continued until dawn.

Four-Day Dance, 1953

Preliminary information, from L.B.: They will kill four dogs tonight to be ready for tomorrow. The men cooks in her [the aunt's] servant clan will do this. She is a Blackberry, so the men will be Coons or Trees.

Early in the morning before sunrise the cooks will put meat and corn over a fire inside the house in kettles, all four dogs. Then while they are doing this a man chosen to do so will pray. He is selected by the aunt. He will burn tobacco in the fire. He squats down on the south side and burns it on the east side of the fire; they always do it this way. There will be another such prayer at noon before dinner; and another one after dinner; and the same man prays at night before supper. He is in charge of the feast, which in this case is fed at noon instead of in the evening, and will pray both before and after it.

This is the same as feeding the dead, these being the ones that have never been fed. It feeds all the Kickapoo that have been killed in war and the enemies that they have killed. They will dance at night so that the dead can join in.

The men cooks will go around this evening and invite people to come tomorrow noon and eat in the feast.

They will have six pans, four of dog and two of pumpkin. They cook the pumpkin over the fire in the house, too. It is done first and they raise it up on its chain to keep till the dog is done.

The old man who prays has to stay in the house on the west side all morning to watch over things. There is no bundle open, they just have tobacco which the aunt will bring from her own [supply] for this.

At noon one cook calls the people to eat, and a cook will tell them all where to go. The pans of pumpkin are for visitors, and if they can't eat it all up the cooks will help them. There are two pans of dog put on the north side and two on the south. The pumpkin is put on the west. The Eagles and the Blackberries eat from the north pans and the rest from those on the south.

They will feed the fire with a little of this after they eat. They get it out of the bucket before they eat and set it at the edge of the fire on the ground. They will push it towards the fire, after eating, with a stick while the man prays. Then they go out and can go home if they want to.

The pray-man can come out after dinner. People can visit in the afternoon or play Indian dice. This eating at noon is for feeding the war dead. It is an evening feast but held at noon. [Note that, contrary to this description, in 1952 there was no indication of any feast being fed in the house at noon, whereas there was a plate of food taken into the house to feed the dead during the evening meal preparations. It may be that it was just done differently in 1952; or it may be that when this dance is held by a woman of the same clan as the informant (Eagle) rather than by a Blackberry, the procedure varies.]

About one o'clock all the women cooks prepare to cook the dinner. They will hang the pots, for it takes two or three hours to cook their soup, and this will be like that eaten at the Green Corn. They cook all afternoon. If they finish early, they will eat about four o'clock. The prayer man says a prayer, and anybody can sit down and eat.

After supper they will start the dance.

In 1953 the Four-Day was given by a different woman for her nephew. In that year the dance was held on the Saturday and Sunday nights of two consecutive weekends. The procedure was the same as that described for 1952 as far as the evening's activities are concerned. Unfortunately for me, the woman holding this dance was very conservative and not well-known to me so that I did not feel that I could arrive to observe the more private events that occur during the day.

There were two "talks" that occurred during this affair that are of some interest, both of which were given by J.A., the man asked to lead the prayer and singing. The first one, translated for me by a woman sitting by me, was given on the second night of the dance and was translated essentially as follows:

> He is telling about how the Kickapoo way is dying out. The young people don't understand it now. They all talk English and have other things in their heads. They don't have room for Kickapoo things even if they are told them. They have their heads full of school things.
>
> He says he is really worried before a dance because the young folks drink. He worries someone will get hurt. That they don't have their own laws anymore and go by the laws of the men who wear hats. And when they misbehave, they get taken to the strong house. He tells everyone to end up with a good time and dance all night, since they asked that old lady to give an all night dance. And to behave.

The other one was given on the last night and was translated into English by a young Kickapoo man as J.A. was making it.

> This is the last day of the Four-Day dance. The old lady who is giving it wants me to thank you all for your cooperation. There was a time when this dance was lost for a few years, since all the old warriors were dying off. Now we have young ones who have been in the Second World War and the Korean War to do this for. This is a very devotional dance. And I hope everyone realizes that the old ones do it with hearts devotional. Now we have cause to be happy since the Korean War is over. I hope we can all dance and help each other and have a good time. It would be nice if we could dance all night.

After watching the dancing for so many hours, they took on some individuality. I was also able to obtain some information about some of them by discussing them with other observers during the evenings. These dances usually occur in the order given below, and, with the exception of the turkey dance, are alternated subsequently throughout the evening.

The turkey dance is usually the first one, since it has to be done before dark. For this one the drummer and singers sit to the east of the fire and the women go around them instead of around the fire. They begin by circling the singers with a one step, then turn in to face the singers and move out backwards while the rhythm is slow, and then trot in rapidly towards the singers when the rhythm quickens. These latter two manuevers are then repeated until the end of the singing.

> This dance represents a turkey. Some men went hunting one day and came on a flock of turkeys in the wilderness. And they heard a man singing the songs they use now for this dance. And one man caught the songs just in that time! The songs the man was singing say: "Late in the evening is when we get out and that is the time for hunters to find us.

> Any other time we are hard to find and can't be seen, so late in the evening is when to find us." Another song tells where they build their nests and where they can be found at noon sitting on their eggs, and where the people can get eggs if they want them. Another song is about how bad they look without their feathers. They look ugly without feathers and would have bumpy flesh. But a man must take feathers off of us; but he would take just what he needs and no more. Another describes their color. They get turkey blood and use a dye of it, and it would be so red it hurts the eyes to look at it. Another song is about their meat: it is so clean it is fit to eat by any human being or any creature. But they should take only what they need. Well, it got so dark that they quit dancing. And the man singing told them to go home and tell the others what they heard and give a Four-Day dance for thanksgiving. The hunters went home and the next day they got ready to give the dance. And one of the men could sing all the songs. They never did see the man singing in the woods and they say he was a turkey. (The hunters were all clean and had fasted.)

The second dance is usually the in-law dance. For this brothers- and sisters-in-law dance facing each other, usually a pair of women with either one or two men facing them, so that the circle will have two women alternating with one or two men. "This is the dance where you will see the men go hide!" It begins with the women standing around the singers (or in a semi-circle in front of them, if the drum is on a canvas in front of the porch, which is how this dance is done later in the evenings) and singing with them until the rhythm changes, at which point they circle out onto the sacred ground and begin circling the fire area. At this time the man or men dance backwards facing the women as the latter go forwards. Then the rhythm of the music changes and they reverse so that the women are

now dancing backwards and the men forwards. They continue to alternate like this until the singing is over. This dance is always a cause for merriment, and the songs are apt to be obscene.

The next one is usually either the holding-hands dance or the Kickapoo forty-nine. (The Kickapoo forty-nine is done with a kettle drum; but they also do a dance they call forty-nine with a Plains drum and usually it is not done till later in the evening.) The holding-hands dance is one where each person holds the hand of the one in front of them with the left hand and the one in back with the right; then when the music changes the dancers switch hands so that they hold the person in front with the right hand the person in back with the left. Meanwhile, they dance with a one-step and the line weaves around the fire, in through the porch area, and even around the house if the line gets long enough. Both men and women dance this.

> The holding-hands dance has songs where they make fun of the Osage like in the War dance. The songs are about an Osage woman they captured and she thought she was perfect and wouldn't have a Kickapoo touch her. But she finally married one and even waded through water in her shoes to get to him. And there is one where she is pregnant and wouldn't admit it and even bloodied her dress to deny it, telling them she had menstruated. And there is one where the Osage tried to get her back but they couldn't since the Kickapoo were so fearsome. They were going to make the Osage dirty their own pants since they would get so scared. And one about an Osage with a red breech cloth who came to rescue her but caught the tail part of his breech cloth in some thorns, which tore it and made him naked. And all the women saw him so he had to run back.

> The in-law or face-to-face has words about the Osage woman and all the Osage men. There is one song that says all the Osage men cried over her. They know whether to do this or the holding-hands by the beat of the drum. This woman left one day and took her children with her, and when they sing this the women leave the circle and go around the poles.

The forty-nine is done with the singers standing up and moving very, very slowly in a clockwise direction around the fire area. The singers all huddle around the drummer, and the women crowd up close around this group of singers. The whole group slowly revolves on its own axis as well as moving around the sacred ground. The songs for this dance are "about love and courtship and elopement. It is the time to flirt!" This dance supposedly originated in 1849 and a similar one is done by many of the other Indian tribes in Oklahoma, although they use different songs.

The other forty-nine dance is done mainly by the younger people and involves several singers sitting around the large drum and all striking the drum and singing at once. The dancers dance mainly around the singers for this; and the songs are Plains songs.

The young people also do what they call a "stomp dance" (also done by most of the other tribes in Oklahoma), for which there is no drum at all. This is led by a young man, who sings phrases which are then echoed by the other dancers following him in a line. For this some of the women wear "shakers" on their calves to provide the rhythm. The shakers are made by putting pebbles or dried beans in tin cans and tying several of these together.

These six dances are the ones most commonly done. However, there are four others which I have seen done and which were done at the Four-Day in 1953. First of these is the bean dance in which the leader, a man, shakes a ring of horse bells which he holds in his hand as a sign to the women to come and join the bean dance. The women line up facing the men on the south side of the ceremonial ground. The leader of the singing is not necessarily the first in line. As soon as they are lined up the singing and dancing start, with all the dancers singing. The two lines move around the pole rack over the fire in the usual direction, with just the bells for accompaniment to the singing. When the beat changes to a slower one, the lines cross, with the women on the outside facing the fire now and the men inside facing out. This is repeated to several songs. The step is sideways to this, of course.

The second is one they call the Pawnee dance. In it the singers stand up as for the forty-nine. The men and women dancers line up as for the in-law dance, with the men going backwards. The whole mass moves around the poles with a one-step, until the rhythm slows down, at which point the male couples move through the female couples they are facing so that they now face a new couple.

The third one is the bear dance. This is done like the bean dance except that the music comes from singers seated with the kettle drum. The rhythm for this becomes very animated in parts, which produces a lot of hopping among the dancers.

And finally is one the name of which I do not know. For this the women dance in pairs around the poles, and when the songs change to a faster pace near the end of a verse, they twirl around once with the outside woman going around the inside one. Some men join the dance, and when they do they get between two women, linking arms with them.

One of the nights of the 1953 Four-Day was a rainy one. At one point during the evening when the rain became hard some of the women left the dance area and ran under the porch roof for protection. The men, however, shouted at them to "get out there and dance. We are not through singing yet!" They do enjoy these dances; but they are for a serious purpose and are therefore a responsibility that is not to be taken lightly.

Elk Dance (a War Dance) ðehinɛnikakð

This ceremony I have never seen, but it was described to me in the following manner:

Elk Dance

> E.R. gives his dance according to a yellow flower they call milkweed. He gives his dance when this blooms; they call it the Elk Dance. It was E.R.'s grandfather's. They use turkey instead of dog for it.
>
> E.R. will give a dog and corn feast the morning of the day before the dance as a prayer to announce to the Creator that he is giving the Elk dance set aside for him to do so. He will have two Water cooks for the feast. For this they have the bundle open and use the flute to arouse the elks, to let them know

they are to dance, and also a rattle. They will eat close to noon.

This is like the Green Corn War Dance, only he will pray different than like at the Green Corn. C.W. will do the praying. E.R. appoints the cooks, and one veteran to invite the dancers. He will invite all the veterans and will use invitation feathers to do so. There will be four men cooks. He will ask an older man to lead the singers.

In the Green Corn, the crop is ripe now. The Elk dance prayers are about after eating the green corn. E.R. will already have eaten green by now. The Green Corn is like just before you put it in your mouth; then E.R.'s is after eating it. At this they pray to the Creator, the same as who made elks. All though the year there is a certain time for certain feasts for those in the Elk clan. Elks are getting ready to come up the hill to grass now and they [meaning the members of the Elk clan] follow what the elk does.

This could also be called a mating dance; for seven or eight years ago they forced J. (E.R.'s son) to pick a wife. He picked D. and they had to dance every dance, without stopping, together.

Elks have battles, too, so they will pray about war here too.

The night before the dance they should clean the turkey. They will bring in the turkey and hang it on the west side, four of them. They might add melon and corn, the corn being dried or fresh and black. This is all they do the night before. The cooks, the pray man and the head singer sleep in the Indian house that night to keep up the fire.

In the morning the pray man prays as soon as he gets up. The cooks put the food on and the man prays while they put the food on. The pray man will go to the water after this prayer and sprinkle tobacco on it for the Elks. He stays in the house with the cooks on the west side during the morning. E.R. doesn't have to be there for this, although he probably will stay. The pray man sits around the house till noon.

At noon they dish out four bowls of turkey. All the invited guests sit on the north, the warriors sit on the south. The clan does not matter. On the south side, the west bowl is for the Blacks and the east bowl for the Whites. They come in and stand or sit. The pray man prays, a short one about food they have cooked; and he mentions after the harvest and what the elks do this season and mating, dancing, and maybe fighting. He will mention E.R.'s name, his clan, and his children, blessing them. Then they eat.

The warriors hoot just before they eat, and they race and cut up, laugh, take big bites, use their hands maybe, and eat as fast as they can. The ones on the north just eat leisurely. Whoever wins the race raises their bowl up to those sitting on the west when it is empty. The head singer is there and he is the judge, and E.R. is there too. The warriors have either a black or white streak on their faces. When they finish eating, they have a short prayer again.

Then everybody leaves. The head singer will beat the drum in the house now and sing four songs. These are calling the elks. He will blow a flute in between his songs. After four songs, a cook will holler and tell the boys to get ready and put on pretty clothes to dance.

Then the singer brings the drum out and sits on canvas in front of the porch. He will call the names of those to help him sing. Then they start singing and the dance starts. They dance the warrior dance all afternoon, and the women cooks cook outside.

Now it is getting evening. The cooks are through. The pray man comes out and asks if they are through. If they are, then the table is set and the dance stops. The cook says to eat for everybody. C.W. will be in the house saying a prayer, a short one, and when he finishes, they eat.

After the eating is finished, the war dance is over, so now they have a regular one.

The similarities between this ceremony and the Green Corn War Dance are obvious.

Squaw Hop or "Dawn to be Joyful" ðehuapðnuik[I]

As indicated previously, there are two of these dances given normally in the summer in Oklahoma. One of them (the one that I have witnessed and received some detailed information about) is given by a woman who is either Coon or Tree, and the other by a Water man. That this is a ritual of the kind Michelson calls a gens festival is made evident in the information provided by E.S. concerning this affair:

> At one time the Kickapoo let the worship like the Squaw Hop go for some time, about twenty years. This was after O. died, since he used to take care of it. About 1936 they started it again. P.W. heard somebody talking to her. She was out in the woods and she saw a heavy cloud coming and heard a terrible noise. She was hauling wood and she tried to hurry and get out of the woods. Then she heard someone screaming and thought it was her baby son. She was getting ready to leave the woods, picking up her wood to her shoulder, and a voice said to her that it wasn't her son crying. It told her to listen. This all happened in the woods near the village.
>
> She was very frightened and prayed. And the voice told her to get right up and go tell her uncle about it. Her uncle was the old man N. At that time lightning flashed and she couldn't move. The voice told her to hurry and to tell her uncle about misami [sacred pact]. He told her about them not regarding the misami. O. was her grandfather. The voice said that if they didn't do anything about it, a twister would pick them all up and destroy them. The voice told her she must not ignore it and must carry this out as long as there is Indians. This looks like it [the voice] means all people hang on to it and believe it. They did believe it but didn't know what to do till told.
>
> She made preparations to go to her uncle who lived at Jones. She told N. what had happened. And she told him (and as she did he remembered) that

> nothing had been done about misami for twenty years. She thought about it. He told her all right they would do it as soon as they could get at it.
>
> They went to work in the village. They held a meeting there and prayed and cooked dried pumpkin. At the meeting were [five old men and P. W.] and K. to do the cooking. They sang first and when they were through singing they made a discussion about the medicine bag.
>
> After they were all present, they took the misami out of the place where they kept it. In doing so it almost fell on the ground when they touched it, but they caught it. They were in a hurry since they were afraid of punishment. And this is why they believed P. They saw how this happened with the bag; it almost fell. P. had received instructions from the voice and she repeated them to these men. Those wordings they are supposed to keep in their minds. The old people believed her since they used to hear those things and she knew them without learning from any living people. These are supposed to be secret except from a very few. She had heard a woman's voice in the woods, not a man's. It told her she had to cook inside the summer house and that all the singers and two women were to eat inside the house.
>
> They have their own fire in the house which is made using two pieces of dry cedar, one with a hole in the center and has a string they pull and it turns the other and this finally starts a fire [i.e., a bow drill]. They start this fire early in the morning while it is still rather dark. They cook on this fire inside the house, two men. The singers and two women eat inside the house at noon (two women and six men). They eat just enough to go around. They also have two melons they eat inside.

The songs that are sung at the Squaw Hop and the dances that are done are the same as those for an adoption; and the procedure is described in some detail in connection with the descriptions of

adoptions given later. The general procedure for the activities outdoors is as follows: There are between six and ten (depending mainly on how many are available these days, I gather) men invited to lead the singing and praying. Ideally there should be one from each clan. They will start the singing in the morning, sitting on the canvas just in front of the porch. One singer will take the drum first, say a prayer that lasts for about ten or fifteen minutes; then he will sing a song while beating the drum; then he rises, the drum is placed around the neck of his "holder," all of the other singers rise also and cluster around him; and the whole group moves slowly around the outer area of the ceremonial ground while singing. When they sing standing, the women come out and begin to circle the poles in single file with a one-step, which they continue until the singers sit down again. One singer will lead songs until the cluster has circled the grounds about four times. The drum is then taken back to the canvas, the singers reseat themselves, the drum is passed to another singer, who recites a prayer, sings a song seated, and then they all rise to sing around the ceremonial ground again. This is repeated through all of the singers.

There is an intermission at noon for a meal, and then they start again, and continue all afternoon. The women will almost without exception wear the "squaw dresses" for this. The men do not dance at all, and there is no variation in the dancing.

Meanwhile, there are some kettles of dog soup cooking over the fire outside in the middle of the ceremonial ground, this being tended by the men cooks. Around five o'clock they end the singing and the men cooks fill enamel basins with the soup and place them around. The year I saw this ceremony, there were nine basins, six of which were placed in front of that number of men singers on the canvas, the other three being placed in line with the cooking rack, between it and the porch. One of the cooks then calls people to come and eat. They go to one of the basins with their spoons, sit down, and wait while a lengthy prayer is said inside the house. When this is completed, the old men emerge and the eating commences silently. The bones are all placed back in the basins to be disposed of by the cooks. And when the eating is over, everyone leaves.

With respect to the songs for this affair, one informant put it this way:

> These are religious songs. They were given to the Kickapoo by the Creator and they don't ever sing them except when they have these dances [this one and the adoption]. They are really talking. They are supposed to keep these songs as long as anybody is living; and their talks are pretty long. They cover the whole world and worship for everybody in the whole world. They are not selfish about it. They only have P. W.'s dance once a year and the songs they use are the first ones given by the Creator in the early beginning.

And another woman told me:

> Each of the singers offers a prayer before he sings. Each one is usually a different clan. The songs are different according to their clan. They sing about God. The beginning songs are not dance songs, they are prayers, an opening number. Of those who sang this time, W.K. is an Eagle and sings about the sun. This is the strongest subject. G. K. sings about water, since he is a Water. J. L. sings about water and is also Water. H. K. is a Bear, but he is Potawatomi and sings Potawatomi songs. M. is a Blackberry and sings about the earth, since it is a growing thing. The Tree and Coon clans also sing about the earth. J. A. is a Bear and he sang about the kingdom. [By this, I think she meant about the Kickapoo tribe, for she followed this statement with : All his family are concerned with the kingdom, his father, and his grandson, if he had had children would be. He never had kids, but if he had had, they would be queen.]

Finally, a comparison between what is now known about these ceremonies of the Kickapoo (the Green Corn, War Dance, and Squaw Hop) and what Michelson has written on the gens festivals of the Fox Indians indicates that there are certainly many remnants of the old gens festivals still practiced among the Kickapoo. Any detailed analysis, however, would depend on the gathering of information on the content of the prayers and songs of the Kickapoo, as well as witnessing the activities that occur within the Indian house.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS AND CEREMONIAL LIFE CONTINUED

Life Crisis Rites

In addition to the religious ceremonies described in the preceding chapter, there are also a number of rituals concerned with the life crises of individuals. These include Naming, Puberty for both males and females, Funerals, and Adoptions, which all individuals go through; a rite for ceremonially "making a friend," rituals for curing the sick, and a complex of ceremonies revolving around being a soldier. Reference has already been made to the remnants of the marriage ceremony.

Interestingly enough, some of these rituals are much more sacred in character than others. That is, those that are concerned with the possible transition of an individual from the spiritual world to this world, and vice versa, are sacred; those that are concerned only with a change of status in this world are much less sacred. Thus, the puberty rituals are primarily secular, as was the marriage ritual also, but the naming, which introduces an individual into this world from the spiritual one and gives him an identity; the funeral and adoption, which reintroduce an individual into the spiritual world; and the rites concerned with illness and the life of a soldier, both of

which are situations where an individual faces the possibility of again entering the spiritual world; all are primarily sacred in nature.

Birth and Naming

The Kickapoo women used to build a special shelter in which to deliver a baby (compare Ritzenthaler and Peterson 1956:57). Today, an estimated half of the women give birth in the nianotegani, with the other half using hospitals. When a woman delivers at home, she will ask an older woman to help her, usually one who is noted for being a good midwife, but sometimes simply a close female relative. When it is time, these women retire to the hut. Clean grass and leaves are spread on the floor, on which the expectant mother kneels. She will grasp a pole that is part of the framework of the hut, and deliver the child in this position.

When the child is born, the attending woman cuts the umbilical cord and gathers the afterbirth up in the grass pile. The afterbirth is then wrapped in a bundle and hung as high as possible in a nearby tree ("so dogs or other animals won't get it"), where it is left to rot. The umbilicus is saved, dried, and often decorated with beadwork around it.

> They will show it to the child when he is grown They say that if it is thrown away the child will, when it is able to walk, spend a lot of time looking into things. It will look into everything and get into everything. If the umbilicus is saved, he won't. It is supposed to be buried with the person when he dies. I still have mine. Those who are born in hospitals lose out on this.

The mother stays in the hut for thirty days for a boy and forty for a girl, taking her meals alone and sleeping in the hut. She is considered to be "unclean" for this length of time, so she follows the restrictions that apply to menstruating women. After the period of seclusion, the woman bathes and then is free to join the family again.

The naming ceremony, <u>æhoiθoničikɛk</u>[I], does not usually occur until an infant is several months old ("when the child can sit up"). If a child dies before being named, it is felt that its spirit has returned to the spirit world directly and will be born again. The naming is done by someone chosen by the father for the first child, the mother for the second, the father for the third, and so on. The ceremony takes place in the summer house, in front of witnesses, to the accompaniment of prayers and a feast. In this way the child is officially bestowed with an identity, which is thus made known to the Creator (as well as to the other members of the tribe). This is very important; for, as became evident when discussing the woman with no name, one's name is necessary in order to ask the Creator for anything for that person; the name is the way in which the Creator can identify an individual. Thus, for example, part of the distress over the woman with no name lies in the fact that not only does she not have a clan affiliation (resulting in confusion about who is to play what role at her funeral and adoption), but also since she has no name they will have great difficulty in identifying her upon her death to ask the

Creator to receive her. "They have to have a name in order to get to the West, so they will know who is being called."

The name for the infant is, as mentioned previously, a name belonging to the clan of the namer. The namer is supposed to select a name as the result of a vision or "dream," and during the naming ceremony will tell those assembled what the name is and how it was chosen.

Briefly, the parents will invite a man to pray and be the speaker, some men (four?) and some women (four?) to be witnesses, and, of course, the namer. They will meet in an Indian house in the morning, at which time the namer tells the name and the baby is passed around to all of the witnesses, each of whom will "talk to the baby like a growing person. They will call it by name and tell him not to get angry and to live a good life and so on." At some point in this ceremony, the child is carried outside and touched to a tree or to water. There are also prayers said, and songs sung. In the middle of the day there is a dog feast, and anyone who knows the parents or is interested in the child can take part in this. There are more prayers after the feast, which ends the ceremony.

In addition to Kickapoo names today, individuals also receive names from western culture. Until quite recently (about twenty years ago) the school census taker would bestow the western names on most of the children, for ease in handling the records on these children; but it is now common practice for the families to do this themselves.

Sometimes babies are named in a peyote ceremony today.

> This is done in a teepee. They can do this at any time of the year. If the child is named under a teepee, the name is not accepted in the Creator's role. The child is turned down [that is, he is not recognized by the Creator].
>
> To do this, they select a fire builder who tends the fire all night. They burn a certain kind of wood. The fire is in a crescent of dirt instead of a full moon. It is a flint fire. They do it all night long. Any members can go. They name the baby at about 4:00AM, just before dawn. The person naming the baby holds it but doesn't pass it around like the Kickapoo usually do.

Some statistics on the number of children named were collected along with the census. There are 74 families with minor children. Of these, 49 have given all of their children Kickapoo names; 9 have given part of their children Kickapoo names; 7 have none so named; and for 9 this information is unknown. Of the 65 families where information is known, therefore, 89.31 per cent have all or part of their children named the Kickapoo way. This is of course another indication of the breaking down of Kickapoo culture.

However, there is another way of looking at the data that shows us something interesting. Taking those Kickapoo men and women who either have, or have had, non-Kickapoo spouses and who have children, we find with regard to names:

Naming	Female's children	Male's children
All children named	14	7
Part of children named	8	2
None named	5	5

Thus we see that of 41 mixed marriages with children, 31 have named all or part of their children with Kickapoo names. This is 75.61 per cent of the mixed marriages with children (note that this sample is not just those with minor children, but is of all mixed marriages). This figure indicates the persistence of Kickapoo culture, especially as it is higher than we might expect from a group that already deviated from the culture enough to marry out.

Puberty

When a girl menstruates for the first time she is isolated in the woods in a menstrual hut built especially for the particular occasion. She is taken there by her mother and must remain there for ten days. During that time she prepares her own food. She may be visited by other women, but it is important that at this time she does not look at any men or boys. (The latter is true only of the first period.) It is desirable that she be visited by some older grandmother, who will talk to her about the proper way to behave as a good Kickapoo woman. On the tenth day a grandmother or mother gives her a bath near the hut, then takes a fresh twig and spanks her legs "to make her forget her childhood." Then the girl can return to the Indian house and eat breakfast with the family. She is now considered clean and a woman. (Compare this with a description of this ritual by a Fox woman as translated by Michelson 1925[a]: 303-09.)

At subsequent menstrual periods the woman sleeps in the nianotegani. She must not have contact with anything sacred. She must also prepare her own food separately, though she does prepare the meal for her family also. Those women who live in white-style houses and no longer have a menstrual hut will, nevertheless, prepare the food separately and usually keep a special set of dishes and utensils for their own use at this time.

The only reference to any ritual connected with puberty in a male was information obtained from L.B., who remembered a "first-game" ceremony held for her brother. She described it thus:

> When a boy kills his first game, they use whatever he kills for a feast. My brother had one when he brought home about seven squirrels the first time.
>
> They ask everyone around who is not in the boy's clan but in opposite ones to come and eat. They invite men, women, and children. They usually eat this at noon. The game is put on the first thing in the morning, and it is cleaned the night before. The boy's grandfather usually says a prayer whether they are in the same clan or not. The boy's grandfather is the only one on the west side besides the little boy. He and his grandfather don't eat. [The impressiveness of this for the boy can only be understood in the context of Kickapoo culture, where it is always the older, awesome men who sit on the west on occasions when, as one male put it, "they take the place of the Creator."]
>
> They have a prayer both before and after eating, and, of course, use tobacco with the prayer. In this case they can also sing. The praying is done while the food is cooking. They will then sing while it is still cooking, and will use the rattle for this but not the flute. Just the men sing, the women not being allowed in the house during this part. Then after they have sung, the women are allowed in and there is another prayer said before eating.

Then they eat.

There will be more praying. At my brother's, my Dad told him that he was a man now and he was to support the women folks, now that he knew how to kill game.

Then everyone is dismissed.

The little boy will be proud as a king.

Reference is made by Major Marston in his letter to Reverend Morse of there being several such ceremonies: "They [referring to Sak, Fox, Kickapoo, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi] all make a feast of the first Dear, Bear, Elk, Buffaloe, etc., a young man kills; even the first small bird, that a boy kills, is preserved and makes a part of the next feast." (in Blair 1912, 2:168-69)

This ceremony is evidently not held very often in Oklahoma any more, nor was there any information as to any substitute puberty rite for males.

Death Observances

When an individual dies all the other Indians are notified so that they may come to his house. The relatives all come, bringing some food with them. Children under twelve in the family are immediately taken somewhere else, or hidden, for it is felt that their souls are easily stolen. If the dead is the parent of a small child, a piece of buckskin is tied to the child's left (?) wrist and right (?) ankle "to show the spirit that the child is still tied to earthly things." These are left on until they wear out.

The body is laid out on the south scaffold inside the Indian house, with its head to the west.[60] Mourners sit on the north. The man selected to do the praying[61] and singing, the servants appointed to cook (two), and the close male relatives (son, father or brother) sit on the west. And old woman (servant) appointed to dress the dead sits at his or her head, and an old man appointed to lead the diggers sits at his or her feet.

If the deceased does not have anything "nice" to wear, two women who can sew well are asked to prepare something.

The women outside prepare a meal, and when this is ready, everyone who is so inclined goes and eats. All of the conversation is quiet. "The relatives of the dead person are talked to not to take it too hard or cry. Other people who come must talk nice to them; all their talk must be clean. They talk to the relatives to help them forget their sadness."

When they are through eating, late in the evening, the leader comes and asks everyone to come in the house. The prayer leader "makes a talk" and then they start to sing. They sing, to the accompaniment of a rattle, special funeral songs which are never sung any other time. He may also lead other religious songs. The singing, alternated with periods of rest and conversation, goes on all night. Described by

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[60] When the last queen died, she wanted to sit up during the singing and be buried in a sitting position. The Kickapoo followed her wishes, but everybody felt it was "spooky to have her sitting up at the sing."

[61] Evidently it is not necessary that this man belong to a servant clan today. I suspect that this is because there are so few old men who know how to pray properly anymore.

one informant:

> Anyone can sing at a funeral, men and women both. Then they may stop and talk awhile. They don't gossip like you would on a visit, but they talk about what happened to an Indian long ago; or they give young people advice on religion and teach songs to younger ones, any kind; dance, funeral, or feast. They tell legends. Then they sing more songs. They may rest an hour at a time and then sing more. And they laugh a lot. Some cry, of course. The servants appointed to sing and cook tell funny stories.

As daylight approaches, (eight?) special farewell songs are sung for the dead. "These have very sad words about her leaving." When these are over, the people go outside to smoke and rest their legs while the body is prepared for burial. The old woman who has been selected to do this appoints another woman to help her. The helper holds a sheet up while the old woman bathes the body with water from a new basin and dresses it. The clothes are Indian clothes and the deceased is dressed as he or she would like to dress. In one case the dress was described thus: "The face is painted on the cheeks with red paint. The hair is parted in the middle and red paint put in the part. With a woman, the hair is braided in one braid with a ribbon, which is generally black or green. If it is a man, an eagle feather is tied on a white band which is put around his forehead with the feather standing up in back. They used to use white buckskin for both the men and women. The moccasins are also painted with red paint."

Some food has been placed in a small wooden bowl for the dead person.[62]

Those selected to dig the grave and prepare the coffin now depart to do so. There should be eight of these, four of whom go to dig the grave and four of whom go to select and prepare a coffin. The head grave digger finds out how long the body is so they will know how long a hole to dig, and leads his helpers out to the spot chosen for the grave. One informant said that two women accompany the diggers, these being the women that also obtained or made the clothes for the deceased. (Michelson's unpublished notes have a partial description of a Kickapoo funeral with a note to the effect that the more traditional manner is for there to be two women with the grave diggers.)

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[62] With respect to this food I have two different versions. One is that the cooks have cooked pumpkin earlier at night, putting some in the fire as an offering around midnight. Then just before the people leave the house around dawn, one of the cooks puts the remaining pumkin in the little wooden bowl at the head of the corpse.

In the other version, the pumpkin is cooked while the last farewell songs are being sung. It is then put in a large enamel-ware basin, which is set by the door with one of the cooks sitting beside it. When the songs are finished, the men who are to dig the grave come inside the house and sit together and eat this pumpkin from their big wooden spoons. In this version there is softi (hominy) cooked by some women in the house while the grave is being dug, and it is some of this that is put in the bowl for the deceased. After the body is buried, the grave-diggers come back and each eats a mouthful of the remaining softi.

Both versions agree, however, that there is some food cooked to be placed in a new wooden bowl for the deceased. And both agree that pumpkin is cooked at some time in connection with the funeral.

I am inclined to think that the second version is the more traditional form. The informant was an older woman, and consequently

The hole is dug in an east-west direction and is about four or five feet deep. When it is finished, all but one woman and a man, who are left to guard the grave, return to the house. The man who remains is the head digger, and "he has to stay and watch the grave because something might happen at the grave to tell him that the person did not die a natural death, that he was poisoned or something." The woman sits at the eastern end (which will be the head end when the body is buried) and the man at the west.

Meanwhile, the other four men have selected a tree for use as a coffin. A hollow tree is preferable, since it requires less work. They cut down the tree, which has to fall to the west. They then cut it the proper length for the body, and carry it to the grave without changing the direction of the log (i.e., its east-west direction). Here it is split down the center lengthwise and the inside hollowed out to make room for the body. (In the case of a baby or very small child, bark is used instead of a log.) When the log is prepared, all return to the house, except for the two watchers mentioned above.

All of this work takes about two hours, so that by the time all of the diggers have returned, it is the middle of the morning. Now four men go into the house to get the body, and four men undo the

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more conservative; and the eating of a basin of ceremonially cooked food by men, in the fashion described above, is frequently a part of ceremonies. In addition, although just what the food is is not specified, a version Michelson has of a Kickapoo burial (unpublished notes) also has the diggers eating a mouthful apiece of some food after the burial.

poles at the southeast corner of the house to take the body through.[63] One of the four men that goes inside carries a pole six or eight feet long with him. The body is wrapped in an old blanket and tied to the pole, which is then used to carry the body. While the hole is being made and the body being tied, everyone else faces the east. The body is removed out the opening and the opening is retied. The whole process of removal of the body is done as rapidly as possible; and it is very important that no one look to the west for fear the spirit of the dead will take that person along.

The men then carry the pole with the body attached to the grave. (Michelson says the route to the grave must be off the roads. However, today the distance is sometimes great enough that the body is carried in a truck.) They are accompanied by a woman carrying a bowl of food. The family does not go. In fact, no one sees the actual burial but those chosen to attend the body.

At the grave the bottom half of the coffin is laid in first. The pole is then extended across the opening (see Figure 2), the blanket removed and given to one of the diggers, and the ropes lengthened to to lower the body into the coffin with its head to the east so it is facing west. At this point they talk to the spirit of the dead, place some tobacco in one hand and place the bowl of food in with the body (one

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[63] In the summer of 1953, I was told that when a woman was helping one old man to build his summer house, he was very concerned about her leaving the ties loose in the southeast corner so that it would not be so difficult for them to remove his body, as he felt he did not have long to live. The others "felt it was terrible for him to talk this way."

informant said at the head, another at the feet). They may also put a wooden spoon in the other hand, and any of his or her smaller, most cherished possessions also. This does not include jewelry "since it glitters after a person's death and haunts them" and "it is bad for a spirit; it blinds their eyes it is so shiny."

The top is then put on the log, and the grave is filled in. When it is covered, they place two sticks tied together at the head end of the grave. These are not in the form of a cross but are like an "X" (see Figure 3).

When this is completed, those who buried the dead return to the house. The family has stayed there, without talking, and some of them have been crying, "although they are told not to." Those who buried the dead announce to the family that the deed is done.

> Somebody is talking to the relations of the dead so they won't get too sad, explaining that it's been happening like this before; everybody goes through it. There is only one gate to go through, only one door, and all have to go through it. They tell them they must be nice to one another every morning, and they mustn't talk cross to each other. It is necessary to talk this way.

After this, the grave diggers eat. Then everybody washes their faces and hands.

Meanwhile, there has been a noon meal prepared by some women outside, and everyone eats before they go home. Sometimes this meal is prepared at another house, if there is one close enough.

They used to dismantle everything and move the house to another spot, with both men and women helping to raze and rebuild the house. Today they put a circle of white ashes all the way around the outside of the house, to keep the spirit from returning and entering. Then for four nights they smoke out the house with cedar and life-everlasting (Anaphalis margaritacea), which purifies the house. It also used to be that everyone left the village for four days, returning early in the morning on the fourth day. They then prayed in memory of the dead while a feast was being prepared, which they ate at noon, thus ending the rituals concerning the burial itself.

What happens to the dead was described by one woman thus:

> Well, a person dies, and then he travels as soon as he dies, faster than sound. He goes to every place he has been and sees everyone he has seen and visited with while he was alive. He has a certain way of getting out of the house: through the smoke hole. So they always say to take an Indian into the house to die so he can get out, since a white man house is strange to him in life and after death, and he can't get out of it.
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> He will get to a place where paths meet to get to the good place (wɛčipɛkisimokI) or the bad place (ðehðkðkðmikðkI). When he gets there there is a guard (wðekapit^{h}) standing there with a club. As he walks up, the man will pat him with the club right over a soft spot of his head (like babies have) and tell him to go on further. And he comes to another place where two paths meet. And here there is a man who will look at his record (this is Kɛkɛnðčikðea, the record-keeper). This man has a stone with all the records and names. If the dead man has been bad, the record-keeper will shake his head and send him back to the place where the paths first meet.

> The man with the club will ask him when he gets there "Why did you get sent back to me?" And the dead will speak of his past life where he as bad. So the man with the club will send him back to the living. And he will come back and see the living and wonder about them and get lonely. Then maybe the living will give an adoption for him to go to the eternal resting place. So then he leaves.
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> He meets the man with the club again. This time they let him through since he is carrying all the material, food and tobacco from the adoption.
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> He comes to the second place where the trails meet and this man lets him through this time. Then he comes to the third place and sees all the dead friends and relatives and distributes food and material to them.
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> The man with the records will come and tap him on the shoulder while he is having a good time with his friends and relatives and sends him further west.
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> Then he meets the fourth place, the second village. There he will find evil and wickedness. The man with the records tells him that is where he will stay until the Creator comes back to judge us. That is an awful place, with fire all over and people burning and crying, etc. He did see the good place; that is where his relatives and friends were where there is plenty of food and no punishment. Good people went through what he did only the difference is they stay in the good place and don't go further.

As for mourning, it is only a widow or widower that goes into mourning, that is, one does not mourn for a mother or sister or child, etc. In the past the widower (or widow) used to stay by himself in the village for four days after the death, while the rest of the villagers were gone. He could not talk or do anything. They would take food to him when he needed it. On the fourth day the lead singer brought him clean clothes, new ones, and he gave the old ones away. The female

relatives of his dead wife asked him how he sat up, on a mat or blanket or what, and this item they removed to give to the lead singer.

The widower was then instructed that he should bathe in the river every morning for eight days. When that period was over, he was told by the lead singer that he now has to take care of himself and his children the best way he can and that he is to be kind to his children. Four days after this, he took some flour and a little meat to the man who was the lead singer. His funeral obligations were completed with this.

Today it is more common for the widower (or widow) to retire to the woods at the time the body is removed from the house for burial. When the body is buried, either a flute is blown as a signal for the widower to duck in the water four times, or a sister of his is sent to him to tell him it is time. In either event, a sister does go to him and stay with him in the woods for four days. After four days the mourner can return home, but it is necessary to stay in mourning until an adoption has been given for the dead. This means that the bereaved wears old clothes, does not shave if a man nor comb her hair if a woman, and stays away from any of the "fun places," i.e., social events. It is all right to bathe and stay clean, but not to dress up or to flirt. It is also taboo to mention one's Indian name before the adoption. After the adoption has been given, the widower may marry again.

The Kickapoo also remember that in the old days a man could marry the unmarried sister of his dead wife. In this case, I was told, they did not give an adoption since the dead sister took the deceased one's place. However, this seems to me to be peculiar, since it is not the spouse that gives the adoption, but the immediate family of the dead.

Adoption (ðehonɛ nikɛkI)

Sometime between four days and four years after an individual's death it is necessary to hold an adoption for him. If the namer of that individual is still living, the adoption is held by him. But it happens because of the age differential between the namer and the one he names, that the namer is usually already deceased. And so the adoption is usually held by one's siblings or one's parents. If the individual does not have parents or siblings surviving, the adoption will be given by his children. It is this ceremony which finally lays the spirit to rest, and without it, the soul of the dead would wander endlessly, not being able to enter the west.

> Those who die outside of an Indian village don't have tobacco in their hand for the funeral, so there is no messenger to tell the Creator he died. So he suffers. He can't get to where the dead are sent. He wanders and haunts people and begs for food; but none can hear him. He is miserable. So nobody thought about giving an adoption for him since he had no tobacco. That makes it that much harder. He goes off a little ways and is forced to come back. The four winds keep blowing him back. He gets to where he can see the man with the club from a distance, but then is blown back. This is

> done over and over. He is in a circle. And this keeps on till the end of the world.

And again:

> The Kickapoo fix their dead so they won't talk or bother them by this adoption business where they send them to the west. The whites just bury theirs and forget them. You can hear people talking in a white cemetery.

The exception to this is, again, children under about six years of age, for whom it is not necessary to hold an adoption. This is contrary to the Fox practice, which is to hold adoptions even for infants (Michelson 1925[a]:321).

Just what form of amusement the adoption consists of depends on the age, sex and preference of the deceased. Thus, if the deceased is a man, the adoption will consist of either a moccasin game or a ball game; if a woman, it will be either squaw dice, the woman ball game, or a squaw dance; if a little girl, squaw dice or a ball game; and if a small boy, a bow and arrow contest. Where there are alternatives possible, the choice is determined by either the stated preference of the deceased or what the survivors think the dead enjoyed the most.

The person adopted to replace the dead should match him or her pretty well as to sex and age. Thus, for a young woman, the one adopted should also be a young woman; for an old man, an old man, etc. In addition, as has been indicated previously, there are families which traditionally adopt from each other; although this is not necessarily the case for everyone. It is even possible to adopt by

proxy today; for in 1953, a family adopted a woman who was at the time a patient in a tuberculosis hospital, using her sister as a stand-in at the ceremony.

The individual adopted acquires the relationships of the deceased; but these do not in turn extend to her own family. That is, if a man is adopted to replace a family's son, he will thereby acquire not only the deceased's parents, but siblings and children as well. However, his own children will not thereby acquire new siblings and aunts, etc. This is the case literally. But, if the families habitually adopt back and forth, they do acquire the characteristic of being potentially adopted relatives, so that in that sense they are put in a special position with reference to each other.

Briefly, the form that an adoption takes is a follows: The date for the ceremony, and the person chosen to be adopted, is decided on by the individual giving the adoption. The clans of cooks or waiters for this is determined by the clan of the person giving the adoption. The arrangements for the ceremony include the gathering together of enough food to feed everybody, new clothing to dress the adoptee in, and goods to present to the invited ones. The invitation sticks are sent out to the participants and the other Kickapoo are informed where and when the adoption will occur. Preparations start in the afternoon with the preparation of a meal. The invited ones arrive before supper time, and the adoptee is dressed. At supper, the invited ones eat first inside the Indian house, and this meal is the first "feeding of the

dead" feast for the deceased. At this time the deceased is spoken to and "called" and told that this is his or her last dance or game or whatever it will be. The Creator is also informed of this. After these primary participants have eaten, anyone else who is there may eat.

After the meal is finished, the singing and praying start, this being done outside. In the case of a dance or moccasin game, these also start now and continue until dawn. If the amusement is to be some form of ball game, it will not be played until just before dawn.

At midnight there is another feast, containing dog soup.

Just before dawn, the last round occurs, and very rapidly the goods are distributed to the principal participants, the spirit of the deceased is bade farewell, another meal is eaten, and everyone disperses.

I was fortunate enough to witness two adoption dances and one moccasin game. Descriptions of these, together with additional information about them from informants, follow.

Adoption Dance for E.M., witnessed 1952

(This woman's adoption was given by her brother, J.M. They were originally from Kansas, "really Potawatomi," but have lived in Oklahoma most of their lives with the Kickapoo, intermarried with them, and all of the participants and guests at this ceremony were Kickapoo. Unfortunately, I do not have her clan affiliation; but the servants were Coon, Tree and Blackberry. Her brother is an Eagle.)

Preliminary information from L.B.: At the adoption dance at M's, before the evening meal, B. (the adoptee) will sit in the west end of the house. She will be dressed new and

will lead the dancing. The dancers will eat first in the house and they get the first bite of everything. The others will eat outside. The dancers will be treated like queens. There will probably be two little girls and eight women. They will burn Indian tobacco in the morning while they are praying. It is a flint fire and is sacred.

Observed: I arrived about 7:30 PM. The "invited ones" were being fed inside the house. When they emerged, the invited dancers, all in Indian dress, took up their seats on a bench which was along the north of the ceremonial ground, and the singers sat on a canvas spread out on the ground about four feet in front of the door, there being no porch on this house. Everyone else could now go in the house and fill their utensils to eat. It was already rather dark and the inside of the house was lit, so it was possible to see people working with food on the north scaffold inside. There was also a kitchen shelter to the south of the house, attached to it, where there was a table with food on it.

While the meal was being completed, the scene was a quiet one. There were five men sitting cross-legged on the canvas in front of the house, facing the ceremonial grounds. There were other old men and women sitting on benches against the front wall of the house. There were about nine women sitting on the dancers' bench. Three pots of dog soup hung from a rack over the fire in the center of the grounds, to which more meat was added during the evening and which was stirred from time to time during the night by one of the cooks. In front of the fire rack, to the east and running in the same direction with it (east-west) was a little smaller rack with lengths of cotton goods hung on it. Before the heavy dancing began, a man came out and put a piece of buckskin containing chewing tobacco and cigarettes at the foot of the west post of this rack.

As it began to get dark, the singing began. There were four lead singers: J.A., G.K., C.W. and W.K., in that order. J.A. said a prayer first, while about three or four men kneeled in front of him and everyone was silent. Then he sang two songs sitting down, then arose and sang with a group of men while all walked slowly around the ceremonial ground and the women danced around the racks in a single file. B. led the dancers. There was one man holding the drum, walking backwards, while J.A. beat it and walked forwards. The other singers clustered around these. There

was also a man shaking a rattle. This group went around the ceremonial grounds completely twice.

Then the drum was passed to G.K., who also said a prayer. He then got up and went around the area with the singers slowly three times.

The same procedure was repeated by C. W. and W.K.

By this time it was about midnight. The cooks took down two of the three kettles and put their contents into seven basins. The cooks were E.R., S., and one other. Five of the seven basins were set in front of the five men sitting on the canvas, one taken and placed in front of the dancers, and the other put to the south of the rack in a line with its western post. The people were called, distributed themselves around at the various basins, J.A. said a prayer, and everyone ate in silence. Then J.A. said another prayer and the cooks removed the basins.

The dancing began again. The first round of singing (a round being the complete series of all four singers doing their songs in order) had a large number of dancers and singers taking part; but the number of participants gradually dwindled down to only the invited dancers and a few extra singers as the night wore on. As various individuals became sleepy, they would drift over to the grass and sleep for awhile. The invited ones and E.M.'s family had to stay awake.

The complete series of songs was repeated five times from midnight until just before dawn. The singers tended to omit the seated songs in the last two rounds. C.W. always talked, with gestures, between his numbers on the ceremonial grounds, and the singers howled like a dog or wolf on his numbers. When the last song of a particular lead singer was over, the dancers had to follow B. around the western end of the rack to return to the bench. If they were already at that spot, it was not necessary to walk completely around the rack again.

Towards morning, all of E.M.'s family came out and joined the singers for the last two singer's rounds. Evidently, someone went around and woke people up at this time, for everybody began to come in and join the activity.

Then J.A. took the drum again on the southwest corner of the house, and a large group of singers, including the family of E.M., stood there while he talked, the dancers meanwhile walking slowly around the rack. J.A. stopped B. and told her what she was supposed to do, using gestures and pointing out the direction for her to go for the last part of the ceremony.

Then the singers went around the rack twice with J.A. leading the songs. This set of songs was very loud and enthusiastic, with almost everyone either dancing or singing. As the singers reached the southeast corner of the ceremonial area on their second circuit of the grounds, B. took a small enamel bucket off of the gift rack (she started to take the first length of dress goods by mistake and one of the cooks corrected her). Each succeeding dancer took one of the lengths of dress goods till all nine of them were off the rack. B. went off the ceremonial ground from the southwest side near the corner of the house, followed by the other invited dancers. While this proceeded, the cooks dismantled the cooking rack, laying aside the remaining kettle of soup, and the gift rack, carrying the poles off the area.

The person who dismantled the gift rack threw some scraps of all the goods that had been on it to the east. These are what the deceased shows the guardians of the west.

All of this did not take longer than a minute or two, and it left the ceremonial grounds bare of everything except the remains of the fire and the one kettle of soup. It was a very impressive sight.

Then everyone came up with wooden spoons or small enamel bowls in a staggered and haphazard fashion to get some of the soup, which was dished out of the kettle to them by one of the cooks. The main dancers remained down in the south of the area eating also.

It was now dawn, 5:30AM, and I left.

Subsequent information from L.B.: They offer a prayer while burning Indian tobacco to send the spirit on to the west. B. is a sister to J.M. and related to all his family now. All E.M.'s relatives stay in the Indian house all night [this does not apply to in-laws].

J. gave away all of E.M.'s things in the morning after they finished eating, to whoever he pleased. Indian tobacco was burnt early the morning after the dance and also early in the evening to call her and tell her they were giving a dance for her. Then before daylight this morning to send her spirit away. The last dance was supposed to be the last one with her.

J. will take care of feeding her from now on, since he is the oldest, and she will have her first meal this fall.

The bucket which the adoptee took from the gift rack at the end of the dance was full of pumpkin. She was supposed to eat it then.

The tobacco that the dancers and others kept picking up from between the gift rack and the fire rack was regular chewing tobacco. It is supposed to help keep them awake. There were also regular cigarettes there.

The main dancer [adoptee] gets a little purse with combs, ribbons, and jewelry in it besides the pumpkin. A little bit of all these things, including the dress goods that are given to the other dancers, are cut off and strung together on a string, which is thrown to the east when they take down the rack, so that when the spirit goes to the west it can take this with her and show them what they had for her at the dance.

Subsequent information from E.S.: The songs at the adoption dance have Kickapoo words and no other people have those songs. The words are about leaving and going to heaven. Some people cry when they hear these songs when they know what they mean.

All the clothes B. had on were given to her new by the M.'s. Though some of them had belonged to E.M. J.M. put the comb on her head and told her she was being adopted into his family. Then J.A. also talked to her and told her what to do and that it was very hard. He meant that it was very hard to think like this: as though J.M. was her own brother. J.M. was mean to his own sister when she was living, so nobody knows whether B. will fit in or not. So J.A. gave her instructions.

It is open for any woman who wants to to dance, but no one can dance in front of the invited dancers.

If there is no pumpkin available, they will eat roasting ears. Just the lead dancers do this, and use one wooden spoon for all of them. This is the last thing they do.

Adoption Dance for C.R., witnessed 1953

(This was a young girl's adoption, given by her father, E.R. He was born in Oklahoma, his wife in Mexico, and all the children in Oklahoma. He is an Elk, as was C.R. The adopted one was a Blackberry.)

Preliminary information from L.B.: All week they will prepare for this, getting the groceries and materials. E.R. will select a woman and ask her to give out the invitation sticks to dancers. Those are being made this week. She will go get ten sticks and go here and there and give nine out. These can be anybody, regardless of clan. But they will ask her to get an old lady to be the tail of the dancers. She is usually one the dead called grandmother, not her real one. Since C. was young, they will probably get at least four young girls to dance. (Note: At times I was told there were ten invited dancers and at other times I was told eight. The latter number is more consistent with their use of four as a sacred number, but I always counted ten. It seems that if the informant was including the adoptee and the woman to be the end, there were ten; but usually the "invited dancers" are thought of as only the other eight.)

Also, E.R. will select a head cook of his servant clan, a woman, who will in turn go out and get women, as many as four, to help in her clan. He also selects a man cook who goes and gets four or five helpers. They will get wood. He also selects singers. He will get a head singer. This man sits on the south when they sing and is the first to sing. E.R. gives him ten sticks and he goes out today and passes out the sticks. The singers won't have to stay sitting, they can get up and walk around until their turn comes.

The women cooks start cooking about noon. They cook inside the house. The food is mostly fresh things, corn, pumpkin, melon, beef and pork, made into soup. Also, they will have fry bread and cake.

The dogs are killed in the evening about four and will be hung on the west of the rack outside. They clean it before dark and take it to the west side of the house near a creek and build a flint fire, after it has been killed in front of the house by hitting it on the neck with a club. They rush it down there, singe it and wash it. Then they bring it and hang it over the pole on the west, already cleaned and gutted.

The woman cooks are all through cooking. They will set the table for twenty in the house for the dancers and singers. The women will sit on the north and the men on the south. All these come before sundown, at about four or five o'clock, and give the pray-man who is sitting on the west side their invitation sticks. He will motion them to sit on the north (dancers) next to a certain person. This is according to clans, and this is the order they will come out in: it goes Eagle, Water, Blackberry, Tree, Coon, and so on. But the leader is first regardless of clan; and if he is Water, for example, it will go from Water to Blackberry to Tree and so on and then the Eagle at the end. The singers sit on the south in clan order. S. is always at the end since he is War clan.

These are all in. The table is set before they come in. The family is in the house on the west and it sure is crowded. All the relatives come in about four o'clock and sit around. They may go out after the tables are set, except for E.R. and his wife who will sit there all night on the west and only come out if they have to. . . [relieve themselves].

The pray-man prays at the fire before they eat, about sending C. back home; he mentions her family; he will pray to the four seasons, earth, stars, moon, sun, winds, thunder, and that dog.[64] He mentions the food, something like a blessing.

The twenty eat. Also the men and women cooks who eat on the porch. They get through. Then it is open for

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[64] "He is mentioned in every prayer where they use dog. It is something like a dog that watches or guards or guides you. It has stronger power when dead than when alive. It can talk and understand people who are dead or alive."

anyone to eat. Visitors can eat either inside or outside. No one washed the dishes till everyone is through eating. Everybody is through and then the man prays near the fire again. This is a short prayer about C. again; and he pushes her food into the fire and tells the Creator that that is her first meal since her death and tells him they have decided who is to feed her (her mother or father) and who it is. This is like reporting to the Creator of her death. E. will probably feed her since he is of her clan.

Then they are through praying and he goes back to the west. The head singer will get the drum and the little white stick on the west side (this is smaller than invitation sticks, about two inches long) and put it in the ground before the west pole. He will beat just a few seconds. The cooks have already spread a canvas for them and the singers march out and sit down. The dancers come out and sit down. Then the head singer starts singing. He sings four songs which are a prayer with help from others. Then he gets up and his servants, nephew, and grandchildren can help him sing. He selects one to use the rattle for him. As soon as he starts the dance song, the women get up and start walking around the pole. They walk until the rhythm gets faster and then dance.

Before they eat, they put the material, trinkets, jewelry and tobacco on the little rack which the four women cooks have put up for this. That is left there. They put the dog on just before the dance starts and put the pumpkin on the rack.

Each singer sings enough songs to go around the rack four times. Then he sits and it is the next one's turn. They dance all night. Anyone can dance, but not break the line of invited ones.

Preliminary information from E.S.: They call all the people in who are related to the deceased person and have a hearing about what to do before adopting another Indian. A man and woman want to adopt a girl about ten to twenty years old. This is in place of the child that died and they will call her daughter. They have to have a string of beads which has to be the same length as the person they are adopting. These are bone beads which are made by the Indians and are about an inch long. They use the bone of migratory birds for this. They polish the bone by using

sand and rock and a wooden file to polish them; but today they can make good ones by using metal tools. They make her new clothes, dress and moccasins.

When they are finished, they send for the girl to come in. Then they have a place for the girl to sit down and she has to hear what the adopting people have to say. The child is told they will be her mother and father from now on. The adopted parents now will have her as one of the family. After the girl gets instructions, they put a new dress on her. Then the relationship spreads, and she is related to all the relatives of her new parents. Then they have to treat the child like their own daughter. The child's adopted mother is just like her own mother.

They dance all night, beat the drum, and eat, too. They put the food on a place and the one being adopted has to be the first one to eat things. This eating is done inside. They take out a little bit of everything and put it on the fire. It is done for the one who is being adopted. Then the rest are ready to eat. They pray before they eat. There is an appointed person who does the praying for them. The announcer announces about the adoption so everyone will know.

Some Indians nowadays don't do this. They don't understand it and they don't pay any attention to it.

Observed: (see Figure 24). I arrived about 7:30. They were not through eating yet and people were sitting around on the scaffolds and the floor of the porch eating. There were three kettles of dog soup already cooking over a fire outside, and the small rack with the dress goods hanging on it was up east of the cooking rack, as before. When people finished eating, the dishes were taken into the house.

About eight o'clock, when all were through, the kettle drum began in the house, and about eight short songs were sung. On the eighth one, the invited dancers danced out slowly around the rack in the usual manner. Ev. (the adoptee) had been dressed and was wearing moccasins, squaw dress, a comb, a shawl, bracelet, two rings, and had a scarf containing some little things tied on her right wrist. The order of the invited women was Ev., an old lady, eight young girls, and then another old lady. One

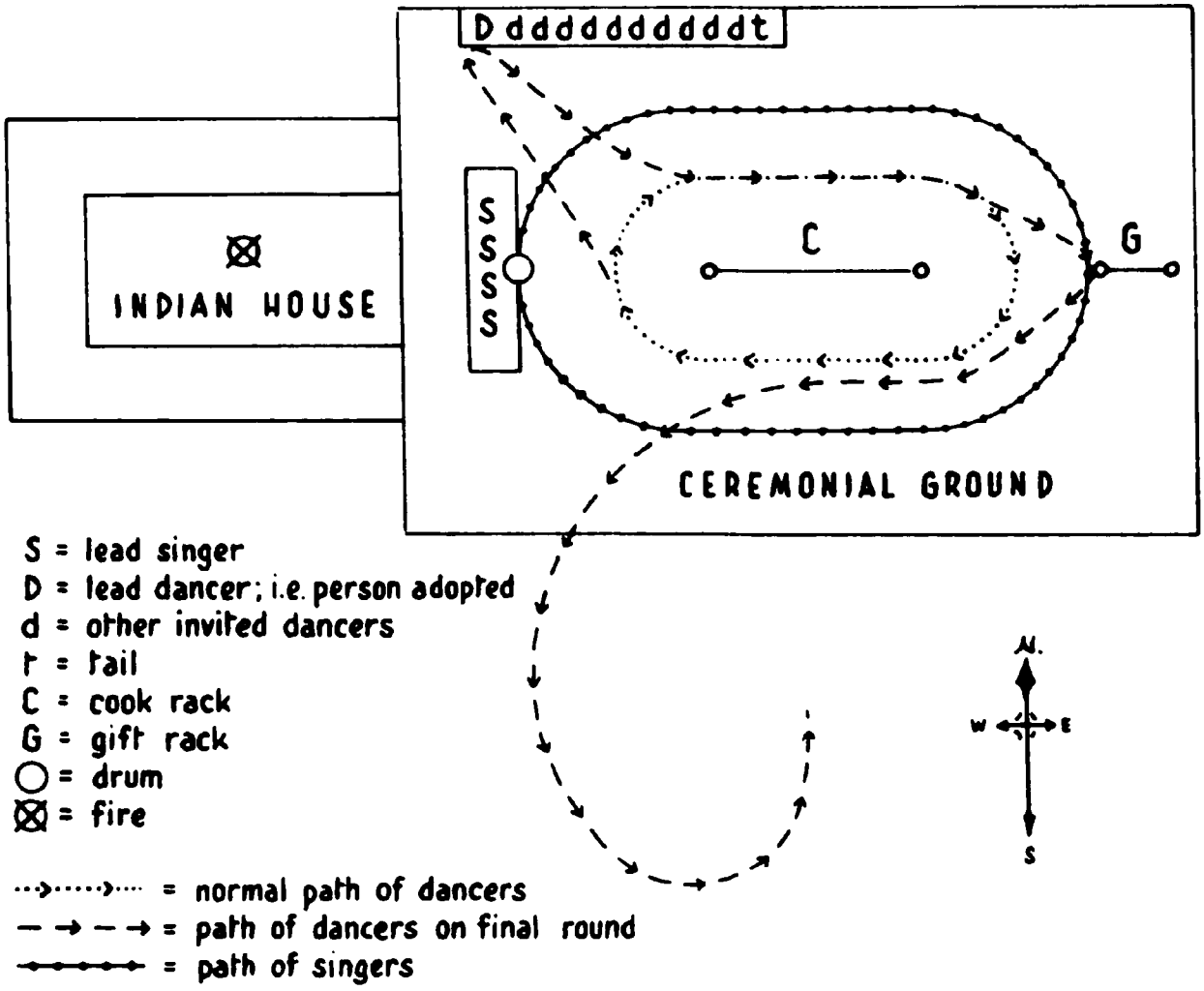


Fig. 24 Diagram for Adoption Dance

of the men cooks had placed a canvas north and just east of the Indian house for the girls to sit on. However, they continued dancing through this song and the next group of songs before sitting.

After the dancers had all emerged, another song was started in the house, and C. W. led the singers out. He sang several songs, while both the singers and dancers circled the ceremonial area, with the singers circling at the outer edge of the grounds and the dancers circling the center rack, as is usual. C. W. talked in low tones between the songs, probably praying.

Then there was a short interval of rest, during which the singers returned to the canvas and the dancers to their bench. Then J. A. said a very long prayer, which sounded like it was chanted on two notes. Then Mi. sang a few songs while seated, to which the dancers walked around the rack. He then called out the name of a helper (for the rattle) and rose and sang enough songs to take the singers slowly around the grounds once while the dancers danced around the rack.

There were always about three women who went along with and helped the singers, two of whom did this constantly all night. These, I learned, were cooks. There were usually from four to ten men singing.

After Mi.'s round of songs, J. A. said another prayer, with the dancers seated on the bench and the singers on the canvas. Then he sang while seated, called the name of a man to be his rattler, and then got up and sang while circling the grounds slowly twice.

The same procedure (a seated prayer, seated songs, and then singing slowly around the grounds while the dancers dance) was repeated by four other singers. There was a short pause between each of these.

At some time during the singing, L. B. turned to her brother-in-law and asked him why he did not join the singers since "These are your songs," meaning the ones of his clan. Also, both B. S. and L. B. informed me that G. K. sings the songs that belonged to J. B. and that he was not supposed to "have" those songs; but J. B. thought that T. B. (his son) was too young to teach and so he taught G. K. instead. Now J. B. has come back to Oklahoma after working in Kansas

for several years, and they think he has come back to learn the songs.

Another thing I noticed this time that I had not before is that, when a lead singer stands up with the cluster of singers around him, the whole group turns around completely once in a clockwise direction before beginning the songs.

After the first complete round of singing, the feast was eaten. The soup was placed into ten pans by the men cooks, about five of which were placed in front of the singers, and some taken over to the dancers. Others were left to the south of the rack. Anyone who was so inclined went out to these latter pans with a spoon and sat down. There was a long prayer before eating, said by J.A. The bones were taken to the west of the house to be disposed of.

When the meal was finished, the singing started in again, beginning with Mi. It was now about 1:30. They went through all the singers again, with the same procedure except that the lead singers did not say a prayer before singing this time.

Then C.W. made a "short talk" inside the house, during which B.S. informed me he was talking to C.R. and telling her to go where she should go now.

Then the first three singers all went around again, though a man substituted for Mi. this time. During these songs, the cooks came around and told people what to do when C.W. finished his singing. B.S. was to take down the gift rack, and she told one of the invited singers (her daughter) to be sure not to look back when they ran off to the south.

C.W. then came out and took the drum for the last round. He said no prayer and played no sitting songs. Everyone who was asleep was waked by their relatives for this dance and joined either the singers or the dancers.

The singers sang till they reached the southeast corner of the sacred ground beside the gift rack, and then when the dancers reached this place, Ev. took the small pail off the west end of the rack, and each of the invited dancers took a length of goods as they came in turn. They all went around the fire once more while the old lady behind Ev. was trying

to tell her to run off the southwest side. So the next time they reached that part of the grounds, they did. By this time, both racks were down and the wood had been carried to the west One woman cook picked up the little buckskin of tobacco and gave it to a man cook.

Then B.S. filled a little pail of soup from the house and took it off to the south for the dancers. The head male cook, S.S., called everyone to come and eat, which they did all scattered about. This was a soup of corn, beef, and squash that been put on the fire outside after the dog soup had been eaten in the middle of the night. It had no salt.

As they finished eating, people left.

Subsequent information from B.S.: "The Kickapoo believe that in the spirit world they give a dance like this every time someone dies and joins them, since they are so glad to see them. Ev. took back all the material and then re-distributed it herself. The dancers were supposed to give it to their brother, nephew or uncle." (This is the only reference I have to this custom, but I am inclined to think it is accurate. This person is old and rather conservative; she had two daughters as invited dancers at this adoption; and the brother, uncle or nephew, if they are figured through the males, would conform to the patrilineal clan.)

One thing impressive about both of these adoptions is the "mood" of them, or atmosphere. There was a notable lack of flirting or fighting, both of which are prevalent during other night dances. And as the routine of the songs and dances progresses, over and over, it becomes almost hypnotic; then all of a sudden there is a complete shift to the exhuberance of the last dance and the immediate removal of everything.

This is in contrast to the only moccasin game I witnessed, which was a much livelier affair.

Moccasin Game, ǝmamǝkidɛthikǝ, witnessed 1952

(This occurred early in my field career, and unfortunately I do not know for whom this was given, nor by whom. Also, at this time the names of many of the participants were unknown to me.)

Preliminary information from L.B.: For this game they select ten men, five Black face and five White. They get two judges, one Black and one White. One is to keep score, and this one is the same moiety as the dead person. The other is like a judge and has to see that the game goes right.

They have an eating contest first, and whoever wins gets to hide the bell first. They will eat at sundown in the house for this race, the ten players, the four men cooks, the scorekeeper and judge. There is a prayer first, given by the scorekeeper, using Indian tobacco. He and the judge sit on the west. The judge gives the signal to start. They use two basins for this and eat it with wooden spoons. The first one to finish yells with a whoop, and the rest of them go ahead and finish.

While the other people who have come are eating, the invited players and the judges go out and take their places. The judges sit on the west in front of the house, the Black players to the north of the ceremonial ground and the Whites to the south. The sticks for keeping score are piled in front of the judge and scorekeeper.

When all have finished eating, the judge and scorekeeper stand up and say, "Let whoever won the eating race start." The winner then will take the kettle drum on his side and one man beats the drum and the others on his side help him sing. They have two moccasins and they hide a little bell in one. One fellow hides the bell and he motions to the other side to come and find it. He has just one choice to find the bell, and the singing goes on while they look. More than one man may come over, but just one chooses. They dance across. If he does not find it he goes back to his seat. So they sing again, and either they switch the bell or leave it. Say he finds it this time. He gives a loud whoop and they dance across. Then they get the drum and bell and moccasins and go back and hide them on their side.

Every time they found the bell, they get one score from the score of the opposite side. Every time they fool the other side with it, they get a score from the middle, or pot.

If they are adopting a man, he will be a player. They dress the adoptee also.

After this, they will take everything down in the morning like a squaw dance adoption. And they give the players presents. They have killed four dogs and have the pots hanging there, and at midnight they eat the dog soup outside. And they will start playing again after they have rested a bit. This goes on till dawn, the side with the most sticks at that time winning.

Preliminary information from E.S.: When a man dies, all of his living relatives get together for these doings. His relatives sit up all night inside the house.

This game takes sixteen men, eight Blacks on the north and eight Whites on the south.[65] They use sticks about three feet long for this and short ones about eight inches long, pealed. There are about two hundred sticks in all, one hundred on each side. They use these to show the points. They use real moccasins to play with. They use one of the bells like on their dancing costumes and four moccasins.

There are two men that watch the game, a Black and a White, and spur them on. There are also two or four men who beat the drum and sing. They have their own special songs for this game and they are called moccasin songs. There is a fire burning in the center.

One of the men gets up and goes around the fire over to the other side. The men on the other side ask him where he is going and what he is going to do. He is going to look

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[65] Note that this number of players is not the same as that given by L.B. I do not know whether the number actually varies, or whether one or the other of them was in error. And because of the large number who actually played at the one I witnessed, I was unable to distinguish the invited ones from the others, so I do not know how many invited ones there were at that time.

for the bell hidden in one moccasin. Then he says there is nothing there. Then they ask him which one it is in, and maybe he says in number two. One man on each side is looking after the sticks to keep score [referring to the judges]. The man is sure there is a bell inside, but he misses. Then they sing again and nobody knows where the bell is. The men with the sticks are betting with them. If the man guesses right, then he takes four sticks back. Sometimes they have taken fifty sticks. They put the sticks in the ground and then get up and dance. Sometimes all the sticks have to stand up.

Every time someone guesses right about the bell, then they go to the other side with the drum and bell and then hide the bell on that side. Sometimes it takes all night and they don't get through till sun-up.

They eat before they start the game, and those which got beat get one cooked pumpkin to eat apiece. The winners get colored dress goods which have been hung on the rack during play. Each man gets four yards, enough to make one shirt.

They claim his spirit is gone after they play the game, His spirit was here with us till then.

Observed: (see Figure 25) I was late arriving for this, as I had difficulty finding the house. This one was set far back off the main road in a patch of woods. It was already very dark by the time I arrived, as there was no moon that night. It was around 9 o'clock and the game was already well under way.

The scene was impressive. The house was almost completely dark. The scorekeepers were sitting on a canvas just in front of the porch. There were about four men there off and on during the evening. One group of players sat on a canvas to the south of the grounds and another to the north. There were several men on both of these canvases. The light came from a fire burning in the center of the sacred ground and two lanterns hung on the cooking rack above the fire. A small knot of men was standing in front of the players that were seated on the north. The drum was beating and there was much bantering back and forth between them. Finally, the player selected the right moccasin (out of four there)

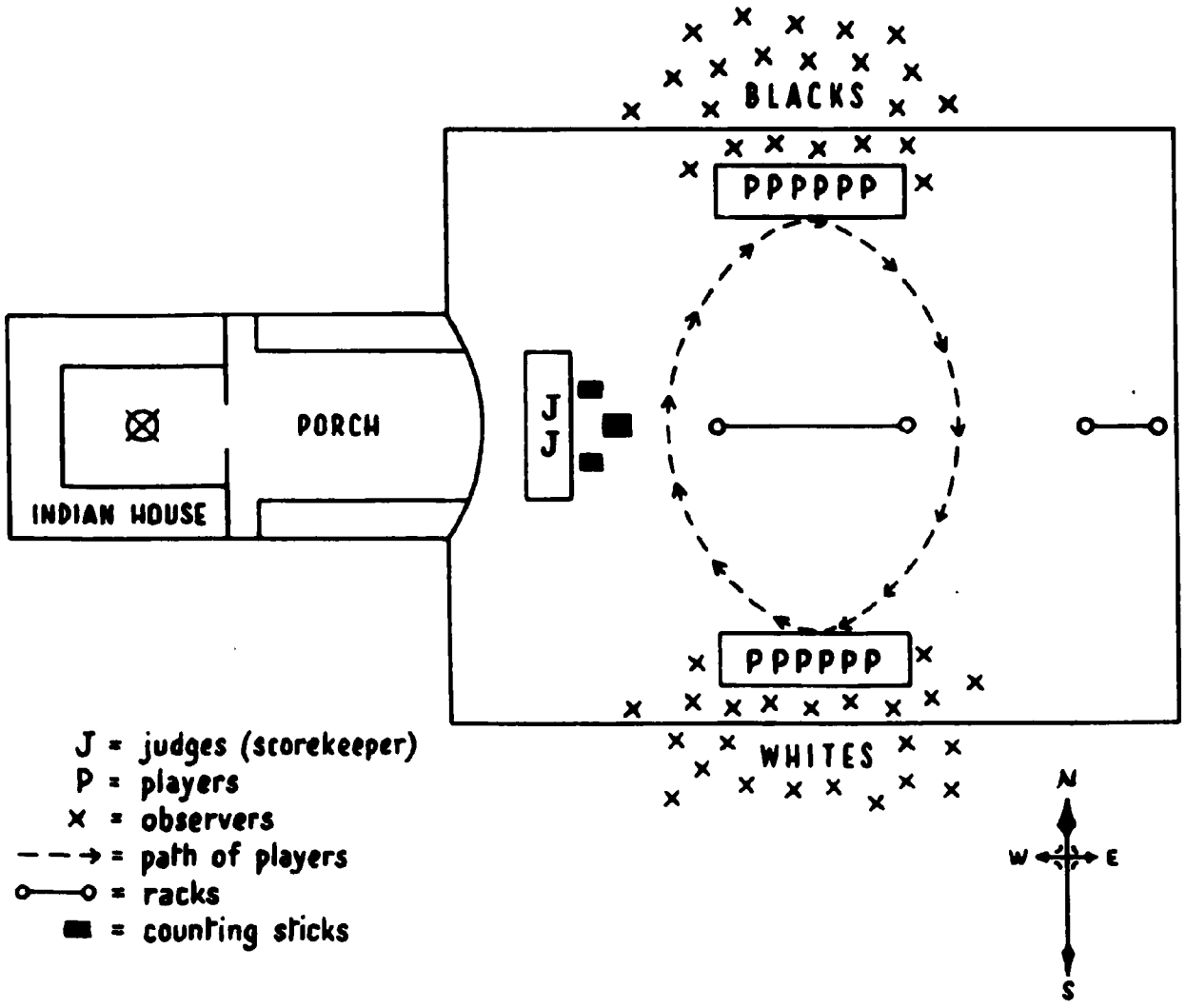


Fig. 25 Diagram for Moccasin Game

and with laughter and whooping, he and his cohorts picked up the moccasins and the drum and danced across to the other side with them.

Then there was much murmuring and discussion while they arranged the moccasins on their side, and a small group shuffled over from the north to stand in front of the south players and guess.

This went on, back and forth, until about midnight. Sometimes the guessing would be successful right away, and sometimes it would take ten or fifteen minutes before they would whoop and transfer the paraphernalia to the other side. It was obvious that the guessers were rotating in some fashion, but I could not tell how.

At midnight the cooks transferred the soup from the kettles to several basins, putting one in front of the judges, two in front of each side of players, and three (?) at the end of the rack. People distributed themselves around these basins with their wooden spoons, one of the judges said a prayer, and everyone ate.

About an hour later, the playing began again. By this time, two young men had arrived, very drunk, and began shouting and yelling in an attempt to disrupt the proceedings. The reaction of the Kickapoo was to ignore them and proceed with the ceremony as if they were not even there, which was difficult to do. At one point one of them yelled something obscene about the Kickapoo, berating them at long length, and finishing with his being glad he was Shawnee. (I learned later that he had one Shawnee grandparent but was otherwise Kickapoo.)

Unfortunately, they made indications of becoming obstreperous with me, and so I left, it being around 2:00AM.

As far as the adoptions that are held for children are concerned, the information received is meager. When they hold a dice game for little girls, the invited ones are children. These are aroused early in the morning to play dice, so there is no feast of dog soup at midnight. However, they do have a supper in the house the evening before the

game, which is the last earthly meal of the dead. Instead of receiving dress goods, the players receive toys.

The same procedure is followed in the case of a boy, for whom they play a bow and arrow contest.

As for the ball game that is sometimes played for deceased adults, a short description was obtained.

Adoption Ball Game

Information from E.S.: This is a game between the Whites and Blacks. The players get painted up to prepare for the game, which is held early in the morning. The Whites paint with sticky white mud from a spring. They squeeze this out and work it like clay and then put it all over the face. Sometimes they will also paint their whole body. The Black painters use wood charcoal, which they soak in water, then knead it, and then it is pure black and they paint it over their faces. Only men do this. They do it so there won't be any mistake about who they are playing.

This is a shinny ball game, played without sticks. While the preparations for the game and the game itself is going on, somewhere back in the village they are cooking. [Today it would be back at the Indian house.] Whoever wins the game gets to eat the cooking. The defeated ones don't get to come back and eat.

The game is put on maybe before sun-up. It is a good show. They start to play as soon as they can see the ball. They will be on hand, all lined up. One person holds the ball and makes a talk. He tells the players not to get too rough or to hurt each other. After this leader makes the talk, he steps out and throws the ball in the air and they all scramble for it. If the Whites get it, it is a sign that the others will be defeated. This game is played just with the hands and the ball. There are two goals and if a man can run all the way down and throw the ball over it, he does.

They only play this game about once every four or five years. They haven't played it in a long time. It is played in a dead person's memory and this is the only time it is played.

All of these games must be completed before the sun comes up, because the spirits only stay around at night. The judge, or leader, will inform the players ahead of time how many points they will play for, and this then sets a limit or the game.

Finally, it is not necessary to adopt someone at these adoptions. Whether they choose to or not is left to the surviving relatives of the deceased. But they do hold the ceremony regardless of whether or not they adopt an individual, for the ceremony is necessary in order to send the spirit to the spirit world.

Feeding the Dead, ǝɛ̌ipɛkokuɛokuɛ

Reference has been made several times, in passing, to a ceremony for feeding the dead. The information on this is inadequate, but "If the dead are not fed they go hungry and are out there almost begging, and they have to go out and eat the foam from the rivers. So one should feed the dead at least four years after they died and forever after that."

Some particular relative of the deceased is given the responsibility of feeding him, and this is done by way of a small, individual feast held by that relative. He will prepare the food and ask only a few persons to come to his house and eat it. The portion for the deceased is set aside in the fire and a prayer is said to his spirit before they eat. After the meal, the guests leave.

Special Ceremonies for Soldiers

There are a number of ceremonies concerned specifically with the well-being of soldiers. Among these are a going-away feast, a welcome home feast, a feast for him while away, one which he gives to feed those he has killed, and a feast given for a soldier killed in battle. I never observed any of these, but did obtain some brief descriptions of some of them.

Welcome Home for a Soldier, ǝhoskąpiač

> For this they use turkey instead of dog. The soldier gives it himself. He buys the groceries, and selects four cooks of servant clans and also gets a man to pray. The cooks go out the evening before to call on people to eat the next day. These can be anyone. They do not use invitation sticks for this, but today they usually give them money for gasoline. They usually ask as many as ten, men, women and children.
>
> The first thing the soldier does is bring a turkey in the evening before and hang it on the west side of the house so the men and women of the house will know there is a feast the next day.
>
> Come morning, the cooks come in, when the sun is way up high. They put the turkey on to boil with pounded pink corn. There is no prayer while they put it on, but the pray man is in the house with the soldier. It cooks for three or four hours, and there could be singing. It depends on the boy. He may ask the pray man to sing while the food is cooking; and if so, he will open the bundle and sing. They use the rattle, but no drum. The soldier dances and blows the flute as he dances.
>
> When the food is cooked, they dish it out and the cooks call people in to eat. There are two dishes, north and south. Everybody sits according to clan. The Eagles and Water on the south and the rest on the north. The soldier does not eat.

The man prays before they eat. There is no food put by the fire. Then they eat, which takes about thirty minutes. Then he prays again and everybody is dismissed. The prayer is about the soldier's safety, and it is sort of a thanksgiving feast.

The going away feast is also given by the soldier himself. This is like the welcome home feast except that the food is dog and corn and the soldier does not ever dance at this. Also, of course, the prayers are different, being to ask protection for the soldier this time.

Feast for a Soldier While Away, ðehasɛnoč

Any relative of the soldier can give one of these for him while he is away, praying for his safety and protection. The person who gives it sits on the west in his place. These can be done any time of the year and the same person can give it or can ask another relative to do so.

They just use one dog for this. The pray man sings and maybe three or four of his clan members that he has asked help him. They all sit on the west and sing while the food is cooking. The songs are travelling songs about going away and the battlefield, the same ones as used for the welcome home feast.

When the food is done, it is put in two basins and some people are asked in to eat. The pray man prays, they eat, and the pray man prays again; then they go.

Soldier's Feast for the Dead, ðecipɛkokuɛč

A soldier decides to give this himself. Generally they all give them.[66] It is for him to feed those he has killed.

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[66] Another Indian once said to me, "If you once feed the dead [you killed in the war] you won't have bad luck. Like R., he never has and he has run crazy. That is why the whites that have been overseas get all worried and unhappy when they come back."

He buys all the groceries to be used. He selects two cooks from his servant clan, and a man to pray. The soldier builds a fire in the house the night before, a flint fire. The cooks arrive before dawn, and the pray man has to be there to offer a prayer while the men put on the food. The food is about a cup full of corn and a pound of meat. It is cooked in one pot.

While the food cooks, after the pray man has prayed, he sits on the west with the soldier. They can chatter awhile.

A little after the meat and corn are done (it takes about two hours), the soldier will ask his sister or an aunt [either maternal or paternal today] to come in and make one or two pieces of fry bread. The woman leaves as soon as the bread is done. No women eat at this.

The cooks go out and call the men folks to eat. Anyone around there that is male eats. They could have been asked to come the day before. They eat before noon. There is one big pan and all sit on the south and eat. The soldier doesn't eat, but the man who prays does. He prays before and after. The food is put by the fire before they eat and afterwards is pushed to the flames by a stick.

Then they all go out and go home.

The soldier does this three times a year. The only difference between this and feeding the dead is that he doesn't cook so much and only the men eat. Also, when they feed the dead they eat right after sundown at night and cook what the dead people liked.

If a soldier is killed in battle, they do not have a regular adoption for him, for it is felt that he is taken care of by the Creator without it. However, they do hold a "sing" or funeral for him, and some do hold evening feasts for the dead to feed him. When a soldier is killed, his mother and father give the funeral feast.

Funeral Feast for a Soldier Dying in Battle

The parents take food to the headman of the deceased's church bundle and he will do the singing and praying. Just one cook of the servant clan to the soldier will be used and only a few people, maybe three or four, will eat. Also the cook and the headman do.

The songs are sung all night at a funeral, but these are sung during the morning while the food is cooking for this. There is just one pot of soup, and it is always dog.

The father goes in and sits on the west with the headman, and the singing is done with the bundle open and using the rattle for accompaniment. The mother stays outside.

They eat at noon, and it is over. Then you could say that he is forgotten through feast and adoption and dance but is in the Creator's care, which is better than the living would give him. If he was bad, his sins wouldn't count. The battle took them away.

Also, with respect to soldiers killed in battle, I was told:

The soldier who dies overseas is also without tobacco. They don't hold an adoption for boys killed in battle. They give a feast to tell the Creator the boy has been killed and explain it that the boy is now in His care and so you don't give adoptions or feasts after this one. So they don't evening feed them. They are counted as more pitiful than those dying from natural causes. The Creator watches over soldiers more than those dying naturally. A dead soldier has more power; he has more protection.

It would be very interesting to know just how much of the ritual surrounding soldiering is of continuous tradition and how much has had to be reconstituted. The old man who takes charge of most of the affairs that have to do with soldiers, C. W., fought for the Mexicans. I do not know of any that fought in World War I (though there may possibly be some). And certainly the occupation of soldiering has not had the prominent place in the lives of the Kickapoo in recent years

that it had in the past. C. W. is looked upon as the repository for information concerning soldiering. Just how much of what he leads them in is a part of an older complex and how much of it is not, I do not know. However, the veterans of World War II and of the Korean War provide the tribe with warriors again, and certainly the ceremonies surrounding soldiering have a prominent place today.

Another aspect which bears investigating is to what extent those who are drafted to serve in the peace-time army are considered to have the same qualifications as soldiers who actually fought during battles. While in Oklahoma in 1953 there was a youth on leave visiting his family. Before he left to return to his post in Japan, there was a public ceremony held for him, a farewell dance, which was of Pan-Indian character rather than belonging to this complex of Kickapoo ceremonies just described.

Box Supper and Farewell Dance

Observed: This was to raise money for the Green Corn dance. People began gathering at the community house (which is a house the federal government built) at about 8:00PM. The women brought fancy boxes with food in them to be auctioned. People sat around and talked until about 9:00 or 9:30, when enough had gathered to make it profitable to start the auction.

G.M. auctioned them off with the help of G. W. They sold for from seventy-five cents to three dollars, with women as well as men buying. Then they ate the contents of the boxes, with pretty general sharing.

Then they announced that they were having a dance for a soldier, L. J., who was about to leave from his furlough for Japan. They started to dance, which was around a Plains drum with Plains songs and no fire. G. W. then announced

that they would have four songs for L. J. and called for donations for a gift for him to be put on the table while the songs were playing. This was done.

Then L. J. and his parents were arranged in a row to the west of the singers, facing east, with L. J. on the south, next his mother, and then his father. They had a prayer song, after which everybody went by to shake hands and wish L. J. well.

Then G. W. made a speech, and presented him with the money. G. W. talked about the boy going away and how he would think of home; telling him he would meet all kinds of people, and to be friendly and smile, since people like that; that we had all gathered to give him a present; that it was not much, and so forth. Then he gave him the money that had been collected.

His father then prayed while everyone stood still. He was very emotional about it.

After this, the dance continued.

Then G. W. asked a Sioux woman to give a "little talk" and prayer. L. B. said she was L. J.'s mother-in-law, who worked at the mission. She did not seem to be very popular with the Kickapoo. She said a Christian prayer.

This was followed by more dancing which lasted until just before midnight, at which time people went home.

There is almost nothing Kickapoo about this affair. It was the only general gathering I ever witnessed at the community house, all of their own ceremonies always being held at an Indian house. The drum was the Plains variety, as were the songs and dances. And the only speech in the Kickapoo language was the father's prayer. Whether or not the family also held any of the rituals already described as being for soldiers, I do not know.

Friendship ceremony

There is another ceremony that was described to me, which is performed when an individual wants to establish a very close tie with someone of the same sex.

Friendship Ceremony

This ceremony is given if one man (or woman) wants to make a friend out of another.

It takes one dog. This is cooked inside the house by appointed cooks of the servant clan to the person making the friend. It is usually two cooks, but they can appoint anybody to help them.

The man who wants to make a friend selects food, two Indian shirts (which his wife makes), moccasins, leggings, breech cloth, belt, blanket-shawl, a new handkerchief or neck scarf, a long string of beads to wear around under the arm, and formerly also a straw hat. If it is a woman, they select food, enough material for two dresses, ribbons, combs, jewelry, shawl, moccasins, and a belt, and also formerly one deer hide which had already been tanned and cleaned.

He gets this stuff and puts it at his house on the west scaffold. He gets them ready and they sit there all day. He invites people to come and eat, and these could be anybody not in his clan. They can come any time of day, but they have to eat before the sun goes down.

About four o'clock they start dishing out the soup. He tells the invited ones to come in. He prays about an hour, with a different prayer at the end where he tells about picking out a certain person to be his friend. He tries to make it understood that this person will from now on be the same as him, taking him in the family like. The friend is there sitting beside the host. If it is a woman who is giving it, she gets a man of the opposite clan to pray for her. He does not use the rattle for this, though it is in front of him. He puts tobacco on the fire before he prays and then sits down on the west end and prays.

He and his friend sit on the west side, and two or three members of the host's clan. The bundle will be open and right in front of the center pole of the Indian house. They leave a fresh-cut hickory stick about four inches long stuck right in front of the center pole of the Indian house on the east side of the pole. The little stick in this case stands for a person (like in the adoption). They get a clean one for every ceremony and after it is through they throw it away at the southwest corner of the house outside where they throw the bones.

After he prays about an hour, they eat the dog. The one chosen to be the friend does not eat, but the host does. But the others on the west side do nct eat either.

The host appoints a man to dress the friend, and the dresser has to be of the servant clan to the host. He dresses the friend while all look on. Then the host hands the friend the groceries from under the bench at the west end of the house. After he is dressed and has the food given him, everybody goes and shakes hands with the friend and then they all go back and sit down. The host prays again for about thirty minutes with first using the tobacco and then everybody is dismissed.

After that, the two are good friends and help each other out. Friends can be used in the same clan whether they belong or not. They can take part in the same side of things. The one who is taken in as a friend will be "two-sided"; the one who took him in will only belong to his own clan.

The ceremony is the same for a woman, only if the friend is a woman, they get another woman to dress her. And of course, they put the clothes on over the ones the woman has on. A man chosen to be a friend usually goes out and takes a bath and gets really cleaned up.

Those on the west side act as judges to see that the host does things right. And the judges can be either men or women.

The similarities between this and the adoption ceremonies is evident. The fact that the host eats at this ritual but the one being befriended does not is interesting, for usually the host does not eat

at a function he gives, whereas the invited ones do. So that, in accordance with the two of them becoming "the same" by virtue of the ceremony, they interchange the normal roles for this part of the ritual.

Participation in Kickapoo Ceremonies

Now that we have looked at the rituals that are part of the culture of the Oklahoma Kickapoo, and have commented on the fact that it is felt to be an essential (if not the essential) aspect of being Kickapoo, it might be well to look at just how many of the Indians actually participate in these affairs.

Included in the census taken by the author in 1953 is information on which adults attend the ceremonies, and how regularly they do so. This is recorded in the following table.

Attendance	Number
Always come	142
Sometimes come	11
Come when home, or when can	4
Seldom come	1
Do not come	14
Moved to another town or State	10
Unknown	21
Total	203

Of those whose participation status is known, totalling 182 (including those who are not in Oklahoma), 78.02 per cent participate fully in the Kickapoo "doings," that is, are always present when there is a ritual or ceremonial affair. Another 8.79 per cent participate

part of the time, making a total of 86.81 per cent that engage in Kickapoo ceremonial life at least part of the time. This seems to be quite a large percentage, especially when one considers that these affairs are frequently of such a long duration that it must be very difficult for anyone who has responsibilities to a job. But even the younger men who have regular jobs will come out for these affairs and stay the whole night, with practically no sleep, and then go to work in the morning.

As a matter of fact, if we examine the participation according to age bracket, we find that there is no significant difference between the attendance of those over forty years of age and those under forty. This, it seems to me, illustrates how strong and meaningful this aspect of their lives still is.

Peyote

Some mention of the use of peyote should be made before leaving a discussion of their religious and ceremonial life. I would estimate that about half of the Oklahoma Kickapoo take part in peyote ceremonies on occasion. In general, it is the most conservative ones on the one hand and the most acculturated on the other that do not use peyote. The most conservative ones do not because to them it is not Kickapoo and is therefore not acceptable; and the most acculturated, those who have accepted more white ways, tend to affiliate themselves with a white religion (usually Baptist) rather than another Indian one. It is,

therefore, the in-between group that is using peyote. This group is still active in Kickapoo religion, but will use peyote in addition. From what I gathered about its use, it seems to function primarily in a health context; that is, peyote ceremonies are generally held in order to seek supernatural aid for health and physical well-being. People who have never used it but who are ill with something they have been unable to cure are apt to turn to it. (I know of two such cases.) In this sense, then, it is an addition to, rather than a substitute for, Kickapoo rituals; and for this reason, it does not seem to conflict with Kickapoo religion to those who use it. The only case that came to my attention where peyote ritual was substituted for Kickapoo ritual is in the case of naming infants, and there have been a few babies named with peyote.

I have never heard of anyone having a funeral or adoption using peyote. And never having witnessed any peyote ceremonies, I do not know any of the details of this practice as it appears in this group.

CHAPTER VIII

DOCTORING AND MISCELLANEOUS BELIEFS

Doctoring

There are four individuals among the Oklahoma Kickapoo who still practice the art of healing, one youth who is learning the art from his classificatory father, and three young women who are learning from their grandmother. Of those who practice it, three are women and one is a man. (It is possible, of course, that there are others I did not learn about.) Of these, three belong to a "special doctoring bundle," and one woman does not.

There are two main methods of curing used; one is the sweat lodge, and one is a combination of the use of herbs, sucking-out, and prayer songs.

For sweating, they build a small frame, similar to the one for the winter house only smaller in size, and cover it with either canvas or mats so that every crack is covered tight. The patient is placed inside this hut, and stones are heated outside in a fire. While the stones are heating, they also boil up what they call "wild mint weed" in a large kettle. The patient sits inside the hut, and when the stones are very hot, they are passed into the hut on a shovel. The doctor then ladles out the hoiled herb and pours it over

the hot rocks. "It really makes you sweat and you feel good all over when you come out. Even your eyes feel good and the sky looks different. All your aches and pains are gone." There are no religious rites used in connection with this.

The other form of doctoring is much more complicated and lengthy. If an individual wants someone to doctor him, he will take some Indian tobacco and some other offerings (perhaps some material or some flour, etc.) to the doctor. The doctor can either reject or accept the task at this point. The actual curing may be done in an Indian house, or it may be done in a special hut built in the wilderness away from everyone else. The latter is usually reserved for the cases that are considered very severe.

If the doctoring is done in the Indian house, only the patient, the doctor, two or three men to help sing, and a servant to do the cooking are allowed in the house. After these eat at noon, the cook puts two little kettles with herbs in them on to boil over the fire. The doctor and his singers sing prayer songs while the medicine is brewing. The sick one, meanwhile, lies on the south scaffold with his head at the west, facing east. When the prayer songs are over, the herb tea is given to the patient, followed by a prayer asking for help from the Manitou to aid the patient in getting well; or, if it is His will, to let him die. "They leave it up to the Creator, but strive to get him well."

For the next three days, if necessary (that is, if the patient is not yet well), the doctor returns to the house. If the patient did not recover from the first day's treatment, perhaps he will brew another tea for him. Or he may try applying Angelica root externally. Or if the patient has a localized pain, the doctor will get a cow horn (part of the bundle?) and suck the irritation out through it. "It is always yellow and he will spit it in the fire, to burn it." "Sometimes they claim they suck out a hair or a thread; and if they do, they tell the patient, if they are good doctors, that he was witched."

In four days of treatment, the patient "gets up and is well."

The doctor always fasts while treating a patient, and the patient eats plain food with no sugar or salt or grease.

In the case of the seriously ill, a small hut is built in the wilderness and the doctor and patient retire to it. The rationale for this is that the patient should be kept away from possible contamination by others (rather than that he might do the contaminating, as in western rationale for isolating the sick). The ones most dangerous to the patient are menstruating women, who are always potentially dangerous, and widows and widowers. The doctor does all of the patient's cooking and washing while he is treating him, unless the doctor is a man, in which case the doctor's wife will do this.

It is said that those who handle Indian medicine are left deformed. This deformity is felt to be a result of so much contact with the medicine in chewing it and rubbing it, etc. Of one woman doctor,

I was told: "She is crippled. She has stayed up so long with patients that one of her hips cramped and stayed that way." Their skin is also said to get splotchy from so much contact with medicine.

For a headache, the doctor chews medicine and spits it out and flings it on the patient.

Notes on Plants and their Uses as Charms and Medicines

I was informed that the Kickapoo do not use any animal products in curing, but use only plant medicines. Notes on the ones that were brought to my attention follow.

Angelica: Angelica has many uses. It is carried as protection, primarily against witches. The medicine chewed for headaches (as above) is Angelica. It can be used for luck in gambling; or rubbed on the legs to make one a fast runner or a good dancer. It is also thought to be effective as a love potion, when fed to the desired person. Placed on a window sill or at the head of one's sleeping place it will fend off witches. The root is dug early in the morning, having sprinkled Indian tobacco around the leaves on top and spoken to it "like a person." It is dried for use.

Ginseng root (Panax quinquefolius):[67] This is used for medicine, root, leaves and all. ("It can be used as a charm, but the Kickapoo

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[67] I am indebted to Volney H. Jones for the botanical identification of the plants described in this chapter.

don't use it as a charm. They only use tobacco and Angelica for protection. Some people carry peyote, but they aren't supposed to.") It is used to give to small children "when they are fretty over getting a new brother or sister." It is also given to babies to prevent slobbering. Also, they have a girl dig up one of these roots when she first menstruates; if the root is forked, her first child will be a boy; if it is just one straight piece, it will be a girl.

Artemisia ludoviciana: This is used to stop bleeding. It is crumbled up and powdered, mixed with water, and applied to the wound.

Life-of-everlasting (Anaphalis margaretacea): This plant is used for sweating when they doctor in a sweat lodge. It is also burned to smoke away spirits, as for example, after a dead body has been removed from a home.

Cedar: This is also used to smoke away spirits.

White oak: White oak is used for diarrhea. The inner bark is boiled into a strong tea and ingested.

Sycamore: The balls of the sycamore, picked from a certain tree and at a certain time of year, form an ingredient in many medicine bundles. Boiled and poured into the nose of a puppy it will make the puppy a good tracker, and mean. This treatment also enables dogs to recognize witches. A good witch dog will lunge at the throat of any witch that comes into the yard.

Black walnut: The inside layer of bark, chipped from the east side of the tree, and boiled, makes a good laxative. It is also used for dye.

Slippery Elm: This is used for pain. The inside bark is chopped very fine and put on the painful part. "It will stick to you and ease the pain. It is soothing and will sort of stretch the skin and you can feel it pulling."

Unidentified plants: There are two of these. The first one is an herb for use with the medicine bundles. It is a root that grows in Mexico and Texas, is long and black, and smells sweet like perfume. "A woman hardly sees these."

The other is a "slimy root which they give women who are going to have babies so they will slip out easy. They take it as soon as they start getting sick, and they know when they are going to have babies by keeping track of it by the moon."

There are two women who know a medicine that is effective in enabling a woman to have children. The men never take medicine for sterility.

With respect to medicine in general, when one picks it or cuts it, he should never take more than he needs. They say you are hurting the plant. It is said to know how much one needs and if an individual takes more than is needed, the next time that person will have a hard time finding it. Medicine moves and never stays in one place.

In addition, the Kickapoo always circle an object from the east before using it for religious purposes. They will go from east to south to west to north to east again, thereby making a complete circle of the plant before cutting or pulling any of it for use. (The same routine used to be necessary before entering an Indian house, also; one had to circle it completely outside in this manner before entering. The circling still applies inside of the house; that is, one enters from the east and always makes a complete circuit of the fire before leaving it.)

Miscellaneous Beliefs

I have made no attempt to analyze or trace sources for any of the following; they are included here for their intrinsic interest.

Twins: Twins are sacred. They are not people at all but are spirits that came into the house to help. Usually one dies if they are born. The oldest one is apt to be silly.

Baby teeth: When children lose their teeth, they are supposed to run around the house four times, starting from the east, and then throw the tooth up over the house from the east after four times around. As they throw the teeth, they call to a garter snake saying: "Let's exchange teeth." They do this every time they lose a tooth.[68]

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[68] "Similarly, I have often heard of children being told to exchange their teeth with those of garter snakes. The same thing occurs among the Mexican Kickapoo of Oklahoma." Michelson 1937:2.

Combing hair: A woman should always comb her hair outdoors, since hair is the dirtiest part of a woman. It will make a man sick and weak if it touches him. "Maybe that is why they are sick and weakly nowadays."

Burning and cremating: The Kickapoo say you should never burn people, alive or dead, for there will come a time when we all will burn. You should let people turn back to dust. And one should never burn old clothes or hair or anything that touches the body.

Crops: Children are lucky for crops. It is said that if a child has a row of corn he planted in a field, it will keep weevils and other insects out of the whole field. Also, if a child plants pumpkin seeds, it is said that the plant will have an unusually large yield. On the other hand, menstruating women are not allowed in a garden or the plants will wilt.

Whistling: Never whistle at night since that calls the spirits to you. They will hear you whistle and take you with them.

Death: When someone dies, one should not sew or clean house or comb his hair early in the morning. This is because the person who died will arrive at the place of the dead then; and "he will be asked how are the people back there; and the dead one will tell them you were sewing and getting ready, and they will say: 'Oh, she is getting ready; she will be next.'"

Clothing: If you wear your shoes on the wrong feet, "If you are on a road or trail at night you will meet what you think is a bear, though it will really be a stump or person but you will think it is a bear." If you wear your clothes wrong-side-out, you will get new ones.

Telling tales: If one tells stories in summer, all kinds of little creatures like snails or scorpions or snakes will crawl in bed with him. They will not hurt him, just crawl all over him. It is all right to tell them in the winter.

Falling star: "Do not point out a falling star, since if the Creator overlooks anything bad about you when you die, the star will remind Him of it. He is a tattle tale, but he tells the truth."

Soul: The older Indians are afraid to have their picture taken for fear it will steal their soul. I was told, also, of a man who used to have trances in which his soul would leave his body and go and talk to those who had died. He said he could see his body lying there when he came back to get in it.

Drawing: The Kickapoo are not supposed to draw on the ground. They say it is their grandmother and will hurt her.

Witches: On leaving a woman's house one night, a small dog with no tail stayed in front of the car and would not move out of the way. One of the Indians in the car said it must be a witch, whereupon another said to run over it and if it were, they would hear of someone who had been run over the next day.

Rain: If you kill a water turtle or water snake, or find one dead and turn it over on its back, it will rain.

Little horned toads: If you catch one and put it on the palm of your hand it will stay still. Then one should ask it how he will be laid out when he is dead, and the toad will either lie on its back or sideways or put its limbs out. This will indicate how the questioner will be laid out when he dies.

Various Lore about Birds

The Kickapoo do not imitate birds, for they feel that if one does, he will have bad luck or get injured. To them, the various birds all mean different things and many of them are omens of things to come.

The turtle dove, they say, is always crying for her family because she lost them all in the flood. She is looking for them.

The blue jay is ornery and mischievous and always picking on other birds.

The red bird (cardinal) is a "flap-your-fanny" and all dolled up and looking for a man.

Sparrows are the white man's bird.

The mocking bird "once had a language, but she became ill. She was so ill that the other birds came to visit her. And they spoke different languages, and she was so ill and in a daze that she picked up their languages."

The wood thrush is called the rain crow. They say that she was very inquisitive and meddled in the affairs of the other birds.

> They decided to get rid of her and threw a white powder on her and told her to leave and never come back. And she yelled back, "You just made me pretty and I'm not going to leave but stay here with the rest." And now she was so pretty the other birds fell in love with her and told her she must stay and make it rain for them. Now you hardly hear them except late in the evening before it rains.

The humming bird has shrunk. This is a result of her having tripped on a vine during a race. She could not get loose and stayed there so long that she shrank from lack of food and water.

The red-headed woodpecker "was preparing to go to a dance, and she painted herself to make herself pretty to make everybody like her. And she spilled the powdered paint all over her head, so it is red."

The hoot owl, if seen in the day, is bringing a message to beware of an accident or some other bad luck.

The prairie owl is a sign of death if heard. "They always whistle to the south of the house."

The screech owl, if heard at night, indicates that a visitor is coming.

To see the eagle is a sign of good luck. It will, for example, bring success on a hunting expedition.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

We are now in a position to evaluate this material on the Kickapoo with reference to the questions posed at the beginning of this study. It will be remembered that these were: (1) What has happened to this tribe historically? (2) What is the culture of the Oklahoma group today? (3) Are they still to be considered a conservative group; in other words, do they still retain much of what is Indian as opposed to what is non-Indian? And (4) if they are still conservative as compared with other groups in Oklahoma, how is this to be explained?

History

Perhaps the most outstanding characteristics of the history of the Kickapoo are (a) the extent to which they migrated during the historical period, in terms of both frequency and distance, (b) the extent of their associations and contact with non-Kickapoo, and (c) their aggressiveness in the face of the incursions of the Europeans and their extreme reluctance to accept the domination of the whites.

It will be remembered that the Kickapoo began their migrations just prior to European contact in 1640 and did not end these until the 1870's. Their starting point seems to have been in the region of

southern Michigan and northern Illinois-Indiana. From there they went to the southern Wisconsin, northern Illinois area, where they remained for close to sixty years. In the early part of the eighteenth century they began moving again, this time south and east. Some of them were for a time in northern Ohio, while others remained in northern Illinois. After a succession of battles with the Illinois tribes, the latter were finally almost completely annihilated; and the Kickapoo, along with some other Central Algonkin tribes, moved into the Illinois country, the Kickapoo being specifically in central and eastern Illinois and western and central Indiana. Here they remained from the middle of the eighteenth century until their removal west of the Mississippi by the United States government in the third decade of the nineteenth century. Some time during their stay in this Illinois country, some group or groups of Kickapoo migrated to the southwest into what is now Oklahoma, Texas and Mexico. This group that the government moved was located in Missouri for a decade, although this group also was in the habit of roving into the Southwest on hunting expeditions. In the 1830's the Missouri land was exchanged for lands in Kansas, and only at this time did the final group of Kickapoo leave Illinois. Meanwhile there was at least one group permanently in what is now Texas.

With the coming of the Civil War, most of the Kickapoo, from Kansas as well as the Southwest, migrated to Mexico. And here the majority of them remained until half of them were again removed by the United States government, this time to the territory of Oklahoma.

Subsequently, the Oklahoma group was joined by the more conservative Kickapoo from Kansas. When the government decided to allot their land in Oklahoma, most of them again retired to Mexico, so that in the first decade of the twentieth century most of the Kickapoo were again in Mexico. This time the Oklahoma element was not permitted by the Mexican government to settle with the "native Mexican" Kickapoo, so they purchased land in Sonora. Here the community lasted only until the nineteen twenties, by which time most of them had returned to Oklahoma. Since that time, the Kickapoo have remained relatively settled, although there has always been rather frequent contact between the Mexican group in Coahuila and the Oklahoma group near Shawnee.

As to their contacts with other groups of people, these varied rather closely with the geographical location of the Kickapoo. In the early contact period, after initial hostility towards the French, the Kickapoo became very dependent upon them for trade goods. This dependence led eventually to close positive relations with the French. The Kickapoo also had very close political and cultural ties with the Miami, Mascoutin, Sac and Fox. In addition, groups of Kickapoo were associated at one time or another during this early historical period with most of the other Central Algonkin tribes.

After Pontiac's War, when the Kickapoo were settled in the Illinois country, and the French traders had diminished in the area, the Kickapoo shifted their dependence for trade goods (and their

allegiance along with it) to the British. Their tribal associations during this period were primarily with Sac, Fox, Potawatomi, Miami, Wea, Piankeshaw and, to some extent, the Shawnee. This period of associations finally came to an end with the uprising of Tecumseh's associated bands and the War of 1812.[69]

And finally, came the associations with both Americans and Mexicans in the Southwest. Although they also maintained some contact with the Potawatomi, Sac, Fox and Shawnee during this later period in their history, they also formed close associations with both the Creek and Cherokee. Subsequent to their settlement in Mexico and in Oklahoma, their contacts and, in some cases, alliances, have remained with Mexicans, Americans, Sac, Fox, and Shawnee.

Included among the Indian groups that the Kickapoo fought during their history (and in chronological order) are: the Iroquois while still in or near Michigan; the Sioux while in Wisconsin; the Illinois tribes while in northern Illinois; the Cherokee while in Illinois country; the Osage while in Missouri, Kansas and the Southwest; and the Comanche and Mescalero and Lipan Apache while in Mexico. And, of course, they also fought in succession the French, British, and Americans.

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[69] It is rather interesting to note that both of these famous Indian uprisings, i.e., Pontiac's War and the Battle of Tippecanoe, were stimulated by European powers that were in danger of losing their claim to the territory involved. In Pontiac's case the aid and comfort came from the French and in Tecumseh's from the British. And in both instances, the European powers involved did lose their hold over the territory involved shortly after the respective wars.

Their extreme reluctance to accept the incursions and domination of the Europeans and Americans is indicated by several facts. They participated with vigor in all of the Indian uprisings that occurred in the areas they were in (Pontiac's, Tecumseh's, and Black Hawk's). In addition, the two times the United States forcibly removed the Kickapoo, once from Illinois country and once from Mexico, at least half of the tribe stayed behind and refused to move. And finally, when white domination seemed inevitable, first in Illinois and then later at the time of allotment in Oklahoma, the Kickapoo still resisted, in these cases by voluntary removal into regions where the whites were not yet dominant. Furthermore, once established on reservations, they resisted strenuously the efforts of the government and various church organizations to educate them or to control them in any way.

One other interesting aspect of their history is that throughout most of the historical period they have been separated into more than one distinct group This separation is first noted in the beginning of the eighteenth century with their division into the Prairie and Wabash bands, continues with the later separation of the southwestern group from those remaining in what is now the central United States, and remains in the present with the distinction between the Mexican and Oklahoma groups.

Although we now have a more complete history of the Kickapoo than has been available previously, it is still not by any means exhaustive. There is more information available that I was unable to

obtain. For example, the National Archives in Washington, D.C., undoubtedly contain information that is not available elsewhere. There are also probably records in Mexico and in Spain that would help to answer some of the remaining questions about the history of the Kickapoo in the Southwest in the earlier periods. And the records on file with the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be examined for the reservation period, which was rather sparsely treated in this monograph. It would be interesting to attempt to trace the various distinct groups through the historical periods to see whether or not there is any consistency or continuity in a particular group. Certainly the divisions in the Southwest have not been adequately traced.

It would also be worthwhile to attempt to isolate, insofar as possible, the influence on Kickapoo culture of the various groups they associated with or came in contact with during their history.

And finally, it might be enlightening to compare their history with that of other closely allied groups, as for example the Sac or Fox, to see what differences in these groups as they are today might be attributable to historical factors.

Contemporary Conditions

The question of the nature of the culture of the Oklahoma Kickapoo has been answered (insofar as is possible with the somewhat limited data) in the major portion of the body of this paper. They do retain a rather surprising amount of Indian culture, although how much of this

was specifically Kickapoo in pre-historic times it is impossible to say. Certainly it would be unreasonable to assume that no acculturation resulted from their numerous contacts with other tribes.

That the Kickapoo are much more conservative than the neighboring Algonkin Indians is quite apparent. They are the only group, of the Sac, Fox, Shawnee, Potawatomi and Kickapoo still remaining in this part of Oklahoma, that still builds Indian houses, that does any of the true native handicraft (for example, the weaving of reed mats as opposed to bead work), that dresses as extensively in what is now considered to be Indian dress, or has retained such a rich ceremonial life. The Kickapoo language is still learned in childhood by almost the whole group, spoken almost exclusively by the adults among themselves, and remains for many of them their only language.

In summarizing their contemporary condition, we note first that technology is the area of culture that has been most strongly influenced by western culture; as a matter of fact, their technology is primarily western now.

Their economic system, likewise, has been very much altered. Although some of them still do subsistence farming and although goods and services are still exchanged within the tribe according to the customs of kinship, the Kickapoo have otherwise entered completely into the cash economy of western culture.

Their social organization has also been changed by contact with western culture, although not to the same extent as the technology.

The system of relationships and the terminology that goes with it are almost unchanged. But the roles that go with the classificatory kin have certainly been modified and have lost much of their significance. We noted that two major changes have occurred. The nuclear family now tends to be stronger than the extended family; and the strength of lineal ties is shifting from the paternal to the maternal side. Both of these changes seem to be at least partially due to the marginal position of the Kickapoo in the western economic system.

Under a system of subsistence agriculture, extended relatives add their productive labor to any family. But in a money economy the same relatives, unless they are also wage earners, become an economic burden. And among the Kickapoo, the individual family's income is so low that there is no surplus beyond what is needed to support the nuclear family.

Likewise, the current maternal emphasis in the family is probably due at least in part to the instability of the men in the western economic system. In traditional Kickapoo culture men were hunters and warriors. Today, the majority of the men do not like wage-earning occupations, nor have they developed any of the skills necessary to obtain very profitable jobs. They do not, therefore, fill the role of economic provider for their families. As a matter of fact, they do not have an important role in the family, for whom they can no longer hunt game for subsistence nor provide defense against enemies. It is probably this absence of any other

role that has led to the strong emphasis on the male's ceremonial role. Women, on the other hand, no matter how insecure their position in the economic system, still have the role of nurturing the children; their importance in the family has not lessened. It is probably just this difference in the significance of men and women that has caused so much of the religion to be kept secret from the women, since it is the last remaining area of male importance.

Finally, the religious and ceremonial life has been the least affected by westernization. There has certainly been some Christian influence. But the Kickapoo religion cannot be considered in any sense a variety of Christianity. And it is a very strong and active religion; much time, effort, and money are put into religious activities in which most of the group participate.

This brings us to an important characteristic of the modern Kickapoo: in many respects they are like a religious sect. To them, anything that is "Kickapoo" is sacred and should be hidden from persons who are not Kickapoo. On ceremonial occasions those material items that are of Kickapoo derivation (or thought to be) are the proper things to use, and these, of course, now include a great many things that formerly were purely mundane. They now treat the wickiup like a church, a building to be approached and used with reverence. Ceremonies are always held in the Indian-style house, never in a white-style one; one always enters it from the east and completely circles the fire before leaving; a menstruating woman

does not use the Indian house nowadays, not so much to protect the others within it or any medicine bundles that might be there, but actually so as not to defile the house itself; and the materials used to build the house are always "taken care of in the proper manner" when a house is dismantled. Today even the so-called "fun-dancing" is done, as one old man put it, "with hearts devotional".

It is not surprising that the religious aspect of their culture is the least affected by westernization. Religious organizations frequently function as a mechanism for perpetuating a social group that would otherwise disintegrate. Examples of such religious groups are widely known in the western world. These range from such survivals as the Greek or Armenian churches in the United States (which act as ethnic centers by perpetuating the native languages, performing the life crisis rites for individuals, and as the center for many of the group's social activities); through such nationalistic movements as the Black Muslims; to the close parallels to the Kickapoo situation found among such American Indian groups as the Iroquois with their adherence to the Handsome Lake religion. These religions all function to promote the solidarity of a social group that would otherwise lose its identity.

Given the conservatism of the Kickapoo, it still remains to explain why they are so much more conservative than their neighbors. It seems to me that the answer lies in their history, their original culture pattern, and their present situation.

During the historical period they became extremely hostile to the whites and very resistant to anything western. The Kickapoo have self-consciously tried to protect even the knowledge of their culture from the surrounding whites ever since they have been settled in Oklahoma. They build their homes away from the view of the nearby roads. They have tried to prevent intermarriage as much as possible. They would not send their children to school until they were forced to. They refused to be enrolled with the agency, even when it meant being deprived of rations. They have, essentially, "gone underground".

With respect to the significance of their original culture pattern, it should be remembered that from our earliest knowledge of them they were a semi-nomadic group, settled in villages for the seasons of planting and harvesting and away hunting the rest of the time. This meant that their ceremonial activities (and note here that this is still the most conservative aspect of their culture) were largely seasonal. Their adjustment to western economy, at least in good measure, has been a combination of, again, sedentary agriculture and seasonal movements, though now of migra ory labor. Notice has already been taken of the fact that those who do migratory labor do not leave Oklahoma until the spring ceremonies are completed; and these same persons will try to return for the harvest ceremonies. In this sense, then, there has been an adjustment of the new requirements to fit the old cultural pattern.

Finally, it is significant that there has remained an isolated community of Kickapoo culture in Mexico. All the reports that have been made on the Nacimiento group concur in the fact that the Mexican government has left the Kickapoo in Coahuila almost strictly alone, so that they are much less acculturated than the Oklahoma branch. Inasmuch as these Indians in Nacimiento are familial relatives of the Oklahoma Kickapoo, there has been much contact between the two groups. They visit back and forth; members of the Nacimiento community stop in Oklahoma on their way to do migratory labor in the United States; and individuals of the two groups occasionally intermarry. The net result of this situation has been that the Indian culture of the Oklahoma group has been constantly reinforced from a source of relatively "pure" Kickapoo Indian culture.

Suggested Problems

Although several questions about the Kickapoo have been answered in this study, there are still several interesting problems that remain. The most prominent of these problems, perhaps, is the condition of the Mexican Kickapoo proper. There has still not been an adequate field study done of this group. How do they differ from the Oklahoma Kickapoo? What differences between the two might be attributed to the differences in Mexican and American influences? What differences are due to differences in ecological adjustments?

Also, what is the cultural position of the Kickapoo with reference to the other Central Algonkin groups? It would be interesting if specific cultural influences due to the various groups with which they have been associated could be determined.

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