

The Social and Religious Status  
of Siouan Women Studied in  
the Light of the History and  
Environment of the Siouan  
Indians

by Cora Alice Taylor

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Master Thesis

History

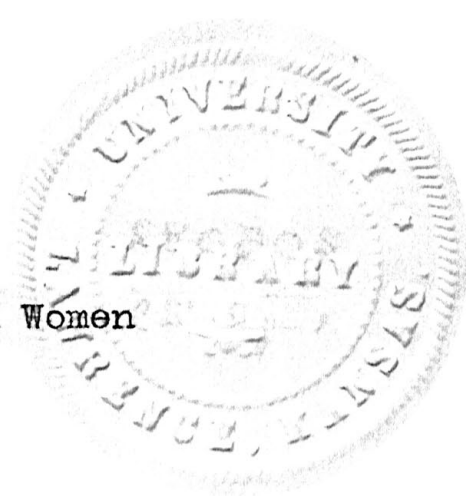
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## Introduction

It is the history and environment of a people that determine woman's position, and it is necessary to take these factors into account in the consideration of her place in the society of which she forms a part.

It is my purpose to bring together some facts concerning the social and religious position of the Siouan Indian women considered in the light of the history and environment of the Siouan tribes.

The available sources do not furnish as definite information about the life of these women as could be desired. The literature upon the various Indian tribes deals chiefly with the life and activities of the men and touches but lightly upon those of the women. There are several reasons for this. First of all is the fact that the Indians have been studied chiefly by men, who are naturally more interested in the activities of the Indian men than in those of the women. Besides this the men are more easily approached by strangers than the women. Indeed, the reticence and the rules of propriety by which the Indian women are hedged about are a constant hindrance to a man who tries to study them at first hand. Even women find the men more ready to talk

about themselves and their activities than the women. Consequently among the women who have written about Indians there has been a tendency to follow the lines already traced out by men; while the few who have given their attention to the life of the women, have only made small beginnings and there is still much to be added to their work before we shall have an adequate description of the life of the women of any of the Indian tribes. For the purposes of this discussion, however, full details of the daily life of the Siouan women are not essential. There has been enough written to show, in the main, what the social and religious status of the Indian women was and that it was in a great measure determined by the history and environment of the Siouan tribes.

A brief summary of the history and wanderings of the Siouan Indians will necessarily form a part of the discussion of this subject. Such a summary will exclude much that is interesting, in order to contain within a narrow compass what is essential to the main purpose of the discussion. The history presented is based upon the conclusions of the most careful investigators in the fields of American Philology and Ethnology taken in connection with the most authentic accounts of the explorers who first came in contact with the Indians; and it deals chiefly with the movements of the tribes before they were influenced by the Whites. The history of the long conflict between the Indians and the Europeans is dismissed with little more than the mere mention of results.

Primitive man depends upon his immediate environment for all of his means of existence, and his chief efforts are put forth in order to supply his wants out of the means his environment affords. Out of these efforts grow many of the important social and religious ideas of the important social and religious ideas of the people. It is, therefore, necessary in a discussion of this kind, to consider the environment of the Siouan tribes and what resources nature supplied in the various localities they inhabited.

The position of the women and their relation to the social and religious life of these tribes will necessarily occupy the most important place in this discussion.

My sources of information have been chiefly the works of scientific men and women published by the Bureau of Ethnology in its reports, Contributions, and Bulletins, in the reports of learned societies, and in scientific periodicals, and other works dealing with the life and history of the Siouan Indians, all of which will be found in the bibliography. A year of residence on a Siouan reservation, where I had the opportunity of observing the Indians as well as to make inquiry of others concerning their habits of life, enables me to estimate the relative value of the statements I find in the published works which relate to these Indians more

accurately than I otherwise could. I regret that lack of time has prevented my making a thorough examination of the popular periodical literature dealing with the Siouan Indians, for, while the scientific work is more direct in its statement of fact, the popular narrative frequently contains touches of real life that go far to illuminate the scientific page.

## History

The Siouan Indians are all of those tribes of North American Indians which speak languages belonging to the same linguistic stock as that spoken by the federation of tribes that called themselves Dakota, Nakota, or Lakota, according to the dialect of the tribe, and that were called by the Chippeway, Nadowe-see-wag ("snake-like ones" or "enemies"). This was corrupted by the Canadian French to "Nadowesioux", and finally abbreviated to "Soux",<sup>1</sup> Gallatin first employed the term as the name of a linguistic family in 1836.<sup>2</sup> Since then Powell, Pritchard, and others have followed his terminology.<sup>3</sup> However, among ethnologists the term, Sioux, is no longer used, while the adjective form, Siouan, is retained "to designate a great linguistic stock to which no other collective name, ----, has ever been definitely and justly applied."<sup>4</sup> Each tribe has its own individual designation, derived sometimes from the name of the members for themselves from the name applied to them by others.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>McGee, the Siouan Indians, 15th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (hereafter designated "Eth. Ann. 15"), 158.

<sup>2</sup>Gallatin, Synopsis of the Indian tribes of North America, Trans. Am. Antq. Soc., II, 1836 (hereafter designated "Gallatin"), 120.

<sup>3</sup>Powell, Eth. Ann. 7, 111.

<sup>4</sup>McGee, op. cit., 158.

<sup>5</sup>Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East, Bull. Bureau Eth. No. 22, 1894 (hereafter designated "Mooney, Eth. Bull. 22"), 6.

At the time of the discovery, the great body of the Siouan Indians occupied the central plain of North America from the Saskatchewan to the Arkansas, and from Lake Michigan to the Rocky Mountains.<sup>1</sup> DeSoto and his band, in 1540, were the first Europeans to come in contact with the Indians of this stock. They met the Kwapas on the right bank of the

Mississippi near the present sight of New  
 Location at  
 the time of the  
 discovery. Madrid.<sup>2</sup> In 1608, Captain John Smith met

with the Monocan confederacy of Siouan tribes in Virginia, and he refers to them as having been at war with Powhattan, the great Algonquin chief, the year before.<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh, also, must have come into contact with Siouan Indians when he visited the Carolinas, and it was probably from them that he learned the use of the noxious weed; for they occupied all of the Atlantic slope from the Great Pedee River in South Carolina to the valley of the Neuse in North Carolina. North of the narrow valley of the Neuse, which the Tuscaroras of the Iroquoian stock held, Siouan tribes occupied nearly all of that portion of Virginia and North Carolina which lies between the meridian of Washington and the Alleghany Mountains.<sup>4</sup> The Biloxi, who formerly occupied the southeast corner of Mississippi, also, belong to this stock.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>McGee, Eth. Ann. 15, 157; Powell Eth. Ann., Map; Gallatin, op.cit., Map.

<sup>2</sup>Schoolcraft, VI, 65, 66.

<sup>3</sup>Capt. John Smith, True Relation, 25.

<sup>4</sup>Moony, Eth. Bull. 22, Map.

<sup>5</sup>Gatschet, Biloxi M.S. 1886, Bureau Eth., referred to by Moony, Eth. Bull.



The relationship of these eastern and western tribes was not recognized until Horatio Hale, in 1872, noted the resemblance between the language of the Tutelo and that of the Dakota. His views were not accepted by ethnologists, however, until further research enabled him to present more conclusive evidence. In 1883, in a paper presented to the American Philosophical Society, he observed that "while the language of these (eastern) tribes is closely

allied to that of the Dakota, it bears  
Discovery of  
the relation be- evidence of being older in form."<sup>1</sup>  
tween the east-  
ern and western These investigations of Hale, together  
tribes. with those of Gatschet,<sup>2</sup> Mooney,<sup>3</sup> and  
others, have thoroughly established the relationship be-  
tween the eastern and western tribes of the Siouan Indians.  
It has been shown, first, that their languages belong to  
the same stock, and that those of the eastern tribes are  
the older; second, that wherever they are found, their re-  
ligious ideas and social institutions are so similar as to  
point to a common origin;<sup>4</sup> that the western tribes, es-  
pecially the Osages, whose traditions have been most care-  
fully studied, have traditions that at a remote period in  
their history they immigrated from the east.<sup>5</sup>

Linguistic evidence and tradition both point to the  
conclusion now generally accepted by ethnologists, that

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<sup>1</sup>Hale, Tutelo Tribe and Language, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc., XXI,  
1, quoted by McGee, Eth. Ann. 15, 159.

<sup>2</sup>Catabaw M.S. in Bureau of Eth. referred to by Mooney in op. sit.

<sup>3</sup>Eth. Bull. 22.

<sup>4</sup>McGee, Eth. Ann. 15.

<sup>5</sup>Mooney, Eth. Bull. 22.

the early home of the Siouan Indians was in the east, Mooney says, "amidst the eastern foothills of the Alleghanies, or at least as far eastward as the upper Ohio region."<sup>1</sup> In this eastern home, the race must have developed those sturdy qualities for which it has been noted wherever its Primitive home in the east tribes have wandered, and which has entitled the Siouan Indians to be called "the noblest of the Red men." Europeans from the first recognized them as brave warriors and skillful hunters, living chiefly by the products of the chase,<sup>2</sup> while the women supplemented the food supply by gathering such fruits, nuts, roots, and grains as nature produced.

It has never been the fortune of any race to retain possession of a fertile region undisturbed. The Iroquoians and the Algonquins coming down from the north, and the Muskhogean presenting an impassible barrier on the south, reduced the supply of game, and more especially of buffalo, upon which the Siouan tribes had depended for subsistence.

Thus hemmed in by tribes which had migrated from localities where nature was less lavish of her gifts, the Siouan hunters found themselves in the dilemma of having either to learn new methods of getting a living, or to look farther away for their "grandfathers".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Mooney, Eth, Bull., 22, 9; McGee, Eth. Ann. 15, 159.

<sup>2</sup>Lawson, History of Carolina, cited by Mooney, Eth. Bull. 22, 40.

<sup>3</sup>Many Siouan tribes call the buffalo their grandfathers.

Just when these Iroquoian and Algonquin tribes came down from the north invading the territories of the Siouan Indians and despoiling them of their pristine food-supply, is unknown; but it must have been at a very remote

Date of invasion unknown. period, for the tribes east of the Alleghanies seemed to be sedentary at the time of the discovery. The invasion was probably not a sudden one, but a gradual encroachment of the tribes from the less productive regions upon those of the more productive, with the result that those from the less productive regions increased in strength and numbers, while those they encroached upon suffered from want of their formerly abundant food supply, as well as from the wars of the invaders.

Men have often found it easier to seek new homes than to change their mode of life in old ones. So when misfortune overtook them, the greater portion of the Siouan stock found it more desirable to seek new hunting grounds than to turn their old ones into cultivated fields and protect them from hostile hordes.

The various branches of the Siouan stock seem to have migrated at different times, and the order of their migrations is indicated by the variations of their languages, as well as by their location at the time they were discovered, and by their traditions.

Order of migrations. The languages of the Crows, Mandans and Dakotas, have become

so far differentiated that Catlin, in 1832, declared that there was no similarity between them;<sup>1</sup> but Catlin was not a competent authority on language, and philologists have shown that these three tribes belong to the same linguistic family.<sup>2</sup> This differentiation of the Crow language together with the location of the Crows when first seen by white men, at the most western point occupied by any of the Siouan stock, marks them as probably the first to separate from the main body of the stock in the east. For similar reasons the Mandans may be considered the second and the Dakotas the third group to migrate from their ancient homes, while the Winnebagoes, Omahas, Poncas, Iowas, and other tribes further south in the Mississippi basin, according to their traditions were all one nation when they began their long journey from the east "because they became too numerous for their hunting grounds".<sup>3</sup> Gallatin says that the Osages consider themselves the aborigines, but the tradition of the Otoes, Omahas, Poncas, Iowas, and Missouri is that "at a distant epoch, they, together with the Winnebagoes, came from the north, that the Winnebagoes stopped on the banks of Lake Michigan," while the others continued southward.<sup>4</sup> This tradition must refer to a later time than that mentioned by the Osages when they all lived together at the junction

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<sup>1</sup>Catlin, North American Indians, I, 52, 53.

<sup>2</sup>Powell, Bibliography, p. 111, 7th Eth.

<sup>3</sup>Mooney, Eth. Bull, 22, 10;

<sup>4</sup>Gallatin, 127.

of the Aleghany and Monongahela rivers, and afterwards at the falls of the Ohio.<sup>1</sup>

After the separation from the Winnebagoes, the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas, or Arkansas, for a time formed a distinct nation, or, more properly, confederacy. "The Kansas and Osages were the first to depart" from the other tribes.<sup>2</sup> They went south til the Kansas settled on the Kansas river and the Osages on the river to which they have given their name,<sup>2</sup> where the Europeans found them. The habitat of the Iowas, Omahas, and Poncas was for a long time between the Missouri and the Des Moines rivers. Their traditions relate that they built earth lodges, farmed, and hunted buffalo and other animals. When game became scarce they abandoned their villages, went northwest and built other "permanent" villages, and so on till they came to the Pipestone quarry. Here, the Dakotas made war on them and they fled southwest. The Poncas settled on the Niobrara river in Nebraska; the Omahas, after several migrations moved to their present reservation 1855; and the Iowas settled where Florence, Nebraska, now stands, but afterwards continued southward to the Kansas-Nebraska line.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Featherstonhaugh, Excursion through the Slave states, London, 1844, 286, 287, quoted by Snyder, Report Smithsonian Institution, 1888, Pt. 1, 588; also referred to by Mooney, Eth. Bull. 22, 10, as verified by Dorsey in the traditions of all the tribes of the stock.

<sup>2</sup> Dorsey, Migrations of the Siouan Tribes, Am. Nat., XX, 215. <sup>3</sup> Ibid, 218.



The separation of these tribes seems to have begun about the time the Poncas settled on the Niobrara, but I find no definite statement upon this point. According to the traditions of the Omahas they were in their fifth "old man" since they became a separate tribe, and the Poncas were in the seventh. So the Omahas and the Iowas must have remained together through the period of two "old men" after separating from the Poncas. According to Dorsey, an "old man" was about seventy years, and he estimates that it was about 1380 or 1390 that the Poncas became a separate tribe.<sup>1</sup>

The migrations of the Omahas and the tribes nearly related to them have been more carefully studied than those of the other Siouan tribes; but enough is known of the traditions of other tribes to indicate that the Omaha migrations were fairly representative of the wanderings of the Siouan tribes. While the knowledge of those movements previous to the

seventeenth century is based upon tradition a reliable source of information. Traditional evidence, that is the most reliable source of information available. Besides, the evidence obtained by historians and ethnologists from other sources tends to corroborate later traditions, as well as to establish the accuracy of the older ones; so they may be accepted on the whole as truthful.

In all their wanderings the Siouan tribes of the west continued to depend chiefly upon the chase for their subsistence, and only irregularly tilled the ground. Some-

<sup>1</sup>Dorsey, Migrations of Siouan Tribes, AM.Nat., XX, 1886, 221-2.



times they raised a little corn and beans, and a few melons  
 Migration fol- and pumpkins, all of which grew to matur-  
 lowed buffalo. ity in one short summer; and the white man  
 found them depending upon the buffalo for both food and cloth-  
 ing, and shifting their abode as the supply of buffalo shifted.<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the his-  
 tory of the conflict between these tribes and the Europeans.

White man's eco - It began when the first whit man offer-  
 nomics as impor- ed a Siouan brave a few gaudy trinkets in  
 tant as firearms exchange for food of many times their  
 in dispossessing the Indian. value. By similar bargains he has far oftener won the Red  
 man's goods and lands than by force of arms. Yet the  
 Siouan tribes have cost the United States government more  
 in arms and men than those of any other Indian stock.

A few small barren tracts out of their former vast do-  
 main are still nominally in possession of the Siouan Indians,  
 but even upon these they are not always safe from the Ameri-  
 can cattleman's greed for pasture land.<sup>2</sup>

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Siou-  
 an tribes of the west held nearly the same territory that  
 they occupied at the time of the Discovery.<sup>3</sup> Those of the

Location of east were already greatly diminished in  
 tribes in 1880. numbers by wars and were confined to a small  
 portion of their former territory. I have been unable to

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<sup>1</sup>McGee, 15th Eth.,

<sup>2</sup>Herbert Welsh, Forcing publication of Ind. Rights Ass'n.,  
 Standing Rock Indians to lease their lands, 1-27.

<sup>3</sup>P.2; also, Powell, 7th Eth., Map; Gallatin, Map.

obtain the account of the Biloxi, of the south, and am, therefore, unable to state what their condition was at that time.

Some tribes have become entirely extinct, while others are found by the rolls of the Indian Agents to be increasing in population from year to year. Most of the tribes are on

Present loca- reservations within the limits of their  
tion of tribes. former territory. The Tutelo, who migrat-  
ed to Canada in 1779, the Biloxi, and the tribes formerly  
living in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and Arkansas, most of  
which have been transferred to Oklahoma and Indian Territory,  
are exceptions.

Upon the reservation these Indians have been forced to give up their old time freedom and accept the conditions prescribed for them. Under the influence of this system, some of their former institutions have been given up altogether, and many of those which they have retained have become greatly modified. The activities of the men are entirely changed through the destruction of the buffalo, the cessation of their wars and the introduction of agriculture and grazing, however, the life of the women has been much less modified, and now that the Indian lands are being allotted each individual must look after his own allotment and every possible effort is being made to induce the Indians to settle down into permanent homes. This

Changing will greatly modify the condition of the  
conditions. Indian women, and whatever is to be learned  
of their primitive life must be learned soon.

### Environment.

There is great variation in the climate and resources of the different sections occupied by the Siouan Indians as well as in topography, but whatever else was lacking in any portion of their territory, the buffalo were the chief requisite everywhere present. When buffalo were plentiful the Indians remained stationary; when they became scarce they moved on. Upon this subject McGee says, "there are many indications that the chief arts and certain institutions and beliefs, as well as the geographic distribution, of the principle Siouan tribes were determined by a single conspicuous feature of their environment - the buffalo."<sup>1</sup>

The regions which furnished grass for the buffalo supported a variety of other game, the most important kinds of which were deer, elk, moose, and antelope. Where there was plenty of game for the bowman, there was always a supply of water sufficient for human needs. The aboriginal housewife also found some kind of vegetable food to add to the menu, whether her people dwelt among the mountains or camped upon the plains. The resources for the manufacture of implements and the construction of shelter

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<sup>1</sup>Siouan Indians, Eth. Ann. 15, 173.

also varied in different localities, some regions furnished rushes, bark, or other materials suitable for the manufacture of rush or bark-covered tents, mats, baskets, and other articles for use and ornament, while others supplied nothing to the "hand that clothes and shelters the race"<sup>1</sup> but the skins of the wild beasts with their splint-bones for awls and their sinews for thread with which to join them together into moccasin, tunic, or tipi.

In all the well watered regions there were fruits, such as wild cherries, plums, berries, and roots, as well as Variation of wood for use in the construction of shel- vegetable resources. ter and the manufacture of implements. Upon the prairies there grew plants whose roots, leaves, stems, or seed-pods furnished food. One of the most important of these roots is still highly prized by the Dakotas, who call it "teepsinna", or "turnip". The plant is Psoralea esculenta,<sup>2</sup> and its root is exceedingly rich in starch. It is found throughout the dry grassy regions of Nebraska and the Dakotas.

Fish and fowl never formed a very important part of the Siouan food supply, but they added to the variety of meats.

Fish and fowl. Fish were especially plentiful in the streams of the east and north. These Indians never used turtles or shell-fish of any sort for food. Turkeys were found in the timbered sections, quail everywhere, and

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<sup>1</sup>Mason, Woman's Share in Primitive Culture.

<sup>2</sup>Riggs, Cont. Am.Eth., IX, 90.

prairie chickens upon the prairies, and wild ducks, geese, and cranes were abundant in the spring and autumn.

In the primitive eastern home of the Siouan Indians there is a warm temperate climate with luxuriant vegetation covering the rugged old hills and fringing the streams that flow towards the "sunrise waters". In the region west of

the Alleghanies along the upper Ohio, the country is rolling, and there were wooded and grassy areas  
Topography.

alternating. Farther west, the country becomes more level. West from Lake Michigan across Wisconsin, small lakes are numerous, and dense forests are found in many portions. The Siouan territory which has the greatest altitude is the region from the Saskatchewan to the mountains of Montana, where so many of the great rivers take their rise. South of these lake and mountain regions are the great central plains, drained by the Mississippi and its western tributaries, extending down to where the Arkansas empties its yellow waters.

The climate varies from the warm temperate regions to the cold temperate. In the east, in the northern lake regions,

and in the south there is a heavy rainfall.  
Climate.

In the region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, the supply of moisture is only moderate; while the more western plains are semi-arid.

Over all this vast territory the buffalo once roamed, and whatever the other conditions were, where the buffalo was most plentiful, there the Siouan Indian was best contented.



## Social Organization and Family Life.

The Siouan Indians reached a higher state of social organization than most of the hunter tribes. The stage of development was not uniform throughout the stock. There was a marked difference between the crudities found in the life of the Asinneboins and the more advanced conditions found among such tribes as the Omahas. The fact that they re-organized their descent from a common stock, was not, however, a sufficient bond to prevent their being enemies. Their literature is unexcelled for the richness of its legendry by any of the American tribes, and their pictorial narratives indicate that they were "near the gateway opening into the broader field of scriptorial culture", at the time of the Discovery, but their "warlike habit and militant organization were inimical to progress".<sup>1</sup>

The Siouan Indians based their social organization upon the gens. The stock as a whole was in process of transition from the matriarchal state to the patriarchal. Among the Omahas the children belong to the gens of the father,<sup>1</sup> but among the

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<sup>1</sup>McGee. The Siouan Indians, Eth. Ann. 15, 166.



Santee Dakotas mother-right prevails, with descent in the female line. Among the Omahas hereditary honors descend from father to son, while out among the Dakotas there were no hereditary chiefs, and the arms of the man descended to the sons of his sister.

Each tribe was composed of several gentes. The Omaha tribe contained ten gentes, of whom five were formost in affairs of peace and five in affairs of war. The other tribes varied as to the number of gentes in each, but the division of the tribe into war gentes and peace gentes seems to have

been universal. In camping they set the

Tribal or-  
ganization.      tipis in a circle with the war gentes upon  
one side and the peace gentes upon the other.

The position of each gens and each family of the gens in the circle was always the same, and they always formed the camping-circle whenever they were on a hunt or when they were moving from one place to another.

The relationships of the Indian are very confusing to the European. Not only are the children of common parents called brothers and sisters, but according to their system the children of my mother's sisters are all my brothers and sisters, and all of the women that my mother calls sisters are my mothers, though according to our system the relationship would be very distant between these sisters and myself. All of the women that my grandmother calls sisters are my grandmothers, and all of the men that my grandfather calls brothers are my grandfathers.

All of the mother's brothers are uncles, and all whom the father calls sisters are aunts, and their children are cousins. The father's brothers are fathers, but their children are only cousins, because they belong to different gentes in the mother-right system. Carrying out this system, one finds himself possessed of an immense number of brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers, grand-parents and grand-children, with all the obligations that these relationships carry with them. The authority of the mother's real brothers, where mother-right exists, is greater than that of the father over the daughter. The brothers among all tribes exercise a good deal of authority over the marriages of their sisters. The relationship groups among the Omahas number fifteen, but among the Biloxi, where the relationships were the most complicated of any yet found in an Indian tribe, here are no less than forty-three.

The restrictions of the Omahas in their laws for the prevention of consanguineous marriages are the most far-reaching and complicated of those of any people with whose

marriage laws I am acquainted. All of the Siouan tribes have strict laws in this respect, and this no doubt has been an important factor in the development of a stock unsurpassed among American races in physical and intellectual development and in power of endurance.

"A man cannot marry any of the women of the gens of his father, of his father's mother, or the sub-gens of his paternal grandmother;" but he may marry those of the other subgentes of that gens, if they have not already become his mothers-in-law, sisters, daughters, or grand-daughters, through marriage with his father, brother, son, or grandson. He cannot marry any woman of the gens of his mother, of her mother, or his maternal grandmother's subgens, nor any of the subgentes of his mother. Corresponding laws restrict the rights of women to marry.<sup>1</sup>

If a man wishes to marry a woman of his own gens in another tribe, it is permissible, because she is not his kinswoman.<sup>2</sup>

When a gens became very numerous, it was divided into two or more subgentes. These subgentes had their own internal government, and sometimes developed into independent gentes. Without the institution of the subgentes the strict marriage laws would have compelled many of the men to marry outside of the tribe.<sup>3</sup>

Marriage among the Siouan tribes is by courtship, usually direct, but sometimes by proxy.<sup>4</sup> While I was among the Da-

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<sup>1</sup> Dorsey Siouan Soc. 3rd Eth.

<sup>2</sup> " " " " "

<sup>3</sup> " " " " "

<sup>4</sup> Riggs, Dakota Ethnography, Cont. Eth., U.S. Geog. and Geol. Survey of Ry. Mt. Region, IX, 1893, 206.

kota Indians on Standing Rock reservation, the most common offense charged against the young Indians was Courtship.

"courting". It was for courting in the old time Indian fashion that the young braves were arraigned. I heard this manner of courtship described several times by those who had been long among the Indians and had frequently observed it before it was prohibited by order of the Indian agent. The young swain first found out by any means he could when the maiden whom he wished to court would be likely to pass some spot where he might come upon her unexpectedly. Then he enveloped himself in a robe that was drawn over his face so as to conceal all of his features except the eyes, took up a position beside the path which he expected her to take, and awaited her appearance. This might be the path she would take to go after water, or the one leading from the door of a place where she was attending a public gathering. When the girl upon whom he had set his heart approached, he remained perfectly motionless until the most opportune moment, then he suddenly clasped her firmly in his arms, at the same time wrapping her in his robe. Thus he secured them both from the gaze of curious eyes while he held her fast in his embrace, and told the old new story with all the eloquence he could command. It was said to be common for the rejected or the timid lover to ask one of his friends to court the unwilling maid in his behalf. Sometimes he even engaged the services of several intercessors who ranged themselves in

such a fashion that they might take their turns one after another in trying to persuade the girl to accept her him. In that case, when the first intercessor released her the second stood ready to enfold her within his robe and so on until all the intercessors had used their best endeavors to win her consent to marry their friend.

The consent of the parents was usually gained, but marriage might be by elopement. Among the Omahas this was no cause for anger upon the part of the woman's relatives,

except when she was already married and taken from her husband by another man, and Omaha relatives who complained of the elopement of a girl were ridiculed.<sup>1</sup> "The Omahas cannot understand how marriage by capture could take place, as the woman would be sure to alarm the people by her cries."<sup>2</sup>

Among the Dakotas it is usual after the girl's consent has been gained for the young man to make up a collection of articles which he proposes to give the parents in exchange for her. This he takes at night and lays beside the door of her mother's tipi. If its contents are satisfactory to the family, it is kept. If it is not satisfactory it is returned to the spot where it was found and he will increase the value of it and deposit it again. Articles that are too large to be

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<sup>1</sup>Dorsey, Siouan Soc. 3rd Eth.  
<sup>2</sup> " " " " "



carried are symbolized in the bundle of purchase. For instance, a horse is indicated by a bridle.<sup>1</sup> If the family took the initiative, as they sometimes did, and chose the husband, the woman would not always accept their choice,<sup>2</sup> and some of their most beautiful legends tell of the suicide of women who preferred death to marriage without love. Marriage by purchase was the most honorable in the old times among the Dakotas, and elopement was disgraceful.<sup>3</sup> The idea of purchase exists in the marriage ceremony, of the Dakota,

and the Dakota word, "witawin", the term used for wife, conveys the idea of property right in the wife on the part of the husband. The woman has no property right in her husband, however, and the word "militawia" or husband, expresses no idea of property on the part of the wife.<sup>4</sup>

The newly married Dakota pair usually set up house-keeping to themselves soon after the birth of the first child. Before this time they may reside with either mother-in-law. The groom's mother, if the bride is industrious, is well pleased to have her assistance in the household tasks.

On the other hand, when they depend upon wild meat, if the groom was a good hunter, the bride's mother was glad to have him contribute

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<sup>1</sup>Riggs, Ethnography, Cont. Eth. IX, 1893, 206.

<sup>2</sup>Riggs, op.cit. 206-7.

<sup>3</sup>" " " 204

<sup>4</sup>" " " 206-7.



the game he killed to the family larder,<sup>1</sup> and she still welcomes him in her tipi. Probably Dakota etiquette, which forbids a woman to remain in a house alone, even though it be her own home, has had some influence in establishing this custom of the newly married couple living with relatives until after the birth of the first child.

Formerly the Omaha men waited until they were twenty-five or thirty, and the women until they were twenty, before they married. The men then wished to attain some

Age of marriage. honor in battle or reputation for success as hunters before they assumed the responsibilities of married life.<sup>2</sup> Now the men marry at twenty and the women soon after they reach maturity.

Polygamy was practiced among all of the Siouan tribes. This seems to have been a necessity under their social organization and economic conditions. In some of the tribes the

Polygamy universal among Siouan Indians. number of men was very much less than that of the women. Catlin said that the Crows, with a population which he estimated at

seven thousand, had only about eight hundred warriors, and that smaller tribes had no greater proportion of men. Sometimes he found there were two or three women to one man, on account of the loss of life in battle and the hunt.<sup>3</sup> Among

<sup>1</sup>-----  
Riggs op.cit. 205.

<sup>2</sup>Dorsey, 3rd Eth. 259.

<sup>3</sup>Catlin, I, 43, 199.

the Poncas, he found that two thirds of the population were women.<sup>1</sup> So without polygamy there would have been a very great proportion of the Siouan women for whom their social system made no adequate provision for food or protection.

The number of wives a man might have varied. In some of the tribes Catlin visited he speaks of chiefs having as many as eight or ten. Among the Omahas a man might ordinarily have as many as three wives, but the first one remained the head of the household. She was usually willing for him to take additional wives, and sometimes suggested that he should do so. The other wives were usually the younger sisters or nieces of the first one.<sup>2</sup>

Neither the Omahas nor the Poncas know of the custom of polyandry, but Dorsey thinks that their terms of kinship point to a time when it was practiced among them.<sup>3</sup>

When a husband maltreats his wife among the Santee Dakotas where mother-right prevails, her mother can take her from him and give her to another man. Among the Omahas and Poncas it is her father or her brother who will interfere if she, herself does not leave an abusive husband, but the mother-in-law never interferes.<sup>4</sup>

The Dakotas have no word for home other than "tipi",<sup>5</sup> (tent, or house). The tent, house, or lodge is owned by the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, 212.

<sup>2</sup>Dorsey, Siouan Soc., 3rd Eth., 259.

<sup>3</sup>Dorsey, 3rd Eth., 261.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, 261-2.

<sup>5</sup>Riggs Cont. Eth. IX, 204. Dorsey, Eth. Ann. 15, 222.

women, but when it is ready for use the man  
 Women own  
 tipi and the takes the place of honor, which is in the back  
 household prop-  
 erty. part opposite the door. The womans place is  
 at the left as one enters, and the childrens' between the  
 parents. The place of the mother-in-law or aunt is in the  
 corner by the door opposite the woman of the house. The  
 married daughter and her husband also belong opposite the  
 mother. The honored visitor is seated at the back of the tipi.

There is a peculiar custom observed among the Siou-  
 an tribes, which requires the assumption of bashfulness to-  
 wards ones relatives-in-law. A man must not speak to his  
 wife's parents or grandparents nor a woman  
 to her husband's father. The man must  
 communicate with his wife's parents through his wife or child,  
 but in case of extreme urgency when there is no one else  
 present, the conversation may be direct. The woman must com-  
 municate with her father-in-law through her husband or child.  
 A woman must not pass in front of her son-in-law, and he  
 avoids entering a place where there is no one but his mother-  
 in-law.<sup>1</sup> This is called in the Dakota language, Wisten Kiyapi,  
 from isteca, , "to be ashamed." "No family law is more binding  
 than this", and one is further bound by ettiquette not to  
 speak the names of one's relatives by marriage.<sup>2</sup> This custom  
 is thus mentioned by Dougherty: "If a person enters a dwelling

<sup>1</sup>Dorsey, 3rd Eth., 262.

<sup>2</sup>Riggs, Cont.Eth., IX, 204.

in which his son-in-law is seated, the latter turns his back, and avails himself of the first opportunity to leave the premises. If a person visits his wife during her residence at the lodge of her father, the latter averts himself and conceals his head with his robe, and his hospitality is extended circuitously by means of his daughter, by whom the pipe is transferred to her husband to smoke."<sup>1</sup> I have learned from those who have lived among Indians of other stocks that this custom is not confined to the Siouan Indians. It seems to have<sup>been</sup> the result of the growth of the people out of the state of promiscuity, and certainly has had a marked influence upon the morals of a race whose ideas of individual and property rights are, on the whole, not very highly developed.

The Siouan Indians are very strict in the observance of their rules of etiquette. I once knew a little boy in a boarding school to be severely reprimanded by an old man whom he accosted with "Hello grandfather", without waiting for the old man to speak first. Men show courtesy to women, but their etiquette forbids a young girl to speak to a man who is not a father, brother, mother's brother, or grandfather, and it is immodest for a woman to address a man without his speaking first to her. Under ordinary circumstances people are

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<sup>1</sup>Dorsey, 3rd 3th., 263.

never addressed by their names, except when two persons of the same degree of kinship are present, and it is necessary to distinguish between them. A woman must not mention the name of her elder brother, but she may use that of her younger brother if he is small. Some of these rules of etiquette are responsible for the difficulties the stranger encounters in trying to converse with the Indian women. At the birth of a child the father absents himself, and two or three old women take care of the mother and child. No men remained

about the tipi, but the women were skillful  
 Child-birth. midwives.<sup>1</sup> Death from child-birth is rare, and many women resume their ordinary occupations within two or three days, and some do so immediately after the birth of the child.

The women have the sole care of the children while they are small. I never saw a Siouan man pay the least attention to a child that was not old enough to run about. After a child is weaned, which usually occurs when it is

Care of chil- about three or four years old, the grandmother  
 dren. and grandfather have a good deal of the care of it.<sup>2</sup> If the grandmother is living, she takes charge of a motherless child. Usually it is the maternal grandmother who takes it, but the mother may give it to the paternal grandmother before her death.<sup>3</sup> If the grand-

<sup>1</sup>-----  
 Riggs Cont.Eth.IX,207-8; Dorsey, Omaha Sociology,Eth.Ann.3, 263-4; Eastman, Indian Boyhood, 22, 23.

<sup>2</sup>Riggs, op.cit.,208-9.

<sup>3</sup>Eastman, op.cit. 8, 9.

mothers are not living it becomes the duty of the mother's sisters to take the orphan children. There is little family government.<sup>1</sup>

The little girls are the owners of doll families which they care for and play with very much as white girls do, but the boy who plays with the girls is

Little  
girls.

laughed at. As soon as she is large enough she shares in the responsibility for the care of the baby, and carries it on her back in a shawl. She learns to carry wood and water, and at an early age begins to sew. For this purpose she has her work-bag with awl and sinew. She is taught cooking, and all sorts of women's work, and by the time she is grown she is quite proficient in the arts of Indian housewifery. Usually she does her tasks willingly, but if she is slow or stupid, her mother will scold or strike her.

When a girl reaches maturity her family, unless they are poor, will give a feast in her honor. All of the

Feast at  
girl's ma-  
turity.

friends of the family are invited, and those who have given similar feasts are entitled to especial honors upon this occasion.

Among the Siouan women in general there is a higher moral condition than is usually found among the women of uncivilized races. The women never go about alone, and young girls are especially well guarded. If a girl has been slandered, she gives what is known as the "maiden's

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<sup>1</sup>Riggs, op.cit. 9.



feast," to vindicate her honor. Everyone in the community is invited to attend. She surrounded by her girl friends, declares her innocence in the most solemn manner. If her accuser is especially malicious, he may even come forward and openly accuse her. Indeed it is obligatory upon any one who knows that a girl has falsely sworn that she is innocent to expose her. On the other hand if it is proven that a man has maliciously slandered a girl, he receives the contempt that he merits. Sometimes a man who has thus falsely accused a girl is made so miserable by the ridicule of the people that he leaves the community never to return. When a girl at her maiden's feast proves herself innocent, she is congratulated by all of the guests, and the feast becomes the occasion of great rejoicing. A girl who is not innocent will scarcely dare to attempt to vindicate herself, by a maiden's feast, for if she is publicly proven guilty, in addition to swearing falsely that she is innocent, she becomes the object of universal contempt.

Upon the whole the Siouan women were respected, and they exerted a powerful influence among their people. They did not meet in the tribal councils, but they used their influence in the home and in the gens to which they belonged. They fulfilled the duties of wife and mother in the manner required by their social organization, and they were happy and contented in doing so.

## Religion and Medicine.

There is nothing in Indian life that is so hard for the European mind to really understand as the Indian religion.

Indian religion hard to understand. As Miss Fletcher puts it, "There is difficulty in adjusting one's own mental attitude, of preventing one's own mental atmosphere from deflecting and distorting the image of the Indian's thought."<sup>1</sup> The Siouan Indians never regarded Wakanda as a supreme over-ruling power," nor is there any evidence that he ever conceived of a single great ruling spirit."<sup>2</sup> The causes of things were unexplained, and the Indian drew upon his imagination and tried in his own way to account for all of the phenomena of nature.

Anything that the Siouan Indian looks upon as supernatural, he calls wakan, or mysterious. Anything material that produces an effect that he regards as mysterious is medicine. The term, wakan, is used with reference to the spirit of anything, and the Indian conceives of everything as being possessed of a spirit that has power to help or harm him. Medicine is some material thing which embodies a

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<sup>1</sup> Alice C. Fletcher, Smithsonian Rept. 1897, pt.1, 177.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 579.

mysterious power.<sup>1</sup>

When an animal is killed, its disembodied spirit can help or harm him in ways that the animal itself could not.

Some spirits are more powerful than others, Spirits.

and the powerful spirits are impersonated in the thunder, wind, and other phenomena of nature. All wakan powers are divided into two classes, those that are helpful and those that are malevolent, and these war with each other. If the good spirits are offended they cease to help man, and if the bad ones are aggravated they became more malicious.

All of the religious observances of the Indians may be divided into two classes according to their purpose; those

Invocation or propitiation the central idea of religious rites.	which have for their purpose the invocation of the beneficent powers, and those which have for their purpose the driving away of the malevolent powers.
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These rites are performed by individuals, by certain secret societies, by the gens, or by the tribe, according to the interest involved.

The notion that the women have no part in the religion of Indian tribes is entirely erroneous. Woman represents

Women represents the idea of fecundity.	the idea of fecundity, consequently in many of the religious ceremonies she plays a very
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important part. Woman always figures in Indian creation myths, and the idea of immaculate conception

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<sup>1</sup>Catlin, I, 35, 36.

is found in both creation myths and legends of great heroes. This idea is found in myths and legends that cannot possibly have been influenced by the teachings of Christian missionaries.

A medicine man or woman is one who is able to influence the wakan powers in man's favor. Medicine men and women are always venerated by the community, and the people pay them liberally for their efforts in their behalf. Women are quite as successful in their practice of medicine according to the Indian ideas as men, and they vie with one another, to deceive their patients and gain wealth.<sup>1</sup> Some of them used only incantations in their healing, while others used herbs in connection with their efforts to drive away the evil spirits. That many of the patients treated by them recover is sufficient evidence to the Indian that the medicine man or woman <sup>has</sup> healed them.

A woman who is believed to influence the wakan powers to harm man is a witch and is feared more than the medicine woman is venerated. If it is thought that a woman is practicing witch-craft, she may be publicly accused and if proven guilty she may be tortured or put to death. An injured person may put to death a woman generally believed to be a witch, and the people will approve of his deed.

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<sup>1</sup> Dorsey, Eth. Ann. 11, 496.

The practice of medicine among the Indians is not confined to healing the sick. It is resorted to as a means of help in all sorts of enterprizes, and a Siouan Indian would no more begin any important undertaking without consulting his medicine than a Roman would without consulting the auspices. The medicine woman is frequently appealed to by lovers for love charms.<sup>1</sup> The other Dakotas are very jealous of the Santees because they are believed to possess a more potent love medicine than any other people. By means of the love charm one could compel another to marry him, according to the accepted belief. Consequently, the belief of all the people in the potency of the charm tended to produce the effect desired by its possessor.

The Indians are fond of mystery, especially in such things as jugglery, and the women are sometimes very successful jugglers, and they who juggle are always medicine women.<sup>2</sup> A Kansa woman could swallow a knife, and "when she had swallowed a certain kind of thin grass she drew a green snake out of her mouth."<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the jugglery was in connection with her healing. A Teton Dakota woman was believed to have extracted a large fish bone from the neck of a girl who was suffering from tonsillitis.

The medicine dance is one in which the medicine women

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<sup>1</sup>Dorsey, Eth. Ann. 11, 499.

<sup>2</sup>Ib. op. cit., 512, 418.

<sup>3</sup>Op. cit., 418.

as well as the men engage.<sup>1</sup> Its purpose as may be supposed from its name, is to further the interests of the medicine

men and women. There are many dances which are engaged in to insure the success of some enterprize. The Keyoka Women take part in many dances. feast and dance of which Dorsey mentions as being engaged in by women. The most important dance in the days of the buffalo was undoubtedly the buffalo dance.<sup>2</sup> The corn feast of the old women in spring was to insure a good crop, and in autumn as a petition for a supply of buffalo meat for the winter.<sup>3</sup> The sun dance was a rather late importation among the Siouan Indians, but it assumed a good deal of importance among most of the tribes.<sup>4</sup> All of these dances were engaged in for the purpose of securing a supply of the necessaries of life, and women took part in them. The principle of fertility is represented in these ceremonies by the women. The scalp dance occurred when the men returned successful from a battle in which scalps had been taken, but none of their own party lost. Young men and women took part in this ceremony.<sup>5</sup>

Secret societies, sometimes called lodges were numerous among the Siouan tribes. Among them were societies

Secret societies. to which only those having the same medicine, or individual totem could belong. Women were

<sup>1</sup>Dorsey, op.cit.512;Eastman, op.cit.271-2.

<sup>2</sup>Alice Fletcher, Proc.Ann.Ass.Adv.Sci.1883,Salem,1884,396-7 quoted by Dorsey,Eth.Ann.11,427-8;Dorsey,Eth.Ann.11,505; Eth.Ann.3,293-5.

<sup>3</sup>Dorsey, op.cit.,506-7; Catlin,I,188-190.

<sup>4</sup>Dorsey,Eth.Ann.11,156;452;458;460;Catlin I,246.

<sup>5</sup>Riggs,Cont.Eth.IX,212;227-229.



admitted to these lodges and took part in their proceedings.<sup>1</sup> The object of this class of lodges was, to further the interests of its members, and they were named after the totem of the members. So the lodge of those having the bear for their totem was the bear lodge, those having the wolf, the wolf lodge and so on.

It is from the women that the children receive their early religious training. The mother and grandmother teach them to respect the wakan from the time they begin to under-

stand anything. It is a woman, too, who teaches the growing boy to sacrifice that which he loves best to Wakanda, and in his maturer years she participates with him in the most important of the Siouan religious rites.

The Siouan Indians formerly placed their dead upon scaffolds out of the reach of wild animals. Food was placed

beside the scaffold for the spirit to use on its journey to the happy hunting-ground, and a fresh supply was brought every few days until the spirit had time to reach its destination. At present the bodies are buried and the food is placed upon the grave.

So it is by women that the first religious training is given to the Siouan child, and it is by her that the spirit is last administered to on its way to the Red man's heaven.

### Summary.

The Siouan Indians were always a race of hunters. The buffalo was their principle game and they shifted their abode whenever the herds of buffalo shifted. Under these conditions, a peculiar social organization developed. The men were the providers of the meat, and the protectors of the home, while the women owned the home and cared for the family. In the roving hunter life, it was necessary that some provision should be made for the protection of all who were not fitted by nature to protect themselves. The first step towards this end was taken in the organization of the family, and this was followed by the gens, which is only the family upon a larger scale. Gentes uniting for the purpose of securing better protection and of co-operating in the hunt, formed the tribes. Men are more exposed to dangers in war and the hunt, and consequently their lives are more uncertain. This makes it expedient to adopt such marriage laws as will protect the home most effectually. If a man dies, there must be some provision for the protection of his family. This protection is secured by a man's brother marrying his widow. But under a monogamous system this rule could not be followed, because the brother of a deceased man might be married already. Since the hunt and war with other tribes contending for the same hunting-grounds, kept the number of

men always in excess of that of the women, it became necessary for some of the men to take the responsibility for the safety of more than one woman. It was the women who transformed the product of the hunt and the other resources of nature into wealth, and a man with several wives could dispense hospitality better than if he had only one. Besides, naturally, the women preferred men who were good hunters, as well as brave warriors, so the chiefs were the ones who had the greatest number of wives. Where the lives of the men were so uncertain, and the nature of their pursuits kept them away from home children, it was natural that the entire care of the household should fall upon the women, and female ownership of property developed. Mother-right, which has existed in the early history of every race, remains a characteristic of the social system until family life has reached a fairly stable condition. The Omahas were in advance of the other Siouan tribes in the development of the family, and were just coming into the patriarchal stage when their normal progress was disturbed by the coming of the European. Their relative position no doubt had some influence upon the development of their institutions. They seem to have kept always near the center of the great body of the Siouan stock, and were, consequently, less engaged in destructive wars. They and the tribes most nearly related to them were practically sedentary for at least three hundred years before they were disturbed by the Europeans. They alternately

hunting and farmed, returning to their permanent villages after their hunts. Even since they have possessed horses they have remained stationary for twenty years at a time. The Assinebious and the Crows who have kept on the borders of the Siouan territory, where they have been constantly on the defensive, as well as much of the time on the offensive, against alien stocks, have not kept pace with the other tribes in the development of family life. Their organization remains such as was adopted to their mode of life at the time of the Discovery.

The religion of the Siouan Indians, like their social system has been influenced by the fact that they have been buffalo hunters and warriors. Woman's relation to religion has been governed by the conditions under which the Siouan stock has developed. They depended upon nature so entirely for all of their support that it was natural that their religion should consist largely of invocations of the powers of nature. Since the beneficent powers of nature are fertile, it is necessary to have the principle of fertility represented in the ceremonies which are used as a means of invoking their aid, and the women represent this principle.

Under their social system the drudgery of the household fell to the lot of the women, but the lot of the men who had to hunt with bows and arrows and spears to keep the wolf from the door, was not an easy one. To the Indian in those days, hunting was too serious a matter to be thought

of as sport. On the other hand the men realized the importance of the part that the women took in the life of the people, and they were bound to respect their property rights and their rights to their children as few civilized races have ever done.

In the Siouan religion there is no hint of woman being blamed for the existence of evil in the world, and the teachings of the missionaries concerning the fall of man, have not had the effect of increasing the respect of the Siouan Indian for his wife. In fact, upon the whole the Siouan woman has lost more than she has gained by the innovations of civilization in both the religious and the social life of her people up to the present time. While she was formerly the head of the family and the owner of the property, she has had to relinquish a large share of her right to her children as well as to the family property to her lord and master, besides being taunted with the claim that through her sex sin entered into the world.

## Population and Present Location of Tribes.

Mr. Powell, taking his data from the Canadian Indian report of 1888, the United States Indian Commissioner's report of 1890, and the United States Census of 1890, estimated the entire Siouan population at about 43,400, of whom 2,204 were in Canada and the remainder in the United States.<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to get sufficient data upon which to base a more accurate estimate of the present population, largely because the last census does not classify the Indians by tribes. Gallatin estimated the total Siouan population in 1836 at 50,000<sup>2</sup>, but as this was merely an estimate, it is doubtful whether the number of Indians of this stock has really decreased since that time.

The following are the names and present locations of the tribes.

I. Dakota, comprising the six divisions of the allies, including

(A) Santee, on Santee reservation in Nebraska and Fort Peck reservation in Montana.

(B) Sisseton, on Sisseton reservation in South Dakota and Devil's Lake reservation in North Dakota.

(C) Wahpeton, on the Sisseton and Devil's Lake reservations.

(D) Yankton, on the Yankton reservation in South Dakota.

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<sup>1</sup>Eth. 7, 116.

<sup>2</sup>Gallatin.



(E)Yanktonnais; divided into Upper and Lower Yanktonnais, the former on Devil's Lake and Standing Rock reservations, North Dakota, the latter on Crow Creek reservation, South Dakota, and Fort Peck reservation, Montana.

(F)Teton; divided into seven branches, (a) Brule, Upper and Lower, (b)Sans Arcs, (c)Blackfeet, Minneconjpn, (e) Two Kettles, (f)Ogallala, and (g) scattered about on the reservations at Fort Peck, Montana; Rosebud, South Dakota; Lower Brule, Cheyenne, and Pine Ridge, South Dakota; and Standing Rock, North Dakota.

- II. Assinnebion, on Fort Peck reservation, Montana.
- III. Omaha, on Omaha reservation, Nebraska.
- IV. Poncas (Ponka), Ponca reservation, Oklahoma, and Santee reservation, Nebraska.
- V. Kaw (Kansas), on Kansas reservation, Oklahoma.
- VI. Osage; divided into Big Osage, Little Osage, and Arkansas bank, osage reservation, Oklahoma.
- VII. Quapaw (Kwapa), Formerly Arkansas, Quapaw reservation, Indian territory; and Osage reservation, Oklahoma.
- VIII. Iowa, Great Nemaha reservation, Kansas and Nebraska; and Sac and Fox reservation, Oklahoma.
- IX. Otoe, Otoe reservation, Oklahoma.
- X. Missouri, Otoe reservation, Oklahoma.
- XI. Winnebago, Winnebago reservations Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

- XII. Mandan, Fort Berthold reservation, North Dakota.
- XIII. Gros Ventres (Minnetares), Fort Berthold, North Dakota.
- XIV. Crow, Crow reservation, Montana.
- XV. Tutelo, among the Six Nations, Grand River reservation, Ontario, Canada.
- XVI. Biloxi, part on Red River at Avoyelles, Louisiana; part in Indian Territory, with Choctaw and Caddo.
- XVII. Catabaw (nearly extinct), in the Carolinas.
- XVIII. Waccon (extinct).

Cora A. Taylor.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y     F O R

    T H E S I S     O N

T H E     S O C I A L     A N D     R E L I G I O U S

STATUS OF THE SIOUAN WOMEN.

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