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Pawnee Mortuary Traditions

ROGER C. ECHO-HAWK

Native American societies throughout the Western Hemisphere have evolved diverse practices and complex traditions around the disposition of human remains. In the Central Plains area of the United States, Indian societies historically have buried their dead on scaffolds, among the branches of trees, and in the earth. For an unknown span of centuries, the Pawnee dwelt in the Central Plains, residing in earthlodge towns along the rivers of Nebraska and Kansas until their removal to Oklahoma during the 1870s. The four bands of the Pawnee Nation once existed as separate tribes of Caddoan Indians: The Chaui, Kitkahahki, and Pitahawirata are sometimes collectively termed the South Bands; the fourth group, the Skidi, differ from the other Pawnee bands in certain aspects of their cultural heritage. Mortuary practices and associated religious traditions may have varied among the four Pawnee bands, but available information indicates the prevalence of basic similarities rather than substantive differences.[1] Ethnographic literature, Pawnee traditions, and historical records all were consulted during preparation of this paper on the treatment of the dead by the Pawnee people.[2] These sources show a complex heritage at work, a heritage that continues as an active presence in the lives of the Pawnee today.

PREPARING FOR BURIAL

Pawnee communities in the nineteenth century readied their dead for burial with preparations that varied "according to the rank and

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position of the deceased"[3] and could include ritual activities, costuming, and the application of facial and body paint. Dorsey and Murie have twice described the preparations accorded the body of a "warrior" or "man of importance."[4] Both accounts state that these men would be clothed in their finest garments as they lay dying; this could also be done by a Pawnee priest if the man died before he could be properly attired.[5]

Grieving families hired a priest to prepare their dead for burial and conduct funeral services. The priest would anoint the corpse with "holy ointment"[6] and perform other ritual acts: "He anoints the body with fat and red paint, places offerings of meat fat in his hands and mouth, and finally dresses the body in the regalia worn during life."[7] In the course of these activities, the priest also "recites certain verbal formulae and symbolically sends the spirit on its way." Dorsey and Murie address the significance of the "sacred red ointment":

> By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits.[8]

Several narratives collected and published by Dorsey and Murie mention this sacred red paint. In one story, a Skidi man died and came back to life.[9] Relating his experience years later, the Skidi described meeting four men in Spirit Land "anointed with red paint. . . ." Another story that mentions the use of sacred red paint concerns an occasion when the dead were permitted to return to the land of the living.[10] The Skidi prepared to meet their dead friends and relatives by putting the sacred red paint "upon their heads, faces, and hands."[11]

In the case of a deceased member of a Pawnee fraternal society, once his remains were anointed and clothed, his face was "painted according to the style employed by his society."[12] Brummett EchoHawk states that the faces of deceased warriors were once painted with designs and colors that had specific meanings attached to them.[13] This manner of facial painting is no longer practiced, although it probably persisted into the twentieth century.[14] Following these preparations, the body was wrapped in a buffalo robe or blanket and tied securely with a rope.[15] The body was now ready for burial.

Sometime before the body was wrapped for burial, mourning activities took place that involved the general public. In one Skidi story, the death of a popular young chief was followed by a period of public visitation.[16] The family placed his body in a tipi, and, according to the narrator, mourning visitors touched the corpse. Elsewhere, Dorsey and Murie have stated that in cases where the deceased was an elder, "all the members of the [Skidi] band assembled and each placed his hands upon the body of the deceased, thus expressing the hope that he too might reach old age."[17] A missionary's journal describes the gathering of a crowd at the death of a Chaui man in 1835, presumably for mourning purposes.[18]

Several additional practices, not discussed by Murie, should be mentioned here. It is customary for the body of a deceased Pawnee to be accompanied continually by a friend or family member until the funeral. Brummett EchoHawk recalls that when older Pawnee visited the dead, they would speak to the corpse as though the person were alive, addressing the deceased with comments that concerned, in substance, how the universe was created as a gift of God and how no life is wasted in the grand scheme of things.[19] These visitors would also receive a "blessing" from the dead by performing a ritual motion: passing both hands down the sides of their own bodies from head to feet. Present-day funeral customs also include the placement of an eagle feather or eagle-wing fan with the deceased for viewing purposes; such feathers are commonly removed prior to interment, although they occasionally have been buried with the dead.[20]

INTERMENT OF THE DEAD

Funerals among the Pawnee occurred relatively soon after death, generally on the same day of death or on the following day, as Dorsey and Murie reported: "As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial following within two or three hours."[21] John B. Dunbar, in his 1882 ethnographic description of the Pawnee, noted that "[b]urial took place soon after death."[22] This time frame was honored by all the Pawnee; only one account has been found of a death in a Pawnee community during the nineteenth century where the body was kept for more than two days before burial.[23]

Pawnee funerals featured processions to the grave site. Dunbar wrote that "the women bore . . . [the corpse] to the grave. The

relatives and friends followed, howling and weeping."[24, 25] Von Del Chamberlain, citing Murie and Alice Fletcher, writes that the dead were transported on stretchers, with mourners following behind.[26] These processions varied in composition according to the status of the deceased and other circumstances. Reverend P. J. De Smet witnessed the funeral of a young Pawnee man in 1858 at Fort Kearney, and his observations imply that the entire tribe attended the burial: "They placed him in the grave amid the acclamations and lamentations of the whole tribe."[27] Elvira Platt attended the funeral of a prominent Chaui during the 1860s and later recalled that "the agent and many of the [agency] employees followed him to his burial . . . ."[28] An early missionary, traveling with the Chaui Pawnee in 1834, recorded this description of a funeral procession for a child:

> One cold morning as I was returning from my walk, I saw several women, bearing the lifeless remains of a little child, that had died the preceding night, to his burial. They carried it a short distance, then placed it on the ground, stopped and wept awhile, then took it up and went forward, all the while howling sadly. The father, a young man, followed at a little distance, apparently, in an agony of grief.[29]

Graves were dug and prepared sometime before the procession started out.[30] The white showman Pawnee Bill wrote that "[o]ld squaws are the sextons and without a murmur they dig the graves and bury the dead."[31] Murie and Dorsey stated that these women received some form of pay for their efforts:

> Women were paid to dig a grave about two and a half feet deep. Then the women went to the timber and cut two forks and several poles. These they took up on the hill where the grave had been dug, set the forked poles, one at each end, and laid a pole across the two forks of the end poles.[32]

The dead person was then transported to the grave and placed inside. In deference to the Morning Star and his role in directing the disposition of human souls, the Skidi preferred to orient the bodies of their dead "with the head toward the east."[33] This directional orientation generally has been followed by all the Pawnee bands—even in present times.[34] A variety of objects were commonly placed inside the grave with the corpse, and then the grave was closed:

> [P]oles were set up on each side of the pole lying across the forks, grass was piled on top of these at each end, and the women piled a lot of dirt upon the poles around the grave, so that it was like a house. Sometimes the grave was dug deeper, so that the person was set in the lodge.[35]

The construction of graves probably did not vary much among the four Pawnee bands. A story told by White Horse, a Pitahawirata Pawnee who died in 1915, offers a good description of a young woman's burial:

> The people took her up on a high mound close to the graveyard and there they dug a hole about two feet deep and then they set up two forks, one on the east side and one on the west side. They placed a pole across it and then put poles against this pole. Then they took the girl up there and placed her upon the platform, with many presents of buffalo robes and all her dresses. They covered the place with grass and then with sod, so that the grave formed a little mound.[36]

Plants were sometimes placed on or near the grave, as visitors noted in 1851: "A tall bush was frequently stuck in the ground, to designate the spot."[37] As a young boy, John Knife Chief witnessed several burials during which cedar trees were planted at the foot of the grave; if the trees planted at interments failed to grow, this might be interpreted as reflecting some weakness in the character of the deceased.[38] Dunbar mentioned that Pawnee graves in Nebraska required protection from disturbance: "Sticks or stones . . . were piled upon the grave to prevent the body from being disinterred by wolves."[39] Dunbar also commented on the use of grave markers:

> A post curiously painted was usually placed at the grave. The devices on these posts were rude in conception and execution, and had a double purport. Part were designed to commemorate anything remarkable in the life or character of the deceased; while others were expressions of a belief in his continual existence. To this end his spirit, winged, was represented as passing away to another world.[40]

The burial practices of all four bands of Pawnee included the interment of possessions, religious artifacts, and gifts with the dead. Members of fraternal societies were buried with associated ceremonial paraphernalia;[41] and when society lances were re-

newed, the Pawnee saved the old lances and placed them as offerings "in the graves of great warriors."[42] Dunbar mentions "trinkets, and perhaps an article of value, as a bow or tomahawk" as objects commonly interred with the dead. Lillie lists "eagle feathers, bear claws, scalps, knives, revolvers, moccasins, and . . . other articles" as offerings buried with tribal leaders.[43] Williamson wrote in his memoirs that weapons were buried with Pawnee men.[44] Lawrence Goodfox's step-grandfather died in 1937 and was buried with a pipe.[45] Brummett EchoHawk listed bows, arrows, medallions, and red beads as offerings commonly placed in Pawnee graves.[46] Prominent women were sometimes interred with all their possessions.[47] Dorsey and Murie wrote that women were buried with the umbilical cords of their children, wrapped "in a buckskin in a work-box . . . ."[48] White Horse's account of the burial of a young woman mentions the piling of "buffalo robes and all her dresses" in the grave.[49] Sacred bundles were also buried with the dead. Murie reported that a Kitkahahki bundle, the Small Dark Thing, was interred with "the son of Curly Chief . . . ."[50] Other bundles and medicine objects are mentioned in Pawnee traditions as having been buried with their owners.[51] Certain articles, however, were not normally placed in graves:

> Reference has been made to the fact that personal belongings were buried with the dead. However, there were certain exceptions to this practice. Personal war bundles containing meteorites or any objects supposed to have had their origin in the heavens were not buried. This was in accordance with the belief that these objects belonged in the heavens and not in the ground. Hence, when an individual possessing such objects died, and if the relatives did not want them, the bundle was unwrapped and the objects were placed on a high hill, whence they returned to the heavens. Such objects were supposed to be the children of stars, watched over by them, and it was believed that when people had no further use for these "children," they would return to their parents in the sky. Also, if a medicine-man died during the time he was giving instruction to his son, his medicine bundle was retained for the boy's use when he became of age.[52]

Mourners also placed various objects on or next to the grave; one observer in Oklahoma wrote that the burials of Pawnee chiefs were "covered with old axes, lariats, pocket pins, grubbing hoes, and such rude instruments as are used by the squaws in raising their Indian maize."[53] All such articles, together with offerings placed

inside the grave, were considered to belong to the grave's occupant.[54] According to Dunbar, mourners sometimes visited graves to leave food and other objects "for the use of the dead."[55] Horses were occasionally slain at the grave site as a sacrifice for the dead:

> If the deceased had any ponies, and the relatives knew that he liked any particular pony, they would kill the pony upon his grave, believing that he would ride the pony to the Spirit Land. If the people were told by the deceased not to kill any ponies upon his grave, then the relatives roached the pony and cut the hair from the pony's tail; then they spread the hair over the grave and kept the pony.[56]

A story in *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* describes the death of a girl whose funeral included the building of a tipi over her grave as a gift. A note explains the purpose: "A form of burial, expressing on the part of the parents great affection for the girl,—it being supposed that she would take with her to the Spirit Land the spirit of the tipi and its belongings, which were now abandoned for her."[57] Shell scrapers—used for the removal of corn kernels from cobs—were often placed on women's graves.[58] Following the death of a son, a Pawnee chief might leave his "war ornaments" at the head of the grave, and "[i]f the chief had any calumet sticks, they were placed upon the grave."[59] The improper disposition of grave offerings could have severe consequences for the Pawnee, as one traditional story reports:

> A Skidi chief's daughter died. The father had received calumet pipe sticks from the Chaui band and his daughter had participated in the ceremony accompanying the gift. Her death followed shortly after the ceremony and was attributed to the belief that the ceremony had not been properly performed. Consequently, over her grave her father placed the pipe sticks, oriole's nest, wildcat skin, gourd rattles, and tobacco bag that comprised the special objects used in the ceremony. That year drought prevailed, the crops withered, buffalo could not be found, and the Skidi were forced to depend on their cache reserves. The Chaui priest who had originally brought the pipe sticks visited the Skidi, and with the chief to whom he had presented them, went to the grave, removed the ceremonial objects, wrapped them in a bundle, and taking the earth from over the body, placed the bundle next to it. He then re-filled the grave. Shortly after, there came a great rain storm accompanied by thunder. The Chaui priest

> sent for the Skidi chief, and after a feast told him it was very wrong to put the calumet pipe sticks on the grave, and that if he should ever lose another child and "desired to throw away the pipe sticks, they should be buried in the grave and not on it."[60]

GRAVE-TAMPERING

Several forms of grave-tampering receive attention in Pawnee traditions. First, as described in the anecdote quoted above, a Chaui priest opened a grave for the purpose of properly situating ceremonial objects that had been incorrectly placed on the grave. This should be viewed as a religiously sanctioned grave disturbance conducted with the approval and participation of the family of the deceased.

Traditional stories explaining the origin of a Skidi sacred bundle refer to other religiously sanctioned disturbances of Pawnee graves. The Skull bundle is an important Skidi sacred bundle in which a human skull is a major component.[61] This bundle was assembled by "the first man" under the direction of the Evening Star, a heavenly deity. After the man—who founded the Skidi confederacy—died and was buried, his skull was disinterred and affixed to the bundle: "[H]e told the people that Tirawa had told him, through Bright-Star [Evening Star], that when he should die his skull should be placed upon the bundle, so that his spirit should have power, and be ever present with the Skidi people."[62] According to another story, when this skull was disinterred, a "wooden skull was put in its place."[63] Some years later, the current owner of the bundle received a visitation instructing him to remove the skull and replace it with another, but the owner "was afraid to change the skull" and neglected to do so. The original skull subsequently was shattered by a falling tipi pole, and only then was it replaced by a skull from another Pawnee grave:

> No sooner had the skull broken to pieces than the day was turned into darkness. People were scared, the priests gathered together, and it was decided to get the other skull. So the priests opened the bundle, sang songs, went out and took the pieces of the old skull, and went to the grave of the other chief. The skull was dug up, and the pieces of the old skull were put in its place.[64]

In both instances where a skull was removed from the grave, a substitute was put in its place. These activities were not lightly undertaken; the reluctance of the later owner to "change the skull" probably originated from strong Pawnee proscriptions against grave-tampering. In these examples of approved disturbances of Pawnee burials, prohibitions against grave-tampering were overridden by compelling religious needs.

In a narrative about a young woman who died and then returned to her people as a spirit in human form, intellectual curiosity did not suffice as a justification for disturbing a grave. The woman's mother apparently found it difficult to believe that her daughter had come back, so she decided to investigate the contents of the grave site. She was chastised by her daughter:

> One night the girl noticed her mother looking closely at her. The old woman got up and took her hoe and went out. She went on the top of the hill where the grave was and she began to dig into the grave. When she had dug down she found the bones and all the things which were placed in the grave were still there, and she thought to herself, "Well, this can not be my daughter, for here she lies and all the things are here with her bones." When she went down and entered her lodge, the girl said: "Mother, I know what you have done. You do not believe that I am your daughter. My body lies up there, but I am here with you. I am not real, and if you people do not always treat me properly I will suddenly disappear." The woman knew that although her body lay in the grave, she was living with them as a spirit.[65]

The mother's suspicion had led to the disturbance of her daughter's grave in a futile investigation of the physical remains. The daughter was not pleased, and she vowed to "suddenly disappear" if she should be treated with such disrespect again.

Another example of grave-tampering by a family member appears in a story about a Skidi father who excavated a hole in the grave of his recently buried son and crawled inside.[66] This was not a typical mourning practice among the Pawnee. The story also describes a greatly abhorred type of grave disturbance involving the desecration and mistreatment of human remains. In the narrative, as the father sat in the grave, two Skidi witches approached, one of them saying, "I am here to take out this young man, cut him open, and to take the fat off from his heart for our medicines." The

father managed to capture one of the witches and learned that his son had been killed by spiritual poisoning. After finding out the identities of the witches, the father slew them; when their medicine bundles were opened, he "saw things in there that had been dug out of graves, taken from human beings." Public sensibilities held little sympathy for the executed witches, and "no one of the friends of these people dared to mourn for them . . . ." Gene Weltfish noted that Pawnee witches removed the skin from the heels of newly buried human corpses for use in constructing a deadly pellet, a special tool for murder.[67] These activities were viewed by the Pawnee as very sinister and immoral.

A fourth type of grave disturbance concerns the unsanctioned removal of grave offerings. A story related by Brummett EchoHawk illustrates the dangerous consequences associated with mishandling articles from Pawnee graves.[68] EchoHawk recalled that when he was a child, he was acquainted with a boy whose family lived near a cemetery in the south of the old Pawnee reservation in Oklahoma. Many of the graves in this cemetery were somewhat shallow and sunken. Although the boys had often been warned not to tamper with these graves, Brummett's young friend removed a pipe and some beads from a partially open grave. Afterward, he showed the pipe to Brummett, who later told his father, Elmer Echo Hawk. Elmer instructed his son not to associate with the boy's family, for the boy had committed a sacrilegious act, and Elmer felt that serious spiritual consequences might ensue. Soon after this, the boy fell seriously ill, and, that evening, his mother sent for Pawnee doctors who practiced traditional medicine. Later in the night, the family's dogs were heard whining and barking off in the direction of the cemetery, moving closer and closer to the house. Then someone wearing moccasins stepped up on the porch and entered the house. This visitor made a thorough search of the kitchen and living room, opening cabinets and drawers in frustration. It was thought that this visitor came from the grave in search of his stolen possessions. The next day, the father of the boy returned the pipe and beads to the cemetery, and the Pawnee doctors attempted to purify the boy, but they did not succeed and the boy soon died. The Pawnee regard the unsanctioned removal of grave offerings as a spiritually dangerous violation of the dead.[69]

RITUALS AND MOURNING PRACTICES ASSOCIATED WITH GRAVE SITES

One visitor to the Pawnee in 1844 asserted, "Those who have died recently they suffer no grass to grow over [their graves], until two summers have passed away."[70] The graves of dead Pawnee bore a continuing significance to living friends and relatives and to Pawnee society as a whole. A variety of sanctioned activities took place at the locations of closed Pawnee graves, either as part of the funeral or as independent events during the months and years that followed.[71] Dorsey and Murie briefly describe acts of self-mutilation carried out by Skidi mourners during the funeral services:

> As a rule, the close friends of the deceased performed some act of bodily mutilation immediately after or just before the burial, the men slashing their arms, breasts, or legs with knives and the women cutting their hair. Hair thus cut was at once burned, for fear that the Morning Star would see it upon the grave and claim the victim as his own sacrifice. For the same reason horse's hair cut off during burial services was also burned.[72]

The killing of horses during funeral services is mentioned in an earlier section of this paper. They were slain and left on top of graves (or perhaps leaning against the mounds) as offerings for the benefit of the deceased. Other ritual offerings probably were conducted at burial sites. Elvira Platt's account of the burial of a leading Chaui elder describes special circumstances that called for the offering of two separate buffalo meat sacrifices:

> At his [Te-row-a Tup-uts's] death the agent and many of the employees followed him to his burial on the bluff overlooking the beautiful valley of the Loup. A most remarkable phenomenon occurred as we awaited the burning of the dried buffalo meat which his wife had drawn aside to offer for his support as he traveled to the distant land of the dead. As the smoke of the offering ascended, from out of the clear azure above us came a long roll of distant thunder.
>
> . . . .
>
> Some days after our old friend was laid to rest his lonely companion came to the school, and entering the sitting room, exclaimed, "I have been to burn more meat for the old man, and I think he will stop coming to me. He has been in my lodge every night disturbing me, and I have told him he must stop."

> Some time after this I saw and asked her if she rested now, and she assured me that the "old man" left her alone; that he came no more.[73]

The meat offering and the sacrifice of the horse were carried out during the funeral, but other ritual activity could occur later. In instances where Pawnee warriors died in battle, the scalp of an enemy might be acquired for use at the burial site:

> [The scalp] was carried home to the village on a pole, and scalp dances were inaugurated. The scalp was consecrated to one of the deities of the heavens, and the man who had taken it wrapped a piece of it in a small buckskin sack with tobacco. This was tied to a long stick representing an arrow and thrust into the grave. Another small piece of the scalp was burned upon the grave.[74]

Following an interment, mourners remained for varying periods at the grave. One story relates that a father "mourned four days at the grave of his son. . . ."[75] The firsthand report of a traveler in 1851 described a group of Skidi women who buried an old man at dusk and then "sat moaning, wailing and crying in the most doleful manner for hours and hours in token of their sorrow."[76] In the months and years following a funeral, Pawnee occasionally would visit the graves of relatives to mourn and leave offerings. Washington Irving's nephew, John T. Irving, witnessed such a visit by a Kitkahahki woman to the grave of her brother in 1833.[77] Dunbar later discussed this behavior:

> Women continued for years to resort to the grave of a brother, husband, or child, to mourn.[78] Seated beside the grave they would give utterance to their feelings in plaintive wailings . . . or in a sort of monologue, *talking to God* they termed it. Sometimes they also placed food at the grave, or if a man, a bow, for the use of the dead.[79]

Such mourning activities were not limited to Pawnee women. A firsthand account of the removal of the Pawnee from Nebraska to Oklahoma describes how one Pawnee man fell sick and died after visiting his brother's grave in Kansas. John Williamson was appointed by the United States Indian agent to accompany the second group of Pawnee to Oklahoma in 1874; his memoirs report that a young Pawnee named Spotted Horse died from the effects of exposure while mourning all night:

No deaths occurred until near Bunker Hill Kansas when occurred the death of Spotted Horse from what I was lead [*sic*] to believe was pneumonia. About mid-day Spotted Horse came to me and looking down in the valley asked me if we could not camp there that night as some years before his brother had been killed . . . here by the Sioux in battles and he wanted to sit on his grave that night and mourn as he said "I may never come thru this way again.["] I told him that it being such bad cold weather that he had not ought to do a thing like that as he was liable to catch cold and get sick. He said he didn't care if he did he seemed to be in very depressed spirits. I finally granted his request and we camped there for the night. That night he carried out his plans and mourned all night on his brothers grave. The next morning when he passed my tent in speaking to me I noticed he was very hoarse. We did not travel that day and that afternoon I was called to his tent and found him laying on the buffalo robes and the medicine men were dancing around him, howling hideously, shaking their gourds and burning him on his chest with hot irons. This was their method of treating some patients. He was sick 3 or 4 days and so we did not travel and I visited his tent every day. A few people came over from Bunker Hill to visit the camp & among them a minister his wife & daughter & when he learned of Spotted Horse's sickness he went to his hut to see him. Through the in[terpreter] Harry Coon[s] he talked and prayed with him. Sometime after midnight I was summoned to his tent, he sending word that he wanted to see me. Upon reaching [the] tent I found him in a most critical condition & unable to talk only then a w[h]isper. He reached out his hand & I took it in mine & he said these last & dying words in Indian language "Now Brother in a little while I will be dead & gone[.] I want to be buried in a white man's cemetery & have a coffin & have the man who prayed with me to preach my funeral sermon. I want you to get the Big Father at Wash[ington] . . . to put up stone where I am buried[.] I want my name written on this stone and also the words that I was a friend of the white man." As I promised him his dying requests he peaceably passed away. Spotted Horse was 35 yrs old at the time of his death. He was a fine looking Indian of a very gentle & mild disposition. Always courteous & pleasant to whom ever he met. Thus passed away one of the finest specimens of Indian manhood. I believe when the great day comes, Spotted Horse will be with his white brethren.[80]

The Pawnee continued to visit tribal cemeteries long after abandoning nearby earthlodge towns. Stories related by the descendants of white settlers in southern Nebraska describe delegations of Pawnee traveling from their reservation north of the Platte River to visit the ruins of a Pawnee town on the Republican River.[81] These stories report that the Pawnee arrived each spring and fall "in order to perform certain ceremonial and religious rites at the 'sacred hill' where the Pawnee chiefs and important men were buried." After the tribe settled in Oklahoma, it became difficult for the Pawnee to travel to tribal cemeteries in Nebraska. When Harry Coons, a Skidi Pawnee, visited Nebraska in 1898, he searched for the graves of his two sisters near Genoa: "Where my sisters graves were is now cornfield[;] what few graves I did find were open and robbed of what little—if any[—]trinkets were found on the dead."[82] By the turn of the century, Pawnee cemeteries throughout the Central Plains had received similar treatment at the hands of curious American settlers and visitors.

PAWNEE CEMETERIES

The Pawnee traditionally interred their dead in cemeteries on hilltops or ridges near their earthlodge towns.[83] A photograph of a Pawnee cemetery appears in Bushnell's 1927 book about Indian burials west of the Mississippi River;[84] it was taken by John Carbutt on the Pawnee Reservation in Nebraska, probably during the early 1870s.[85] The official journal of an early United States exploration party provides a brief description of a Pawnee cemetery in 1820. The Long expedition was launched by the United States from eastern Nebraska to investigate the physical features and human inhabitants of the Central Great Plains. While visiting the Pawnee towns, Captain John R. Bell made note of a cemetery near the Skidi earthlodge town:

> This Village is situated on a plain and near the margin of the river, the bank high and abrupt, filled with rock—the plain is about three quarters of a mile wide, when commences the hills or undulations of the prairie which are also high—on one of them is a cemetery for the dead, where a pole is erected, on which is suspended several articles furnished by the medicine men of the nation, which I suppose was no more than to make the place as sacred, and to have a serious and solem [*sic*] effect of the living—the village is built after the same manner as the other two . . . .[86]

Pawnee cemeteries also attracted the attention of later travelers in the Central Plains. In 1833, John Irving described a Kitkahahki cemetery as consisting "of a number of small mounds . . . ."[87] One army officer visiting a Chaui town in 1844 wrote, "The Pawnee bury their dead upon the summits of the bluffs, and for two or three miles above and below this town, the top of each hill is covered with graves."[88] The official diarist of the Mormon emigrants in 1847 observed graves near a Pawnee earthlodge town: "On top of the bluffs can be seen a number of Indian graves."[89] Oehler and Smith visited the Pawnee in 1851 and reported, "On the highest mounds in the prairie, we often observed little hillocks of earth, which we were informed were the places of sepulture of their chiefs and others of their tribe."[90] Pawnee towns were sometimes inhabited by members of more than one band; in such cases, each band had its own separate graveyard. A map of the last Pawnee earthlodge town in Nebraska, published in Tyson, shows a separate cemetery for each of the four bands that occupied the town.[91] John Williamson mentions these cemeteries in his memoirs, writing that each band "had a different burying ground. The Skeedee burying their dead on the hill just north of the agency."[92]

Graves could be located anywhere near a Pawnee town—not only in the recognized cemeteries. One story describes the burial of a young woman in a grave "on a high mound close to the graveyard . . . ."[93] Other burials were made in embankments: "When a poor woman died, the women would go to the side of a hill where they would cut a shallow hole, then they would roll the woman in a buffalo robe, place her in the hole and cover her up with dirt."[94] Pawnee who were killed in battle were sometimes left where they died, and such resting places on the open ground were respected as acceptable alternatives to interment in the earth. A letter written by Samuel Allis in July 1843 tells of a battle between the Pawnee and Sioux raiders and reports that the Pawnee buried their dead in storage pits: "The dead that were buried, were hurried into corn [caches] and places where they could be buried out of sight."[95]

The Pawnee continued to bury their dead in tribal cemeteries after their removal to Oklahoma during the 1870s. Pawnee elders interviewed during the 1980s also reported that Pawnee were buried in unmarked graves along many of the ridges within the boundaries of the original Pawnee Reservation in Oklahoma. The South Cemetery is associated primarily with the Kitkahahki, and the North Cemetery was established by the Skidi. These two

cemeteries are still utilized by Pawnee families of all four bands today. Cemeteries founded by the Chaui (West Cemetery) and Pitahawirata have fallen from use by the tribe. Lands surrounding the West Cemetery entered non-Indian control after the United States forced the tribe to sell its so-called surplus lands in the early 1890s. With no public road adjoining the cemetery, access became a problem for the Pawnee during the twentieth century. The Pitahawirata cemetery has not been used since before the turn of the century. In 1904, the Pawnee refused to sell this cemetery to the federal government, as the United States Indian agent reported:

> They [the Pawnee] object strenuously to its being taken away from them. They also refuse to consider any proposition for its sale, saying that many of their people are buried there and that they desire to retain the land in possession of the tribe.[96]

CONCLUSION

The disposition of human remains among the Pawnee has always involved a complex unfolding of tradition, religion, and ritual. Anointed human corpses were regarded as holy remains to be interred with dignity in a permanent, undisturbed resting place. Objects and artifacts that were placed inside, on, or near a grave became the possessions of the dead. These offerings were provided for the spiritual benefit of both the living and the dead, and the dead took "all their belongings with them to Spirit Land."[97]

Human skeletal remains were not viewed as abandoned relics. According to Dorsey and Murie, "Dekatcaru, Spirit Land, is derived from Dekatca, spirit; it also signifies a person who has died and is in skeleton form."[98] A continuing relationship was thought to exist between the skeletal remains and the spirit of an individual. The few examples where the Pawnee curated human remains occurred in highly religious contexts involving belief in the existence of spiritual connections between human remains, grave offerings, and the human spirit, as in the use of a human skull with the Skidi Skull bundle.

The religious heritage of the Pawnee includes traditions about human spiritual existence after death. The dead reside in towns occupied by related families,[99] and Spirit Land is a place of transcendent beauty. Aspects of Pawnee mortuary customs have undergone change over time, and modern-day funerals feature a mixture of Christian and traditional Pawnee ceremonialism. The

mortuary traditions of the Pawnee people have received only limited attention from scholars—even from many scholars interested in Pawnee skeletal remains and grave offerings. In order to honor the dead, living Pawnee provided them with spiritual gifts and constructed permanent repositories for their sanctified remains. This attitude of respect for the dead clearly serves as an elemental feature of Pawnee mortuary traditions.

NOTES

1. No major differences in burial practices between Pawnee bands were noted or recalled in interviews conducted on this subject. Interviews were conducted by telephone with the following individuals: Brummett EchoHawk (Kitkahahki Pawnee), 9 August 1988; Lawrence Goodfox, Jr. (Chaui Pawnee), 3 August 1988; and John Knife Chief (Skidi Pawnee), 18 July 1988.

2. David I. Bushnell's *Burials of the Algonquian, Siouan and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 83 (Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1927) contains a short section (pp. 79–82) on Pawnee burials. The white showman Pawnee Bill published a letter in 1886 that briefly describes Pawnee burial practices (Gordon W. Lillie, "Indian Burials," *American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 8:1 [1886]: 28–30). The most important publication on Pawnee mortuary traditions is James R. Murie and George A. Dorsey's *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, ed. Alexander Spoehr (Anthropological Series 27:2, Field Museum of Natural History, 1940), 101–107. Murie was a Skidi Pawnee scholar who wrote extensively on Pawnee religion and society. In this paper, I have cited Dorsey's major publications on the Pawnee more accurately as collaborations with Murie. *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1904), and *The Pawnee Mythology* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1906) were collected and translated primarily by James R. Murie, with Dorsey serving as editor; but these works—together with a third volume of Arikara traditions—appeared in print with Dorsey listed as the author (see Parks, in James R. Murie, *Ceremonies of the Pawnee*, ed. Douglas R. Parks [Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981], 23–24).

3. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, 102; also see Lillie, "Indian Burials," 28–29. Present-day (1988) elders of the tribe note that traditional burial services varied according to the prominence, reputation, and social position of the dead person. Burials also differed in some details among clans and families and according to the customary practices of the individuals who, by traditional right, conducted services for the dead (John Knife Chief interview; Brummett EchoHawk interview).

4. See Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 341 n. 125; idem, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, 102. The latter also states that the preparations for men "of importance" were similar to those for elders "who died in extremely old age." Lillie ("Indian Burials," 28) gives a description of the funerals of tribal leaders in Oklahoma: "There is great ceremony in burying a chief or head chief. When one dies he is put into an Indian lodge where all the Indians of the tribe are allowed to take a final look at the revered dead. Solemnity is preserved everywhere, no laughter or gaiety is expressed, even the children are not allowed to

play or enjoy themselves, and one passing through the village, were it not for the ponies, would think it deserted. The body is held in state usually about a day and a half, then it is closely wrapped in a new red blanket and placed in a box which is furnished by the Government Agent, made of planed cottonwood timber. The box is much larger than a coffin, but all extra space is taken up by eagle feathers, bear claws, scalps, knives, revolvers, moccasins, and such other articles as are thrown in by the friends of the dead chief."

5. Murie (*Ceremonies of the Pawnee*, 179 n. 27 and n. 21) defines *priest* or *holy man* as "one who has performed all the possible consecrations and other rites." (See also Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 331 n. 27.) The Pawnee continue to rely on the services of individuals who have a hereditary right to conduct burials. Lawrence Goodfox and Andy Pratt were named in 1988 as living priests who can conduct funeral ceremonies. William Eaves was also named as a knowledgeable source on Pawnee mortuary traditions. In the memory of one elder, there were once at least five Kitkahahki "who used to conduct burials" and had "their own way of burial" (John Knife Chief interview). These individuals are largely responsible for orchestrating the funeral feast; Lawrence Goodfox (interview) also states that he occasionally has assumed the responsibility for clothing the dead.

6. According to Dorsey and Murie (*Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 343 n. 133), this ointment "was made from the fat of a buffalo which had been dedicated to Tirawa, mixed with red clay."

7. Murie, *Ceremonies of the Pawnee*, 179 n. 27.

8. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, 102. John Knife Chief (interview) stated that the Pawnee once used certain medicines as preservatives, but he does not know the nature or process of application of these medicines. This could be a reference to the "sacred red ointment" described by Dorsey and Murie.

9. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 70.

10. Ibid., 77.

11. For other references to the use of this ointment, see Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 309, 336 n. 85, 347 n. 185; idem, *The Pawnee Mythology*, 16–17; idem, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 22–23, 222–23.

12. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, 102.

13. Brummett EchoHawk interview.

14. Facial painting continues to be practiced among the Pawnee; red paint is commonly applied in a traditional pattern on the faces of deceased men of the EchoHawk family.

15. See Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, 102; idem, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 69, 70, 341 n. 125; John B. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians: Their Habits and Customs," *Magazine of American History* 8:11 (1882):734; Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe* (1965; Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), 169.

16. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 212–18. Lillie ("Indian Burials," 28) reported that the remains of tribal leaders were placed in a special Indian lodge for a period of public visitation before burial.

17. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, 103. The touching of the dead at wakes and during funeral services continues among the Pawnee today.

18. John B. Dunbar, "Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission in the Pawnee Country near Bellvue, Nebraska, 1838–1849," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society: 1915–1918*, vol. 14 (Topeka, KS: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1918), 612.

19. Brummett EchoHawk interview.

20. Lawrence Goodfox interview; John Knife Chief interview.

21. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, 102. For accounts of same-day burials, see R. Eli Paul, ed., "George Wilkins Kendall, Newsman, and a Party of Pleasure Seekers on the Prairie, 1851," *Nebraska History* 64:1 (Nebraska State Historical Society, 1983): 64; "Letter of Father De Smet, Nov. 1, 1859," in P. J. De Smet, *New Indian Sketches* (New York: D & J Sadler & Co., 1863), 74. For accounts of next-day burials following deaths during the evening and night, see Dunbar, "Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission," 601–602, 604; Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 69, 221. In two stories, a body was kept all afternoon and buried the next day (Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 214; idem, *The Pawnee: Mythology*, 262–63). One memoir by a Nebraska settler mentions an unusual circumstance in which the body of a Skidi man was kept overnight due to rain (John W. Williamson, "Autobiography and Reminiscences," ms. circa 1924–26, John W. Williamson Collection, MS2710, Nebraska State Historical Society, 6). Lillie ("Indian Burials," 28) writes that the remains of tribal leaders in Oklahoma during the 1880s were "held in state for a day or day and a half . . . ."

22. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians," 734.

23. James Riding In reports an incident where a man died and three days later came back to life as his relatives were placing him in a grave ("Keepers of Tirawahut's Covenant: The Development and Destruction of Pawnee Culture" [Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991]).

24. Williamson ("Autobiography and Reminiscences," 6) affirms that Pawnee women customarily acted as pallbearers in transporting the dead to grave sites. See also Dunbar, "Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission," 605, and Paul, "George Wilkins Kendall, Newsman," 64.

25. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians," 734. Dunbar's father, John Dunbar, served as a missionary among the Pawnee during the 1830s and 1840s. In October 1834, the elder Dunbar wrote in his journal about the death of a Chaui man: "As soon as it was light, the dead man was taken out and buried. His wives and friends followed loudly howling, and weeping to the grave lamenting their loss" (Dunbar, "Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission," 601–602).

26. Von Del Chamberlain, *When Stars Came Down to Earth: Cosmology of the Skidi Pawnee Indians of North America* (Los Altos, CA: Ballena Press, 1982), 109, 110.

27. De Smet, "Letter of Father De Smet," 74.

28. Elvira G. Platt, "Some Experiences as a Teacher among the Pawnees," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society: 1915–1918*, vol. 59, 792.

29. Dunbar, "Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission," 605.

30. There may have been instances where the dead person was taken to the burial site before the construction of the grave (see Dorsey and Murie, *The Pawnee Mythology*, 126–27, 262–63). According to Alvin Echo-Hawk, Sr. (6 April 1986 conversation), Pawnee graves traditionally were dug on the day of the burial and closed before sundown.

31. Lillie, "Indian Burials," 29. In 1851, George Kendall witnessed the burial of a Skidi elder and reported, "[A]t dusk the female members of the family had brought his body out [and] buried it . . . ." (Paul, "George Wilkins Kendall, Newsman," 64). Although Kendall did not specify whether these women constructed the grave, the implication is clear that they did. Pawnee graves today are commonly dug by tribal employees, family members, or friends of the family.

32. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, 341 n. 125.

33. Idem, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society*, 102.

34. John Knife Chief interview.

35. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 341 n. 125.

36. Idem, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 126–27. Compare with a Skidi burial account in Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 215, and with a Kitkahahki burial in Dorsey and Murie, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 263.

37. Gottlieb F. Oehler and David Z. Smith, *Description of a Journey and a Visit to the Pawnee Indians* (1914; Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1974), 32.

38. John Knife Chief interview. Mass burial sites at Massacre Canyon, near Trenton, Nebraska—the location of a battle between the Pawnee and the Sioux—currently are covered with cedar trees. Brummett EchoHawk (interview) suggests that these trees may have originated from cedar seeds carried (together with cedar leaves) among the personal effects of the slain Pawnee. Cedar is commonly burned as a Pawnee ritual purification. The cedar trees might also have been planted on the mounds by visiting Pawnee.

39. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians," 734.

40. Ibid.

41. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,* 102.

42. James R. Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History,* vol. 11, part 8 (1914; New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1915), 560.

43. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians," 734; Lillie, "Indian Burials," 28–29.

44. Williamson, "Autobiography and Reminiscences," 34.

45. Lawrence Goodfox interview.

46. Brummett EchoHawk interview.

47. John Knife Chief interview.

48. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,* 90.

49. Idem, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 126–27, 131, 132.

50. Murie, *Ceremonies of the Pawnee,* 197.

51. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 221; idem, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 250.

52. Idem, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,* 106.

53. Lillie, "Indian Burials," 28.

54. Concerning the possession of personal articles by the dead, Dorsey and Murie wrote, "The people believe that when they die they take all their belongings with them to Spirit Land" (*Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 342 n. 126).

55. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians," 735.

56. Dorsey and Murie (*Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 341 n. 125). Gene Weltfish relates a story told by Effie Blaine in which a horse was sacrificed on the grave of a young woman: "[T]here he found a dead horse that had been killed for the girl" (Gene Weltfish, *Caddoan Texts: Pawnee, South Band Dialect* [New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1937], 80). According to John Williamson ("Autobiography and Reminiscences," 33–34), "A brave man was one who would protect his family & fought bravely in battle & come out victorious & whenever such a man died his horse was always slain & laid on his grave & his weapons buried with him[.] This was so he could have his horse to ride & his weapons to hunt with in the 'Happy Hunting Grounds.'" This ritual sacrifice continued in Oklahoma; Lillie ("Indian Burials," 28) reported that "not many years ago it was frequent to see two or three horses driven over the grave and shot down, but the advance of civilization has increased the value of their ponies so much that they feel unable to lose them, and then again the missionaries have taught them that the spirits of their horses do not accompany the [dead] to the happy hunting ground."

57. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 342 n. 130.
58. John Knife Chief interview.
59. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 341 n. 125.
60. Idem, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,* 106–107.
61. The Skull bundle is kept at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. For information on this Skidi sacred bundle, see Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 9–14, 55–56, 310–13, 330 n. 8, 338 n. 107, n. 108, 359 n. 298; Murie in Dorsey and Murie, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 44 n. 1, 104 n. 1; Murie, "Pawnee Indian Societies," 552–54; idem, *Ceremonies of the Pawnee,* 13, 14, 31, 32, 35, 76–84, 91, 107–111.
62. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 13.
63. Ibid., 55.
64. Ibid.
65. Idem, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 131–32.
66. Idem, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 212–18. The story continues with this description of the father's actions: "He sat there a while, and then reached to his son and took him up; for this was in the winter time, so he had not decayed. He hugged the boy for a while and then let him down. Then he sat down and pulled his blanket over himself, and sat there a long time without mourning or saying anything" (Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 215).
67. Weltfish, *The Lost Universe,* 335, 343–45.
68. Brummett EchoHawk interview.
69. See Dorsey and Murie, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 222–25, for a traditional story told to children in order to warn them against the theft of property belonging to other tribal citizens.
70. Henry J. Carleton, *The Prairie Logbooks: Dragoon Campaigns to the Pawnee Villages in 1844, and to the Rocky Mountains in 1845,* ed. Louis Pelzer (1943; Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 74.
71. Other mourning activities are not typically associated with grave sites. Perhaps the most important of these is the funeral feast or mourning feast, conducted sometime after the burial of the deceased. This ritual feast is held in order to share a final meal with the dead person (Lawrence Goodfox interview; John Knife Chief interview; see also Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,* 103–105).
72. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,* 105.
73. Platt, "Some Experiences as a Teacher among the Pawnees," 792. See Dorsey and Murie, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 129–31, for mention of a buffalo meat offering held at the grave site of a young woman some months after the funeral.
74. Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,* 106.
75. Idem, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 74.
76. Paul, "George Wilkins Kendall, Newsman," 64. Lillie ("Indian Burials," 28) mentions women mourners at the graves of chiefs: "After the burial it is the duty of the squaw or squaws of the chief to go to the grave at sunrise [and] sundown to sing their death songs; this is kept up three days.... They [the songs] are a wailing, mostly in monotone and very pitiful to the ear." For other mentions of such mourning activities, see Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 71–73; idem, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 126–34, 263–64, 411; Weltfish, *Caddoan Texts,* 79–82; Dunbar, "Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission," 605; and Murie, *Ceremonies of the Pawnee,* 177.
77. John Treat Irving, Jr., *Indian Sketches Taken during an Expedition to the Pawnee Tribes* (1833; Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), 170–73.

78. An Englishman who visited the Pawnee in the mid-1830s noted, "I have sometimes seen squaws moaning and chanting in the evening at a little distance from camp; and, on inquiry, have learned that they were mourning for a relative, who had been some years dead" (Charles A. Murray, *Travels in North America during the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836,* 2 vols. [New York: Harper, 1839], 1:302). Since Murray encountered the Pawnee in their hunting camps, this might imply that mourning activities did not always occur at grave sites; but these Pawnee women may have been mourning at graves located near traditional Pawnee camping grounds.

79. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians," 735, emphasis in original.

80. Williamson, "Autobiography and Reminiscences," 47–49.

81. C. B. Shultz, "Reminiscences," in "Nebraska Archaeology: Fifty Years Later," ed. Warren Caldwell (Unpublished ms. circa 1985).

82. Ruby Wilson, *Frank J. North: Pawnee Scout Commander and Pioneer* (Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1984), 325–27.

83. Modern-day Pawnee tribal cemeteries in Oklahoma are located on hilltops or ridges. Lillie ("Indian Burials," 28) also noted the placement of Pawnee cemeteries "upon some high mound or bluff and some distance from the village but always in sight of it." Pawnee traditional stories occasionally refer to cemeteries (Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 212–18; idem, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 126, 410–11; Weltfish, *Caddoan Texts,* 80). Other mentions of cemeteries appear in Bushnell, *Burials of the Algonquian,* 79, 85; Melvin R. Gilmore, "Trip with White Eagle Determining Pawnee Sites, Aug. 27–29, 1914" (Unpublished ms., Melvin R. Gilmore Collection, MS231, Nebraska State Historical Society, 1914), 6, 7; and Dorsey and Murie, *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society,* 91.

84. Bushnell, *Burials of the Algonquian,* plate 36.

85. National Anthropological Archives, photograph file Pawnee 2, negative 1254.

86. Harlin M. Fuller and LeRoy R. Hafen, eds., *The Journal of Captain John R. Bell: Official Journalist for the Stephen H. Long Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1820* (1957; Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1973), 118.

87. Irving, *Indian Sketches Taken during an Expedition,* 170.

88. Carleton, *The Prairie Logbooks,* 74.

89. William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal* (1921; New York: Arno Press, 1973), 96.

90. Oehler and Smith, *Description of a Journey,* 31–32.

91. Carl N. Tyson, *The Pawnee People* (Phoenix, AZ: Indian Tribal Series, 1976), 81.

92. Williamson, "Autobiography and Reminiscences," 6.

93. Dorsey and Murie, *The Pawnee Mythology,* 126.

94. Idem, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 341 n. 125. See also Weltfish, *Caddoan Texts,* 169. Pawnee Bill, the white showman, felt that the Pawnee treated the remains of elderly women with little respect: "The burying of an old squaw is disgraceful. They are wrapped in an old blanket and buried; not even her own children and near relatives being present, and if it happens that she dies away from the village the grave is dug a few feet from the corpse and she is rolled in, and this ends it. Not even trouble is taken to remove her to the burial ground" (Lillie, "Indian Burials," 29).

95. Dunbar, "Letters Concerning the Presbyterian Mission," 730.

96. G. W. Nellis to the commissioner of Indian affairs, Pawnee, O.T., 16 September 1904, quoted in G. Bailey and R. Bailey, "Ethnohistoric Research on

the Pawnee" (Paper submitted to the Arkansas River Trust Authority, 19 April 1979), 3.

97. Dorsey and Murie, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,* 342 n. 126.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.