

THE THUNDER CEREMONY OF THE PAWNEE

BY

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FOX, A SKIDI PAWNEE.

THE PLAINS INDIANS

(Hall 5)

PREFACE

The Field Museum's collection illustrating the life of the Indians of the Great Plains is one of the best and most extensive in this country. Much of the material has been obtained directly from the tribes through research of museum officials and others employed by the institution, among whom Mr. S. C. Simms, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, Mr. James Mooney, and Mr. H. R. Voth deserve especial mention. The collections have been further enriched by purchases and particularly by numerous gifts of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, a trustee of the institution, who has always taken a profound interest in this phase of the museum's activities.

The exhibits are especially rich in objects used by the Indians in connection with their religious observances, and several miniature groups have been prepared showing the manner in which the Pawnee, one of the Plains tribes, performed their most important ceremonies. A proper understanding of the significance of such ceremonial objects is impossible without some knowledge of the religious concepts and observances of the tribes represented. The present series of leaflets is designed to give this necessary background by presenting the facts in a simple and popular form. Much of the information contained in them has already been published in various scientific publications; but the descriptions of the Pawnee ceremonies have not previously been published, and it is hoped that they may prove of interest to the scientist, as well as the lay reader.

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LEAFLET

NUMBER 5

The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee

(Hall 5, Case 60)

The Pawnee were a tribe of the Caddoan linguistic stock who, in historic times, occupied the valley of the Platte river in Nebraska. The name Pawnee is probably derived from *pariki* ("a horn"), a term applied to them by the neighboring tribes because of their peculiar method of dressing the hair. They called themselves *Chahiksichahiks* ("Men of Men"). They seem to have come into Nebraska from some region to the southwest, expelling an earlier population; but this movement was an ancient one, and the first Siouxian tribes to enter the Platte valley found the Pawnee already established.

The region in which the Pawnee lived was high, dry, and rather sandy, with little timber except along the rivers. On the west, toward the mountains, it was rough and broken. In early times buffalo and other game were abundant. Although the Pawnee ranged over a large territory in pursuit of the buffalo, they were not nomads. They spent the greater part of every year in permanent villages and raised large crops of corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins. Corn played a much more important part than the buffalo in their ceremonies and mythology, and it is evident that they were an agricultural rather than a hunting people.

The tools, weapons, and utensils of the Pawnee differed little from those of the other Plains tribes, but they understood the arts of pottery-making and basket-weaving. During the summer the men usually wore only a loin cloth and moccasins, adding leggings and a robe in winter. The women wore moccasins, leggings, and a skirt made from a buffalo hide tanned on both sides. Upper garments other than the robe do not seem to have been worn in ancient times. The men stiffened their hair with paint and fat, and made it into the form of a curved horn. Both sexes pierced the ears, and often wore large numbers of ear-rings. In their permanent villages the Pawnee lived in earth lodges (see Leaflet "Annual Dance of the Medicine Men"), but when on the hunt they occupied tipis of the sort used by all the Plains tribes.

The Pawnee were divided into four sub-tribes or bands, the Chaui, Pitahauerat, Kitkehahki, and Skidi. The first three of these were closely related, but the Skidi differed somewhat from their associates, and considered themselves more closely related to the Arikara, another Caddoan tribe, who lived some distance to the north. In their settlements along the river, the four bands preserved a regular order, the Skidi being farthest upstream, the Pitahauerat farthest downstream, and the other two bands between. Each band was divided into a number of villages which were social as well as geographical units. All the members of a village believed themselves to be descended from a single ancestor, and marriages were usually made within the group. Descent was reckoned in the female line. Each village possessed a shrine (bundle) containing sacred objects, and priests who had charge of the rituals and ceremonies connected with these objects. It was ruled over by a hereditary chief and a council composed of its leading men. If the chief was a man of character and ability, he exercised undisputed

authority, settled all difficulties, and preserved order. He was expected to give freely, and was usually surrounded by dependents. His orders were enforced by four men, called Nahikuts, who stood next to him in social position. Below these ranked the Kurahus or priests, who performed the ceremonies. Of still lower rank were the Kurau or medicine-men and the Nara-wiraris or warriors, while at the bottom of the scale came the remainder of the village.

The villages composing each band were held together by their religious ceremonies, in which each village had its place and share, and by the council, composed of the chiefs of all the villages. The tribe was similarly united, its council being made up of the councils of the bands. In the meetings of these councils rules of precedence and decorum were rigidly observed. No one could speak who was not entitled to a seat, although a few privileged men were permitted to be present as spectators.

The religion of the Pawnee seems, in certain respects, to have reached a higher development than that of any of the other Plains tribes. In their pantheon Tirawa reigned supreme. To him the lesser gods of heaven and earth, as well as the people themselves, acknowledged authority. Tirawa ruled from his position above the clouds, and both created and governed the universe by means of commands executed by the lesser gods, who were subject to him. He was conceived of as a purely spiritual being, and was not identified with any object or natural phenomenon. Next in rank to Tirawa and his wife, the Vault of Heaven, stood the Evening Star, Tcuperikata. She maintained a garden in the west in which there were fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from which sprang all streams of life. Even the Sun renewed his fire nightly at her lodge. Through her four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, she

transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritihuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the



A SACRED BUNDLE OF THE PAWNEE.

band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged themselves according to the positions of their guardian stars in the heavens.

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earth-craft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people.

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class centered about collections of sacred objects, called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec-

tion with the bundle there were certain taboos which were rigidly enforced.

The ceremonies connected with the sacred bundles seem to fall into three divisions,—those ceremonies which were the common property of all the bundles and taken together formed the tribal ceremonial year; those ceremonies which were the property of the village bundles, and were open primarily to members of the village, and those ceremonies relating to the two bundles which were the property of the tribe as a whole. The rituals of the bundle-ceremonies were the property of certain priests, but members of the village or tribe who assisted in the performance of the ceremony had a right to know at least part of the meaning of the ritual.

All the ceremonies connected with sacred bundles seem to have had as their underlying idea a repetition, either through ritual or dramatization, of acts performed by supernatural beings during the mythologic age. As a rule, the ritual predominated, the dramatization playing only a minor part. The ritual was a formal method of restating the acts of the supernatural beings, and served the double purpose of redirecting their attention toward the people and of reminding the people of the deeds done for them by the gods. In this way the relationship between men and the supernatural world was renewed; and the gods, pleased with the attention bestowed upon them, continued their protection over the people. Coupled with practically all the ceremonies there was some form of offering or sacrifice, this idea reaching its climax in the Skidi sacrifice of a maiden to the Morning Star.

The bundles and their accompanying ceremonies collectively regulated and made provision for all the necessities of life during the year. All the bundle-ceremonies were held during the spring, summer, or

autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the spring was thought to be a notification that they had once more turned their attention to it, and the people at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year, and was followed in regular order by a number of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, by which the deity of that name was supposed to be called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of

Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an accompaniment, they then sang,—

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after



MINIATURE GROUP IN FIELD MUSEUM, SHOWING THE THUNDER CEREMONY.

each song they smoked, and rested for a time before beginning the next.

After finishing the first song, they sang the following songs in order, repeating each ten times with the change of a single word each time,—

Second Song.

"It is you who speak, you who stand in the west.
Let them now take possession of the earth.
Let them now have the sacred bundle containing the
wonderful things."

Third Song.

"The clouds looking like many tipis are coming from the west.
The clouds shall touch the earth and the earth shall receive
power from Paruxti."

Fourth Song.

"The earth shook.
It was Paruxti's power that made the earth shake.
It is the earth that is shaken by the wonderful power of
Paruxti."

Fifth Song.

"The power is now hidden in the earth.
The power is now hidden in the earth.
The earth now possesses the power.
Paruxti's power is the power in the earth."

At the completion of the songs there was a pause, and then the chief priest said, "It is now time for us to make a sacrifice of a heart and a tongue to Tirawa."

During the singing one of the priest's assistants had gone into the timber, and cut a number of slender willow wands. He gave these to one of the men participating in the ceremony, who stripped them of their bark, cut them into arrow lengths, and passed them to a second man who painted them red. The second man passed them to a third, who attached a little sack of tobacco to each and passed them to a fourth, who attached two strings of blue beads. The fourth man passed them to a fifth, who tied on pieces cut from scalps, kept in the bundle for that purpose. When the wands had been prepared, the man who had

painted them went to a buffalo skull, placed north of the fireplace, and painted it with designs symbolizing the garden of the Evening Star. While this was going on, one of the priests took a dried buffalo heart and tongue, and cut each in nine pieces, arranging the pieces in nine little piles, in a row.

When these preparations were finished, the chief priest said,—“Chiefs sitting around in a circle, this offering is to be made to Tirawa, our father in the heavens, who made all things for himself. He it was who gave us the sacred things here before us. He is listening to us. We are sitting, as he told us to sit. We are doing, as he told us to do. Now we shall make the first offering to Tirawa.” The priest of the Yellow Calf bundle then went to the chief priest, and was dressed by him in the buffalo robe which had been around the bundle. The sacred pipe from the bundle had previously been decorated and filled, and this was now given to the priest of the Yellow Calf bundle, together with one of the piles of dry meat and one of the decorated wands. With these he passed out of the lodge followed by an assistant (errand man), who bore a live coal from the fireplace in a bunch of grass. The earth taken from the fireplace of the lodge had been piled up in a small mound outside the entrance, which faced the east. Beyond this mound the two kindled a small fire, the fuel for which had been laid ready. On this fire they placed the dried meat, and thrust the wand into the ground between it and the mound. As they did this, they, and the priests within the lodge, sang,—

“Smoke for the Above is wavering.
The wonderful smoke is wavering.
Smoke for the Above is being eaten.
The wonderful smoke is being eaten.”

The meaning of this song is that when the offering is first placed on the fire, the smoke hesitates and

wavers, but soon it begins to ascend straight upward, a sign that it is being drawn into the mouth of Paruxti and eaten.

The errand man then made a circuit of the fire, and standing on the northeast blew puffs of smoke from the sacred pipe to the four world-quarters. Then he lifted the pipe slowly toward the sky, and lowering it, poured the tobacco from it upon the fire. This completed the first sacrifice, and both re-entered the lodge, and resumed their seats in the circle.

The chief priest then said, "Priests, this offering is now to be made to the god who presided over the other gods, when the council was held, deciding what the people should have, and what they should not have. This offering of meat and a wonderful stick are to be made to the god in the east, who will bless us, and who rules us aright, so that our people will be under the special care of this god." This god was the Morning Star. The same priest, who had made the first sacrifice, then took the offering out of the lodge, and placed the meat upon the fire where the offering to Tirawa had been made, thrusting the wand into the ground to the east of it.

When this priest and his errand man had returned, the materials for the third offering were prepared, and the chief priest said, "This offering is to be made to the Evening Star, the mother who has made all things. She has a garden in the west, where corn is green, and where the ear of corn is the leader of all men, where there is a bundle of dried meat, and where all good things of life exist. The errand man and this priest will make the offering, and the gods will look down upon the errand men. These gods will help the errand men. They will make our fields green. They will loosen some bundles of meat and cover the land with buffalo." The priest and his er-

rand man then left the lodge, and kindling a fire to the west of the lodge, made the sacrifice.

The fourth sacrifice was then prepared, and the chief priest said, "Now, priests, young men, and you chiefs who watch over your people, this offering is to be made to the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who stands behind the other stars, and who is gladdened by the offerings which we now make to him. He will send the lesser gods to drive away disease which may approach our camp." This offering was placed to the east of the lodge, with those to Tirawa and the Morning Star.

For the fifth sacrifice the priest said, "Chiefs, young men and priests, you who preside over the people, we are to make this offering to the northeast god (North Star), who watches over the people in the north. He is especially gladdened by this offering, and he will look down upon us. Especially will he look down upon us leaders, come to us, and give us knowledge to rule over the people, and we will be happy. Take the offering. Carry it to the north, and place it in the north."

For the sixth sacrifice the priest said, "Now, chiefs, priests, and young men, you who are to receive this bundle upon your breasts, take this bundle into your arms. Through you this bundle was made leader. When the errand men called upon certain gods, and especially the North Wind, to send buffalo, he received our gifts and prayers, and came to us, bringing the buffalo with him. Through his kindness we killed many buffalo, and from them we are making offerings to the gods in the heavens, so in our offerings we must not forget the North Wind."

The speech for the seventh sacrifice was as follows: "Now priests, young men, and chiefs, this offering is to be made to Ready-to-Give. The son of Ready-to-Give stands there. He it was who, when on earth,



A PAWNEE PRIEST IN CEREMONIAL COSTUME.



taught us to keep our villages clean so that disease would not enter them. It was he who came to warn our people of the approach of the enemy. He assists his father in sending buffalo. [Ready-to-Give was one of the titles of the North Wind.] He assists the warriors to capture ponies. When we are near the village of the enemy, ponies come out on account of his power. He is called Pahokatawa."

The speech for the eighth sacrifice was, "Priests, we are about to make an offering to him who was made by Tirawa, and who stands and gives us light. We are to make this offering to the Sun, Sakura, to make him glad. In return for this gladness he will take care of our people so that we shall be happy." This sacrifice was placed on the south side of the lodge.

The speech for the ninth sacrifice was, "Priests, chiefs, young men, this offering is to be made to the one that stands in the night. When she sees this offering, she will be made glad. In return she will look down upon us, and the people will increase. She will look down upon the land, and everything will be green. Through her all things shall multiply. The fruits along the streams and everything put into the ground will grow, so that our people will have plenty to eat. This offering is to be made to the Moon." This offering was also placed on the south of the lodge, just east of that for the Sun. At its completion the priest and errand man re-entered the lodge, and were given the tenth sacrifice, which consisted of an unpainted wand to which were tied a bag of tobacco, beads, and a scalp. The chief priest said, "This last offering will now be made to the Buffalo Father who stays in the tipi with his wonderful spear, who dwells in the skull sitting there. The spirit of the buffalo skull shall whisper to the buffalo in the west so that they will start eastward toward our village, and we shall have plenty of buffalo.

The women and children shall have plenty to eat, and we shall all be happy." The priest who had made the last sacrifice then placed the wand by the buffalo skull. This completed the sacrifice portion of the ceremony.

When the sacrifices had all been made, the chief priest took up a pipe filled with tobacco and, holding it in his left hand, said, "Priests, chiefs, young men and old men, we have been singing of what the gods did when they first created all things. We are now about to sing about the only being who visits the earth and brings his power to us from the gods in heaven. This power is Paruxti's. It is a long time since we sang the songs about Paruxti, but we shall do the best we can." He told the priests to take up their rattles, and then all sang the last ritual of the ceremony. This ritual was in three parts. The first part symbolized Paruxti's visit to earth; the second, his hunting of the buffalo; and the third, his return from the hunt. The first part was repeated seventy times; the second, thirty-four times; and the third, seventy-four times. At each repetition there was a change in a single word or phrase, the change being of a sort to indicate progression. The first part runs thus:—

"Getting ready to come, yonder he sits down,
The Wonderful Being, my dear father,
Yonder." (Grunting in imitation of thunder.)

At the first repetition, the phrase "yonder he sits down," in the first line, was changed to "He is now sitting down;" at the second repetition, to "He is now seated;" at the third, to "He moves," and so forth. As the song went on, he was said to rise, to look around, to walk, to leave his lodge, to think of coming to the earth, to begin his journey, to travel over hills and bottom lands, to cross rivers, to reach the village, to walk through it, to cross the country, and finally to seat himself in his lodge once more.

The second part of the ritual was identical with the first part, except that a new series of changes were substituted for the phrase, "Yonder he sits down." The third part was like the first and second parts, except that the first line of the first verse was changed to, "Now he is returning." In the succeeding verses, this was changed to indicate his passage over the country, his return to his lodge, his lighting of his pipe, and his offering of smoke to the heavenly gods.

When the whole of this long ritual had been sung, the priests laid their rattles down gently, and all were silent for a time. Then the chief priest said, "We have sung about Paruxti with his power, who has touched the earth, the timber, and the streams of water. He has gone through our fields, and has walked through our villages, and has returned to his lodge in the heavens above. We will now offer the smoke, offering to the different gods in the ceremonies." A man then rose, and taking the sacred pipe used in the sacrifices, made an offering of smoke to the gods. The errand man then made a small fire of sweet grass in the lodge, to the southwest, kindling it with coals from the fire-place. Another man then took the objects from the sacred bundle one by one, and passed them through the fragrant smoke, returning them to their proper places. After this the participants in the ceremony came one at a time and bathed their bodies in the smoke, the chief priest coming last. When he had incensed himself, the chief priest left the lodge and stood in front of it, facing the east. The errand man thereupon extinguished the fire, and obliterated all traces of where it had been.

During the latter part of the ritual, women had brought in kettles of corn and other food for the participants. As soon as the chief priest knew that the fire of sweet grass had been extinguished, he sang a

ritual to inform the gods that these good people were providing for those who had made offerings to them, and were therefore entitled to their help. He sang,—

"I come! Now we raise our voices for Mother-Corn.

Mother-Born-Again.

Mother-Corn-who-carries-them-through-obstacles.

It is our father who sits in the pathway to receive prayers.

Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.

Yonder the Wonderful Being dwells in the heavens.

Yonder their father dwells in the heavens, where the thunders
are to be heard.

Yonder their fathers dwell in the heavens.

Yonder in the heavens stands Ready-to-Give.

Mother-Corn's kettles are filled with corn brought by a child.

Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.

Listen! Boy whose name is Little Son.

It is through him that I walk around the circle of the village
and call upon the gods to look down upon this boy.

I come!"

As he sang, he made the circuit of the village, repeating the song over and over, and finally returned to the lodge where the ceremony had been held. He entered and sat down, and then said, "Let us, priests, chiefs, young and old men, know that this ceremony is now ended. It is now the time to tell stories and to eat." The corn, which had been brought in cooked, was dished out in a prescribed way, and the meat was cooked over the fire by one of the errand men. When it was done, it was divided among the priests, who ate a little, but saved the greater part to take away with them. Small portions of the corn, and of the meat and fat, were offered to the gods.

When all had eaten, the chief priest said, "Priests, we have now gone through the ceremony that was given to us by Paruxti. A young boy wished to see this ceremony. It is for that reason that you, priests, entered this lodge, and sit upright in a circle in the lodge, sitting in the places of the gods; that you sit upright, as they do, sitting close together. You sit in their places, and we offer stories and rituals that they

recited in the ancient times of the former priests, who long ago sat in the places where you now sit. Now, priests, the time is approaching, as we sit in this lodge, for us to move; but before we move, I rise to say that by all the offerings we have made while sitting in this lodge the gods have been made glad, the gods who stand in the heavens. The offerings were made to them, and they received those offerings. Well then, we shall see which one of these gods will send good gifts to the people, and because of this ceremony will take pity on us. It is time for us to hasten and rise. Priests, we must now hasten to rise.....Now, priests, we are going to rise. We are going to walk toward the entrance belonging to Mother-Corn, Mother-of-the-Dawn, Mother-Sunset-Yellow. Now, priests, we rise! We walk toward the entrance, belonging to Mother-Corn. Rise! Priests!"

At the last word all rose simultaneously and passed out of the lodge, and the ceremony was completed.

The description of this ceremony has been compiled from the unpublished notes of Dr. G. A. Dorsey, formerly curator of the Department of Anthropology in this Museum.

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