RICE UNIVERSITY

RITES OF CONFLICT AMONG NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

by

Frank E. Zumwalt, Jr.

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts in Behavioral Science

Thesis Director's signature:

Edward Norbeck

Houston, Texas

May 1967

3 1272 00118 6269
ABSTRACT

RITE S OF CONFLICT AMONG NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Frank E. Zumwalt, Jr.

This paper argues that customary values are regularly and dramatically challenged in certain traditional societies by rites of conflict. North American Indian tribes, mostly within the United States, are studied herein as traditional societies of cultural and ecological diversity.

The life of the Indian was rich in ceremony. Pueblo males were estimated to have spent almost half of their time in ritual observance. This emphasis on ceremony, while probably most pronounced among the Pueblos, was generally characteristic of North American Indian tribes. There were cycles of ritual ordained by the seasons--planting, first fruits, harvest, the buffalo or antelope hunt, salmon run, the solstices and rain-making. The inevitable crises of life such as puberty and death provided another cadence of ritual. Mingled in these ceremonies were rites of conflict between formally defined social or political groups, between the sexes, between superiors and inferiors and sometimes between individuals. There were ritual departures from everyday norms in ritual clowning or jesting, transvestism, scatology, and defiance of pain. At times, many or all of these expressions of conflict were included in a single
extended ceremony.

These ceremonies blended the sacred and profane, the serious and humorous. There was procession, drama, dancing, and sport. In most ceremonies the entire society participated. Children were not shielded from the raw elements of life—sex, bloodshed, pain, aggression and death. Often the ritual came to focus on such socially disruptive elements in a climactic peak of excitement. Yet, with the last drum beat or given signal, the ritual was ended and the group returned to its norms. It is for this patterned ambivalence in attitude toward custom that the material is searched.

Until the white man's way became dominant, these societies evidenced remarkable repetitiveness and internal stability for centuries. These ritual patterns of challenging and accepting the social structure, as reflected in its values, should interest behavioral science.
RITES OF CONFLICT AMONG NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Ritualized social conflict is submitted as a topic of intense interest to the behavioral sciences and one that has not been extensively treated. The selection of North American Indian tribes in this study was indicated by the availability of good ethnographic data. The traditional nature of the societies considered and the emphasis on ritual in the ethnographies used facilitates the emphasis on ritual in this work.

Life in the traditional group is a montage of the social, ideological and economic, often stabilized by millenia of experience. Characteristically, these cultures supplement comparatively scant means with a full content of ritual to enrich their social life. The values that define social relations are consistent and well understood. That these values should be repeatedly challenged, in ritual, is deemed especially significant. If these values have been tested, tempered by time, and accepted, why question them? Why dramatize conflict and rebellion or reverse normal conduct?

"Every society requires a minimum realism about its conflicts to survive," Martindale (1960:129) writes in discussing the place of conflict theory in sociology. Sociology has been concerned with conflict. Coser neatly places the positive view of conflict in sociological perspective: "Conflict, for Simmel, just as
crime for Durkheim, brings out the need for the application of rules that, had no conflict occurred, might remain dormant and forgotten. Those who engage in antagonistic behavior bring into consciousness basic norms governing rights and duties of citizens. Conflict thus intensifies participation in social life" (1956:127). Social conflict may teach new generations and remind older generations of the reasons for rules in society.

In psychology, there is the well known Freudian treatment of the constrained, aggressive, survival instincts lurking in the unconscious and probing for release and catharsis.

Anthropology has recently, in the writings of Gluckman (1952) and Norbeck (1963) focused attention on the element of conflict in African rituals. This paper studies the North American Indians and argues that their traditional values are regularly and dramatically challenged by rites of conflict. This patterned ambivalence may indicate regularities of behavior to be detected in more complex societies by the growing technology of behavioral science.

Four major geographic areas in the United States, some touching small areas of Mexico and Canada, have provided the cultures for consideration. These are: 1. the Southwest, 2. the Eastern Woodlands, 3. the Great Plains,
and 4. California. Ruth Underhill, speaking of the North American Indians, comments "...we cannot look at the country as a whole. Its Indians belong to five enormous language families, each differing from the others in sounds and grammar as much as English from Chinese" (1953:24). In this view, a study of North American Indians would seem cross-cultural. However, cultural conformity cross-cut by language differences as in Pueblo and California cultures suggests a geographic rather than a language grouping. Selected tribes from these areas have been analyzed for manifestations of social conflict in ritual. Most of the ethnological source data used were gathered in the nineteenth or early twentieth century and pertain to the indigenous culture, as reported by interview, or preserved in ritual.

Usual social behavior is challenged in dramatized conflict or dramatized reversal of behavior; these are rites of conflict. There is an element of deference to the supernatural in these rites; they often occur at critical times for the "primitive" group or individual. Some are cyclical rites associated with first fruits or harvest, planting time, ceremonial hunts, changes of seasons, and rainmaking. Some are crisis rites reflecting or associated with puberty, warfare, ascension of rulers or chieftains, sickness and death. The ritual clown exposes the imperfections of the group, and aggressions
between elements of the society are dramatized at critical pauses in the business of survival.

The contrast of the ideal values and the actual performance is definitive. A return to the imperfect system at the end of the ritual, the dramatic limiting of social confession, reaffirms the value of the system. This cyclic, dramatized aggression against and return to a social system is suggestive of a pattern. Alternatives to the system are ritually examined and put aside, grievances ceremonially purged. There is contrast, excitement and involvement.

A basic outline of Rites of Conflict is given below:

1. Ritual Expressions of Conflict
   a. Between formally defined social and political groups
   b. Between the sexes
   c. Between superiors and inferiors
   d. Between individuals

2. Ritual departure from established norms
   a. Transvestism
   b. Scatology
   c. License (sexual)
   d. Anti-natural speech and behavior

Some of these categories will be emphasized and some will be omitted in certain areas depending on the world-view of the people studied. The purpose is to highlight, if possible, an "ideal type" of person in the area, and typical forms of ritual conflict in the area.

The ritual clown is apparent or prominent in all
of the areas considered, and in many of the categories outlined above. There is a persistent strain of humor in the North American Indian. In the African materials on ritual conflict previously mentioned, Gluckman does not touch on humor. Norbeck states that "Writings on Africa contain many brief references to humor and laughter, and to village jesters, court jesters, and strolling entertainers who amuse by exercising license in pantomime, speech, song or folktale. Hilarity at funerals, as we have noted, is a common custom, but in other contexts we are rarely given details on the nature and occasions for humor" (1963:1272).

The materials used for the American Indian refer consistently to "clowns" and laughter at their antics. Since this clowning permeates a great portion of the material on conflict it is included under various categories of ritual.

THE SOUTHWEST

The characteristic Indian of the Southwest was a peaceful Pueblo farmer, closely attuned to the values of his society. The compact life of the Pueblo left little room for individuality. The association of rain and survival, particularly for the western Pueblo Indian, filled his life with rainmaking ceremony. In these extended ceremonies he consistently challenged the peaceful
and the sober, by injecting ridicule and mocking the system, yet returned quietly to it.

"The drum beats to signal the close of the intermission. The clowns are becoming too impudent, too troublesome, so that an end must be made to their pranks. The society of the Koshare will appear now for the last time, as after the next dance they retire" (Bandelier 1916:141). Thus Bandelier describes the close of a curing ceremony of the Pueblo, performed by ceremonial clowns. This passage also expresses well the finite, limiting aspect of ritual reversal discussed by Norbeck (1963:1274) in treating African rituals of conflict. It also highlights the clowns who are ritually prominent in the Southwest. Paradoxically, they are societies that value the suppression of in-group hostility and seem otherwise rather sober.

The brightly painted, masked, "delight makers" to whom nothing is beyond ridicule, in ritual, are favorites of the Pueblo peoples. As Faulkner said of the poet, "It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart," (1950:119) so the origin myth of the Koshare, as reported by Bandelier, tells of a sacred clown who appeared in a time of crisis and wandering for the tribal ancestors "...as often as they grew tired he danced again and made jests;...wherever they went he caused the fruits to be ripe...That man was the Koshare."
Since that time there have been Koshare in every tribe" (Bandelier 1916:34). Paradoxically, the ritual clown "lifted men's hearts" by mocking their weaknesses, even in the origin myth.

In another view (Parsons-Beals 1934:499), "Clowns have a punitive and policing function in ceremonial matters and through their license in speech and song a somewhat similar function in domestic matters, ridicule being a strong weapon among the Pueblos." Social regulation is seen as an important function of the clown groups, as apparently the foibles of individuals and groups that are distinguishable to the tribal audience are dramatized. The punitive and policing functions are combined in the same ritual and are essentially the same; yet one is immediate ("sergeant at-arms" style policing of rituals) and the other long-range control of behavior. Among the Yaqui, personal behavior and community affairs are satirized; all norms of conduct are violated in horseplay by the clowns. "In general all possible actions are performed the reverse of normal" (Parsons-Beals: 1934:503).

1. Ritual Expressions of Conflict

a. Between formally defined social and political groups

There is ritual expression of conflict between
formally defined social and political groups, in the Southwest. Papago villagers danced, sang, and held races against other villagers in competitive manifestations of hostility (Underhill 1946:116-122, 130, 133, 136); Navaho groups from two different communities join in a ritual skirmish complete with the firing of blank cartridges during a curative ceremonial (Reichard 1928:121-122); Zuni "Ceremonies of the Second Night" included a group impersonating the Navahos, whose song is a prolonged burlesque of the Navahos (Stevenson 1904:216), and in other Zuni ceremonies members of the Newekwe (fraternity) and the Koyemshi have a scramble in which the Newekwe lose their skull-caps and their trousers (Stevenson 1904:276).

Russell (1908:171) describes a "name song" ceremony of the Pima which accomplishes the ends of organized charity, together with those of the ordinary festival. Villagers from a village suffering a scarcity of food name in each stanza of the song individuals of a village with plenty. "As the song is sung and a name is called the wife or daughter of the person of that name runs with some light object, and the wife or daughter of the person who has assumed the name for the day pursues the other woman to take it away from her. If she is unable to catch her, some of the other visiting women aid in capturing the runner, and she leads her captors to where 'the value of her husband's name,' in the form
of corn, wheat, beans or other foodstuffs, is ready to be presented to the visitor." This rite of conflict provides an excellent example of dramatizing a worldview that values sharing with others through the paradox of apparent conflict.

Dumarest (1919:185) describes clowns of the Cochita in ritual "burlesques" which ridicule the Mexicans, Americans, and Spanish, and perform "ignoble imitations of religious (Catholic) ceremonies." A psychological interpretation of catharsis would be tempting here, a purging of grievances engendered by domination and exploitation, in a medium of great significance to these people—mockery.

The Newekwe, medicine priests of the Zuni, are also clowns who speak the opposite of their meaning (Cushing 1920:632). They violate the most sacred proscriptions in their reversal, in speaking irreverently before a "Koko" (spirit) and calling the names of deceased persons, which is taboo (Parsons 1917:230). They too burlesque strangers and enemies and are fond of ridiculing the American army, Navahos, and Catholic priests (Stevenson 1904:106, 307, 437). According to Bunzel (1932:952) the clowns of the Zuni visit the Katcina priests in their ceremonial houses, calling them by name and accusing them in song of stinginess, laziness,
domestic infelicity, fondness for American ways, etc. Here, as with the Cochita clowns, there is the contained, yet effective, challenge of other dominant groups.

The ritual clowning of the Indians of the Southwest appears to have included acts directed toward the children. In many of the societies the "supernatural" clowns were invoked by parents to discipline children. The "bogey man" of the Indian child of the Southwest was often a ceremonial clown, who appeared on ritual occasions supplied with names to seek out the frightened bad ones and battle ritually with their parents for them.

b. Between the sexes

A curious variety of conflict between the sexes is described by Gladys Reichard in detailing the Navaho wedding. "The next morning the groom races with his bride; the one who wins will become rich" (Reichard 1928:141). This example of a post nuptial contest sets the tone of a variety of ritual conflicts or contests that appear ethnologically in the Southwest, in relations between the sexes.

The definition of role, male or female, is sometimes interpreted in ritual confrontation between groups of men and women, particularly in songs and pantomimes that note the peculiarities of the opposite sex. Parsons describes in the Wowochim ceremony of the Hopi "...they sang against the women who came out to throw water and to berate....One woman jerked at the breechcloth of
two or three of the dancers and another woman took a stick to them. ...the individual singer would bend towards the woman reviling him (1923:177)." Similar behavior is described by Fewkes in The New-Fire ceremony at Walpi:
"They directed their songs and obscene remarks to the women belonging to the Mamzrautu society in lusty tones, mingled with taunts and songs..." (1900:98). Zuni women had exclusive control of their storerooms and this provides interest in a ceremony related by Cushing in which men disguised as monsters shoot padded arrows at a woman (and her children) if she dares to refuse alms (breadstuff) for the Zuni Koyemshi (1920:626). Parsons and Beals write of the Hopi, "All singers and Wuwuchim function as clowns in the joint ceremony of the initiation of the youths to the extent of singing obscene and taunting songs against the society women and now and again smearing them with urine or foul water" (1934:493). These conflicts between the sexes, in ritual, suggest boisterous entertainment, but doubtless the humor carried an element of hostility and a reminder to the other sex of social weaknesses.

2. Ritual departure from established norms
a. Transvestism

Transvestism as a form of ritual reversal is in evidence in the Southwest, more for dramatic expediency than as a social fact. Among the Hopi, Fewkes finds a
ceremony in which two men dressed like members of a women's society have other men pretend to copulate with them (1900:128), and another ceremony in which boy initiates were dressed as settled married women (1892:200). The Navaho dramatize sexual dalliance between a man and his wife with both actors male (Hill 1943:24). The Zuni use female impersonators among the Hekshina Shilowawa dancers (Parsons:1922). Underhill finds Papago men and boys wearing women's skirts (1946:122, 140). The new Chief of the Sia wears a woman's costume (White 1962:127).

Most of these tribes trace decent matrilineally and practice matrilocal residence after marriage. Theirs is a "fragile monogamy" in which the wife may divorce the husband by placing his things outside the door. In this context the predominance of female impersonations might be interpreted as evidence of male insecurity and resentment. However, speculation must be tempered by the dominant male role in ceremonial. A Hopi woman shoots an arrow during a dance and arouses great derision in the spectators by performing what is symbolically a male function (Lowie 1948:313). It is this dramatic combination of contrast, interest and definition that is believed significant in ritual transvestism as with other forms of ritual reversal.
b. Scatology

It would be interesting to know why scatology is so much more ethnologically in evidence in the arid Southwest than in the more verdant regions to the East, in California and in the Great Plains. Parsons notes a reference to filth in an origin myth of the Zuni Newekwe (1917:233). The smearing of feces on one another that is sometimes done in Zuni ritual might be associated with this origin myth. Also, explanations connected with rainmaking seem plausible in the Southwest. Bunzel mentions Zuni women throwing "water" on the Koyemci to induce rain (1932:950. Possibly the sprinkling of urine would be for the same purpose.

Obscenity and scatology were apparently favored by the sacred clowns in the Southwest, and no attempt was made to shield the children or any segment of the society from ceremonies including obscenity. In Zuni, groups of clowns assist at all katsina dances and amuse the populace by obscene, satirical or childish pranks (Bunzel 1932:951). Women wash the nude Koyemci and this nudity is a distinct reversal of the social norm (Bunzel:955). Again with the Zuni, the Newekwe entertain before the dancers appear, with one of them pretending to be hitting an object held to represent a penis (Parsons 1917:232-233). Parsons states "There can be little doubt,
I think, of the phallic character of the Koyemshi, their origin myth and their very name have this character. So have many of their jokes and practices (1917:236).

**c. License (Sexual)**

Ritual License, in the ceremonies of the Southwest, again challenges the norm against in-group aggression. Here the license most often took the form of ritual obscenity, although rituals involving actual sexual promiscuity are documented. In these predominantly peaceful, close-knit groups such activities represented a clear reversal of values.

"The Tataukamu marched in a group from place to place, holding up the imitation vulvae to the women at different houses, singing obscene songs, and making lascivious gestures and remarks... Their faces bore the expression of, and the movements of their bodies were in keeping with, their songs and remarks, while certain women replied to them in kind. Others threw foul water or urine upon the singers, which made the naked men shiver in the cold air," Fewkes writes of the Hopi (1900:106). He tells of another ceremony, the Mamgranti Rites of the Hopi, in which a group of females circles the village singing jesting songs, pretending great anger and denouncing the men. The men respond by feigning chagrín, chasing the women to throw water and urine pm
them and to rub filth on their hair, faces and upper bodies (1900:127-8).

Matthews writes of the Navaho Mountain Chant ceremony, "Sometimes one or more of the actors wear large imitation penes, made of rags or inflated sheepgut; such may enact the part of dogs, feign to masturbate or to manipulate the part to produce erection" (1902:148).

Fiestas of the Yaqui included stereotyped but informal dialogues with a content of obscenity (Parsons-Beals 1934:505). Stevenson finds among the sober Zuni that there was evidence of licentiousness in the thanks-giving ceremony for crops (1904:210); and "Buffalo man", a clown, danced about and grasped girls in an obscene way (1904:214).

Davis finds that the Papago in their rainmaking ceremony had pauses in the dancing, which "...were anciently a period of license, regarded as fertility magic. No opprobrium attached to the changing of partners by married people at such a time and many young men were famous for their exploits" (1946:50).

Underhill also finds license in Papago ritual (girls' puberty ritual): "... it was a time of gaiety and permissible license. Anyone, but particularly the song leader, had a perfect right to sexual liberties. The rituals even mention 'songs with which to approach a maiden at her puberty dance'" (1946:254-5). Russell finds
"debauchery" and "drunken orgies" as a part of Pima festivals (1908:170). Societies of the Southwest thus took recess from their ordinary rules of sexual conduct to indulge in ritual license.

Doubtless the buffoonery of the clowns relieves tension and varies the intensity of extended ritual performances that might otherwise become monotonous. Matthews notes this function in the Navaho Night Chant Ceremony (1902:150-1). W.W. Hill states this explicitly in discussing ceremonial humor: "The Navaho, like our own theatrical producers, are well aware of the impossibility of sustaining emotional intensity over a long period in theatrical or religious performances. We there find that during the enactment of ceremonials humorous digressions occur. These digressions may be part of the social phase which accompanies every religious endeavor or they may be an integral part of the ritual acts. In either case the humor carries a definitely religious connotation" (1943:22).

One might speculate that ritual reversal in a rigidly structured society performs a similar function of relief, from what otherwise might be the monotony of routine life, with a heavy content of ritual, as characteristic of the Indians of the Southwest. Another view is offered by Parsons-Beals: "...that the obscenity and
clownishness are in part a vicarious outlet for a rather emotionally inhibited community is quite possible. This is especially evident with the dancers. The Pascolas may say and do, and the crowd may laugh at, things which are never said or done in everyday life. Ordinarily they would be not only offensive but grossly insulting" (1934:505). Bunzel concurs, saying "...Undoubtedly the great delight in the antics of the clowns springs from the sense of release in vicarious participations in the forbidden" (1932:521).

Spencer, Jennings, et al., state: "It has been estimated that Pueblo men devote at least half of their time to religious activities" (1965:298). This ritual emphasis might substantially explain the ubiquity of dramatic interest in the clown and ritual conflict in these tribes.

However these rites of conflict are interpreted, they were regularly performed and carried social comment. Most of the tribal rites were performed at least annually; many were performed several times a year. Bunzel speaks of "Ceremonial recognition given to natural phenomena—the solstitial risings of the sun, the alternations of summer and winter, the perpetual dearth of rain..." (1965:298). The highly organized Pueblo culture type was described by Kroeber, "It forms a very definite climax of established antiquity and of an intensity possibly equaled only at one or two points
north of Mexico" (1953:35).

The Southwest, as typified by the Pueblo culture, thus represents an ancient, traditional, and highly organized culture manifesting a steady pattern of rites of conflict.

**THE EASTERN WOODLANDS**

The ideal type of Eastern Woodlands Indian was a successful warrior, skilled in the semisedentary economy of horticulture, hunting, fishing and gathering. The area had soil which responded to horticulture, forests with an abundance of game, and waters for transport and aquatic food. The "League of the Iroquois" represented a high order of political organization in the area. Ceremony was prominent and included a rich and regular content of rites of conflict.

1. **Ritual Expressions of Conflict**
   a. Between formally defined social and political groups

Kinietz records that, at a funeral for a Miami warrior, representatives of contesting villages might play lacrosse (1940:210). In curing ceremonies, the Huron often held competitive games of "Dish" between representatives of two villages. Elaborate preparation and great interest attended these contests (Thwaites 1898:201). Similar "bowl games," which were played by shaking
a dish or bowl with a given number of marked beans or fruit seeds to produce a winning result (combination of white or black beans etc.), were popular with the Seneca. Fenton tells of contests between moieties, travelling teams selected from moieties, and games between men and women. Other competitive games included hoop and javelin, snow-snake and football (1936:12, 13, 17). Harper writes of "ball-play" in which braves from Cherokee towns contested each other (1958:233).

These games or contests between formally defined groups expressed conflict overtly as in the violent game of lacrosse, and more subtly, as in the "Dish" game in which a "team" performed a type of gambling in the name of the group or village. In both instances, intense rivalry centered around the players, who performed in a ritual setting. Hostile feelings could be symbolically represented.

That these games were serious matters is indicated by the elaborate preparations which included fasting and continence and a great emphasis on dreams and omens. The fascination of contests between groups was ritualized with these tribes even in funerals and curing ceremonies.

b. Between the sexes

No deep reservoir of aggression between the sexes is evident in Eastern Woodlands ritual. The particular type of conflict ritual that Gluckman indicates in the
Nomkubulwana ceremony of the Zulu does not appear (1952:4).
This African ceremony was performed by the women, to honor the "Princess of Heaven", when the crops had begun to grow. However, Gluckman's description of the function of the ritual seems pertinent: "In the Nomkubulwana ritual they became temporarily lewd viragoes, and their daughters martial herdsmen; but they accepted the social order and did not form a party of suffragettes."

In most of the societies in the area both men and women were respected in their roles. The Iroquois have been described as "....resembling a matriarchate" (Spencer, Jennings, et al. 1965:387). Status among the Natchez was reckoned by matrilineal descent; the "Great Sun" (civil chief) was the son of "White Woman" who was accorded great respect. Some measure of equality of the sexes was evident in these people. The women were important in horticulture, and the men were important in hunting and warfare.

In this context there would be no hesitancy, however to re-emphasize the separateness of the sexes by ritual conflict, and such rites are institutionalized. Swanton reports ritual conflict between the sexes with the Chickasaw: "In the corn dance men and women were in two opposing lines and when the lines approached the women were privileged to snatch handkerchiefs and other objects from the men or
to pull their hair, and no resistance could be offered" (1927:257). Likewise, with the Creek, Swanton finds the women privileged to pester the male dancers by pricking them with pins (1925:534). In the dance of the Husk Faces of the Iroquois, Fenton describes conflict behavior. "Two men, who are appointed from opposite moieties, appear...They dance with the matrons, each facing the woman of the other moiety. A couple dances in unison, hopping on the left foot while bending the right......At the same time they spar at each other with the extended left hand, pointing the thumb upwards...sometimes a bold woman will back a bashful man from the floor" (1941:427). Thwaites reports men ceremonially imitating pregnant women among the Huron (1897:203).

The nature of the protest that might be deduced from these rituals does not seem severe, but the rite of conflict separates the sexes and is entertaining.

c. Between superiors and inferiors

An interesting similarity to African rituals of conflict appears in the installation of chiefs in certain tribes of this geographical area. As with the African kings, the chiefs are admonished to see to the welfare of their people. Hulbert and Schwartze write of the installation of a chief of the Delaware, "Finally,
he lays before the chief the duties of his office, regarding the preservation or reestablishment of peace, admonishing him not to meddle in the affairs of war and to keep his people from it, to continually attend to the welfare of his nation and to hear willingly the remonstrances of the people in case he should commit a fault" (1910:113).

Similarly the chief of the Passamaquoddy was lectured on his role (Brown 1894:58). The Natchez held a ceremony in which the "Great Sun" (civil chief as distinguished from war chief) was ritually captured or threatened with capture by the "enemy" (of his own tribe), but rescued and defended by his ritual "warriors" (Swanton 1911:111).

This is the ceremonial realism of acknowledging that the man in the role of the "wise chief" will be fallible. The new chief is reminded of his frailty at his installation, and this expression of ritual doubt of his ability at this critical time is viewed as modified rebellion. However, there is ritual certainty that the rebellion will end and the man will become chief. A process of social definition, definition of an important role, is apparent in these rites of conflict.

2. Ritual departure from established norms
   a. Transvestism
Transvestism was relatively insignificant among the tribes of the Eastern Woodlands. Again, this form of reversal was more dramatic and definitive than it was literal. The ubiquitous device of impersonating the opposite sex, in dress and movement, appears in ritual.

A female impersonator of the Huron was padded to look pregnant (Thwaites 1897:203). Men ceremonially appeared as women in a dance of the Seneca (Fenton 1936:12-13). Fenton also finds men of the "Husk Faces" dressed as women, and taking the role of women in dances (1941:416). A man impersonates a woman in a song in the Drunken Dance of the Creek and Yuchi (Speck 1907:139).

The mockery and buffoonery of these reversals of the normal would seem to argue against actual transvestism in a very public, ritualized way. It is doubtful that, having viewed these ceremonies from infancy, many Indian youths would view the role of the true transvestite as desirable.

b. Scatology

Scatology seems insignificant among the tribes of the Eastern Woodlands. A substantial volume of data yields only one dubious instance—a curing rite in which a youth urinated in the mouth of the patient who was apparently expected to swallow the liquid (Kinetz 1940:76).
c. License (Sexual)

Ritual sexual license in The Eastern Woodlands is associated with curing ceremonies in a significant pattern. At the feast for a sick person "another will intimate that he desires an Andacwanded feast, that is to say, many fornications and adulteries. This riddle being guessed, there is no lack of persons to satisfy his desire" (Thwaites 1897:177, 179). Kinetz too, confirms the sexual license in ceremonies to cure the sick Huron: "The girls thus assembled, they are all asked, one after another, which of the young men of the town they wish to sleep with them the following night; they each name one, and all of these are soon notified by the masters of ceremony; they all come in the evening in the presence of the sick person, and each sleeps with her who chose him...." (1940:77).

The combination of licensed procreation with sickness and death is understandable. The curing ceremony often failed, and the society valued births. The reversal of sanctions on sexual activity on the occasion of sickness perhaps defined a time and "need" for reproduction, to replace the human losses of the society.

Landes notes in the "Snake Dance" of the Ojibiwa that selected guests turn out the lights, strip naked and mingle rubbing against one another (1938:49-50).
The Creek are reported by Speck to have had a number of ceremonies which encouraged licentiousness: "Steal Each Other Dance," "Mule Dance," and "Crazy Dance" (1911:170, 176, 190). Speck reports similar dances for the Yuchi, "Laxity prevailed in every respect, together with some debauchery and licensed immorality...." (1909:123-4). The Cherokee had dances interspersed with comic and lascivious interludes (Harper 1958:234).

In addition to being associated with curing ceremonies, sexual license, in the above instances, may also be included in ceremonies for the preparation of medicines and for fertility rites.

These societies valued, as apparently all societies must, certain restraints in sexual matters. This did not preclude conflicting values for maximum fertility and male virility. It would appear that these conflicting values were allowed to override the normal restraints at certain times and within the ordered and controlled procedures of ritual. It is also quite possible that the actual experiences of license, for the majority of participants, reaffirmed the value of restraint, without disrupting the social order.

d. Anti-natural speech and behavior

Anti-natural speech and behavior in ritual become significant in the data from this area. Feats that are
physically remarkable are reported from a variety of tribes. From the Menomini, Skinner reports that the Wabano (shaman) was able to handle fire, plunge a bare arm into boiling water or sirup or to eat fire and blow it from his mouth (1915:191-2). In the clan "war-bundle" feasts of the Winnebago, an individual might come to a state of religious frenzy, strip naked and behave wildly--put his hands into boiling soup and try to bite items being cooked (Radin 1923:431). Mandelbaum notes that during the "Masked Dance" of the Plains Cree, a "pledger" speaks in inverted fashion, rotates the pipe in reverse direction; those invited to join the dance spoke backwards (1940:274-5).

The Wabenro of the Ojibiwa also picked up hot stones from the embers or took and swallowed meat from a boiling cauldron (Jenness 1935-63). Similarly Thwaites finds, with the Huron, at a feast for a sick man, individuals taking red hot coals and stones into their mouths (1898:151), and at the Festival of Fire various participants had the ability to immerse arms in boiling water and handle hot stones or embers (1898-153). The same customs were reported for the Seneca (Fenton 1936:17), Iroquois (Fenton 1941:406), and the Creek (Swanton 1925:539).

The mental state indicated in the disregard of fire
and heat seems a dramatic appeal to the supernatural. The society normally values respect and concern for fire and heat, for physical safety. A rite that temporarily overturns this concern and emphasizes a conflicting disregard for the implied injury and pain, becomes significant. Such rites would seem particularly suited, psychologically, to curing ceremonies and were often directed to the aid of a sick individual. The manifest disregard of pain must have been of some comfort to the ill person, in ritually demonstrating that such disregard of pain was valued in the group.

The same apparent disregard of injury or its possibility, normally avoided but courted in ritual and warfare, would appeal to a society that valued virile warriors.

Anti-natural speech had ritual appeal in the Eastern Woodlands. At the dance of "striking the post," Miami warriors could speak their minds without reservation or concern for the greatest of chiefs (Kinietz 1940:195). The Cannibal Dancers of the Plains Ojibway used inverted speech and generally behaved abnormally. Skinner describes their ceremony as follows: "The party would then start off on their rounds, to the huge delight of the populace. ...The windigokan always used inverted speech, that is, they said the exact opposite of what they meant. If, for instance, a man announced that he was not hungry, he meant that he would like to be fed; and if one was forbidden to
dance, he straightway began to do so" (1914:501).

The social order of these groups included the inevitable restraints on speech and action. To cast aside these restraints, to perform the opposite of commands in ritual might be seen as emphasizing conflicting values of pride and independence.

The ritual clown was not as prominent in the Eastern Woodlands as in the Southwest, but he does appear as an apparent socializing agent. Fenton writes: "The Iroquois and their Algonquin neighbors use buckskin masks to impersonate cannibal clowns who sometimes kidnap naughty children. The Seneca call this clown 'Longnose' (hagondes) because of his elongated proboscis. He is the Indian bogeyman. He chases bad children when old people are sleeping. It is not right to whip little children. Stubborn children who will not go to bed are sent out at dusk to meet Longnose, impersonated by a relative wearing a cloth mask" (1941:418).

Here, in ritual aggression, the clown is a socializing agent exercising sanctions on the behavior of children. Similarly, in another role (the beggar clown), he is mocking a trait that is undesirable in the view of typical societies of the area. As an object of humorous scorn the beggar clown appears among the Winnebago (Radin 1923:384), the Plains Cree (Mandelbaum 1940:275); and
Fenton quotes an early naturalist as writing "... we were entertained by a comical fellow, disguised in as odd a dress as Indian folly could invent—a False-face beggar" (1941:415).

In summary of the Eastern Woodlands it may be noted that the people were predominantly horticulturists, living in somewhat settled communities or villages. As typified by the Iroquois and the Creek, they were politically well organized in councils and federations. Warfare, inter-tribal and later with the white man, was an accepted part of life. This does not seem to have minimized ritual conflict within their social groups. In contrast with a relatively stable social order, conflicting patterns of behavior were exhibited often, if temporarily, in ritual.

THE GREAT PLAINS

The characteristic Plains Indian is generally considered an aggressive, competitive, horse-riding nomad who exploited his mobility. "They developed a
dramatic lifeway based on the buffalo and therefore on the horseman, the hunter, and the warrior," Ruth Underhill writes (1953:157). The buffalo, after the advent of the European horse, represented subsistence -- food, clothing and shelter. Success in raids and warfare was the glory of the Plains Indian, reflected in the possession of horses, goods and captives taken in these activities. These tangibles were valued more as signs of status than in themselves, and generosity in their dispersal validated greatness, and helped to open the way to acceptance into elite warrior societies. The tangibles were achieved by feats of valor and this was their primary value to the Indian.

These were youth-oriented societies; in their new wealth they were indulgent and permissive with their children. Girls were given light tasks, prettied, and their virginity protected. Boys were thrust early into the hero tradition with the killing of their first jackrabbit or buffalo calf, and their first venture with a war party. The advent of the horse and efficient buffalo hunting had brought a diversity of tribes to the plains, tribes from five different language families. They fought often, traded some, and shared the mobility and independence of the nomadic life. Here we find a blend of customs and ceremonies. Ritual conflict and
reversal were included in the patterns of ceremonies evident on the Plains.

1. Ritual Expressions of Conflict
   a. Between formally defined social and political groups

   The ubiquitous ceremonial clown appears among the proud hunters and warriors of the Plains, perhaps to temper their boasting, in mocking their attitudes as individuals and members of warrior societies. The Canadian Dakota clown might mock any dance (Wallis 1947: 125). With the Crow, Lowie finds that clowns might ridicule anyone, regardless of his standing in the tribe. These clowns feign lameness and clumsiness, perform ludicrous antics on horseback and are pelted with dung by boys (1956:96). Mud-men with mud-smeared bodies and hair on their faces (apparently false whiskers in mockery of white men) dashed into the Comanche camp to create confusion and laughter, swatting people and chasing dogs (Wallace Hoebel 1952:321-2). "Those-Who-Imitate-Mad-Men...did ridiculous and foolhearty things, such as crawling up and trying to touch a woman's genitals in broad daylight; coming to a stream they would strip off one legging and ford it by hopping on the clad leg and carefully protecting the bare one from moisture. They were looked upon as clowns and fun-makers and their antics are said not to have been
significant" (Skinner 1915:789). To the Plains Indian touching an enemy without harming him was the highest achievement in battle. The touching mentioned above would be intense mockery. Skinner reports another cult of "women catchers" among the Ponca who boasted of their amorous conquests and attempted to touch women's genitals by reaching under tents at night (1915:788).

The Wa-dse-pa-i of the Osage delight and subtly chide their audience in a ceremony in which they "...act out, in a ridiculous manner, the quarrels and fights that had taken place in the tribe during the year, such as wife beating or husband beating through jealousy, and scenes where grown people have taken part in fistfights of children. No one resents the thrusts made by the Wa-dse-pa-i in their buffoonery, for they are privileged characters and are fully protected by the usages of the tribe" (La Flesche 1939:243).

Wissler describes foolish "Heyoka" of the Oglala acting the buffoon, jesting, doing anything comical, and usually dressed as clowns (1912:82). In another context, the Heyoka are distinguished by having seen a vision which directs them to do things contrary to nature (1912:84).

The clowning of this area appears to be comparable with that of the Southwest—to question man's foibles,
to lift his spirits. The view presented in this paper is that clowning is often mockery of a society. Man's inhumanity to man in parody, where actual inhumanity might be unpalatable, seems inherently funny, yet dramatizes anti-social behavior. Participation in the mockery and humor, exposing the frailties of man, is possibly a form of social confession. As the individual may admit weaknesses, society may confess flaws, in ritual. Beyond the humor of the clown, there may be pathos and awe.

Other Plains expressions of ritual conflict between social and political groups are in evidence. The Wa-wa-tho (Peace) ceremony of the Osage includes a small dramatic confrontation of a warlike gens and gens of peace. (La Flesche 1939:233,234). Among the Oglala, Wissler reports a ceremony of rivalry between societies of the Oglala which sounds similar to the potlatch of the Northwest Coast—competing in giving away possessions (Wissler 1912:74).

An interesting example of children in group conflict is described by Maximilian: "The Mosquito Band of the Blackfoot...consists of young people, many of whom are only eight or ten years of age; there are also some young men among them, and sometimes even a couple of old men, in order to see to the observance of the laws and regulations. This union performs wild, youthful
pranks; they run about the camp wherever they please; pinch, nip, and scratch men, women, and children, in order to give annoyance like the mosquitoes. They do not even spare old, distinguished men" (1906:116).

This would appear to provide a ritual opportunity for the questioning, in temporary aggression, of adult authority, and supports the existence of a permissive attitude toward the young in many of the tribes of the Plains.

Rites of conflict between formally defined social and political groups are plentiful in the ethnology of the Plains. The world-view of these people might well be termed "aggressive," and it would seem appropriate to confine, or attempt to confine, conflict between segments of the society to the limitations of ritual. Otherwise rivalries, such as those between warrior societies, might get out of hand.

b. Between the sexes

Comparatively little expression of ritual conflict between the sexes is found in data relating to the Plains Indian. In these mobile, warlike societies the emphasis in ritual expression seems to focus more on defiance of pain, in anti-natural behavior, and in clowning. There are a few references to vying between the sexes, such as the description
by Wissler of opposing teams, one led by a man and one by a woman, that compete in a "stick game" of the Blackfoot (1913:448). Lowie reports that a "Tobacco" member of the Crow might throw his wife in the creek, or she might throw him in, during a ceremony of the society (1919:113).

It would be interesting to speculate on the correlation of ritual conflict and domestic conflict between the sexes in everyday life in this type of culture. A lack of micro-ethnography of the Oscar Lewis variety, which describes family life in minute detail, precludes a definite answer.

2. Ritual departure from established norms

a. Transvestism

Transvestites in the literal sense were few in number among the Plains Indians, where societies glorified male virility. With the Cheyenne, the few were neatly integrated into the society and clearly identified in role by wearing women's clothing. Hoebel relates that they served as doctors and in other ceremonial capacities, as valued members of war parties, and often as second wives in a married man's household (1960:77). Ritual transvestism was temporary and characteristically the assumption by women of male dress or weapons, although female impersonation is often noted in clowning.
The Scalp Dance of the Blackfoot witnessed women dressed as men and carrying arms (Maxmilian 1906:115). A women's society of the Blackfoot, the Ma toki, conduct ceremonies in which some women dress like men and act the part and also mock ceremonies of males (Wissler 1913:433). Women dressed as men in ceremonies that celebrated the victory of an Arikara war party (Brackenridge 1904:145). Similar ceremonial assumptions of male dress and weapons are reported for the Hidatsa (Maxmilian 1906:67), the Madan (Lowie 1913:345), Sioux (Dorsey 1894:471), Oglala (Wissler 1912:76) and Pawnee (Murie 1914:598).

These tribes, as in the Eastern Woodlands, would seem to have included transvestism in ritual for the dramatic effect of reversal. The mockery would seem to discourage actual transvestism.

c. License (Sexual)

Sexual license was less evident among the Plains Indians and appears to have been limited in ceremony, in contrast to the more orgiastic instances in the Eastern Woodlands.

A "Kissing Dance" is reported by Wissler for the Blackfoot (1913:459), and a similar dance, called the "Coyote Dance" for the Wahpeton (Lowie 1913:129). Instances of ritual sexual intercourse were usually associated with initiation into the highly selective
warrior societies. Most often the "ceremonial father" of the initiate (Purchaser of membership) was permitted sexual intercourse with the initiate's wife. Wissler records such a ceremony for the Blackfoot (1913:413). Lowie relates that at ceremonial dances of the Hidatsa Lumpwoods, a warrior society, the members "...sent for their wives. Then water was poured on the fire, and in the darkness each man seized and hugged someone else's wife" (1913:309). James records a lusty "Corn Dance" for the same people (1905:128). Among the Mandan, Lowie reports "The purchasers (into the Crow Society) surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership" (1913:309).

The gravity and formality of the initiation ceremonies described above puts the reversal of sexual norms in an unusual category—that of validating a very serious transaction. Membership in the warrior societies was highly valued. It was not lightly relinquished or easily achieved. A very unusual reversal of the usual might appropriately dramatize the event, and appropriately the benefit would appear to accrue to the "seller". Many of these societies believed, as did the Cheyenne, in periods of abstinence and in general restraint in sexual matters. Such a view would
attach great importance to an event that ritualized a reversal of this restraint.

d. Anti-natural speech and behavior

One might expect from the life of the Plains Indian a comparatively restless spirit that would be attracted to reversal of behavior. The data tend to support this expectation. Here we find ritual practices from other areas resulting from the convergence of many Indian tribes on the Plains.

"Hot Dancers" of the Hidatsa took meat from boiling water with their bare hands and picked up hot charcoal by mouth (Lowie 1913:253); "Hot Dancers" of the Mandan stripped off clothing and danced on embers with bare feet. Initiates of the Oglala Miwatani society brought coals in their hands to the war bonnet maker (Wissler 1912:46). Warriors of the Osage rushed into flames during the Charcoal Dance Song and handled burning brands (La Flesche 1939:57). Performers of the Fire Dance Society of the Iowa plunged their arms in boiling broth and also picked up hot coals (Skinner 1915:702). The Eastern Dakota "Fire Walkers" extinguished a log fire by walking on it with bare feet (Lowie 1913:125).

Catlin describes the vision quest in a ceremony of the Sioux in which a man was observed "...looking at the sun!...We found him naked, except for his breechcloth,
with splints or skewers run through the flesh on both breasts, leaning back and hanging with the weight of his body to the top of a pole...and to the upper end of which he was fastened by a cord which was tied to the splints. In this position he was leaning back, with nearly the whole weight of his body hanging to the pole, the top of which was bent forward, allowing his body to sink about half-way to the ground" (Catlin 1926:261).

Sun dancers of the Arapaho, in the vision quest, were suspended from poles by thongs attached to skewers in the flesh (Kroeber 1904:152). The Midsummer Ceremony of the Cheyenne included similar self torture (Grinnell 1923:211). The Sun Dance of the Oglala included a performance of mock capture in which "captives" were skewered and suspended, tied to posts, or required to pull buffalo skulls. A young Crow brave wishing a vision endured similar self torture (Lowie 1956:240).

Ritual self abuse appears in another form, the conspicuous consumption of unusual items. Again, the emphasis is on doing things differently. The Eastern Dakota ate raw fish, bones and all, and raw warm dog livers. Lowie relates that Dakota Thunder Worshippers organized ceremonies to prepare for a war expedition in which a raw sturgeon was eaten (1913:123-4). Megisesuk (medicine beads or seeds) were ceremoniously
swallowed and regurgitated by the Menomini (Skinner 1920:149); sacred shells were swallowed by the Iowa (Ibid:189); miniature arrows or missiles were swallowed with the hope that they would remain in the left breast, in ceremonies of the Wahpeton (Ibid:287). The participants or initiates in these ceremonies were often ritually "shot" with small shells or missiles and fell as if dead. Their revival and vomiting of the sacred object was usually interpreted as a rebirth. Often a "vision" was associated with emitting the sacred object. The participant generally displayed agony in ejecting the object.

The references to shooting, death and agony suggest these may be rites of conflict, expressing ritual disapproval of the "old life" and a desire for revival in a new role. The ritual "killing" with sacred objects suggests conflict.

Group contrary behavior was popular with the warrior societies of the Plains. These elite groups seem to have favored behavior that made them distinct and apart from non-members. Perhaps the ritual flouting of custom was associated with fearlessness. The Foolish People of the Arikara did the opposite of what they were told, even in battle (Lowie 1915:673). The Crazy Dogs of the Cheyenne, in their dance, were obliged to go forward, regardless of obstacles (even a river), unless turned aside by their leader (Grinnell 1923:79).
The fearsome "Contrary" of the Cheyenne represented a ritually select warrior with a monomania for military virility. Hoebel writes eloquently of the Contrary: "In his rejection of heterosexuality, the Contrary rejects normal social relations. He must live alone, apart from all the camp. Whatever he does is opposite. Even in battle, he cannot charge with the other warriors at his side or in front or behind him. He must be off on the flanks, alone. When he holds his Thunder Bow in his right hand, he may not retreat" (1960:97).

A "Contrary Society", not directly connected with the above warriors but composed mostly of old people, held ceremonies in which the members acted the opposite of normal (Grinnell 1923:204). "They are fun makers and their absurd actions are enjoyed and applauded by the people", Grinnell relates.

Lowie writes: "The heyoka ceremony figures prominently among both the Eastern and Western Sioux. ...the idea seems to be uppermost that the performers imitate some supernatural being or beings acting in a way contrary to nature and custom..." (1913:113). Thus the heyoka of the Dakota used the word sweet for what was bitter, groaned when happy, laughed in distress, went naked in winter and wrapped themselves in buffalo robes in summer (Neill 1872:268). At the first
planting of tobacco, the Medicine-bearer of the Crow walked backwards (Lowie 1956:290).

In summary, the ceremonial reversal of the normal seems to have been emphasized in the Great Plains. Supernatural forces were sometimes credited with instructions to perform contrary behavior. Ritual self torture and contrary behavior distinguishes their rituals of conflict, and this emphasis seems compatible with independence and fearlessness as valued patterns of behavior. However, the Indians of the Great Plains characteristically acknowledged instructions from another source, as mentioned above.

Inevitably choices must be made, in society, between conflicting values and there is ambivalence. Anti-natural and contrary behavior in the Great Plains, in rites of conflict, may have expressed some of this ambivalence for the Indians.

CALIFORNIA

The Indians of California have been chosen to represent the Far West because they were culturally diverse, comparatively numerous and ethnographically popular. Most of the data used, in this paper, covers the activities of those tribes who lived between the mountains of the coastal range and the Pacific coast. A small area of what would now be Baja California is
No single ideal type would typify the diverse California Indians. The cultural and linguistic "pockets" indicate that representatives of various cultures were attracted to the natural wealth of food in some parts of California. Of particular interest, however, is the phenomenon, in some areas, of "static wealth" (goods) in contrast with the "mobile wealth (horses and women) of the Plains. The comparative abundance of food made possible stable communities and the accumulation of tangible goods. Non-agricultural food surpluses came from the ocean, rivers and adjacent countryside. With this abundance came specialization in crafts and greater status differences. Certainly, not all the tribes considered had abundant food, but the preoccupation with goods would seem to have diffused to the less fortunate from the richer areas. The static wealth factor lends interest to the search for elements of ritual conflict.

Ritual conflict and reversal are quite apparent in California.

1. Ritual Expressions of Conflict
   a. Between formally defined social and political groups

   In the areas of relatively dense population of California, with nominally friendly villages sometimes not more than a mile or two away, a certain content of
Inter-village rivalry might be expected. Such instances, ritually expressed, are reported. Waterman tells of songs during the tattooing ceremony for girls which "insult and revile" people of hostile villages, calling by name people who have recently died, a serious insult in this culture (1910:290). Kroeber reports Yurok villages competing, through representative parties or teams, in dancing and games of shinny (1925:14). The Yokuts held tribal contests of medicine men "who test their superiority in bewitching one another" (Ibid 1925:507), and contests were held between the upland and coastal Luiseño as a feature of the "Notush" ceremony (Ibid 1925:676).

Songs of rivalry between clans of the Cahuilla were sung after ceremonies of tattooing and nose-piercing and after naming ceremonies for children (Strong 1929:80). The Southern Diegueño included during initiations and funerals a ceremony ridiculing another gens. Spier relates this: "A man or woman, particularly the latter, might strip off all his clothes in order to make the ridicule stronger. If a member of the ridiculed gens is present he cannot become angry, but in time he will reciprocate" (1923:323-4). Kroeber describes an annual mourning ceremony of great importance to the Yokuts in which visitors who assist in the ceremony are given property. However the transfer is made
"...thru the medium of a sham fight in which they (the visitors) despoil the owners" (Kroeber 1925:501). The Miwok, in their "Pota" ceremony, set up images representing "foes" of the village. These are the object of songs of malevolence. Guests from the towns to whom these individuals belonged were made aware that it was their kinsmen being reviled (Ibid 1925:295). The Brush Dance of the Yurok, to cure an ailing child, sent competing parties into the afflicted's home to dance and sing (Ibid 1925:61).

These institutionalized expressions of inter-group hostility are reminiscent of the competitions between villages or groups of the Iroquois. In both instances the relationships between the groups are relatively sophisticated. Rites of conflict may be viewed as defining the difference of the groups in an entertaining and clearly limited way. The visiting and associations necessary in sharing ritual would imply a measure of sharing in a common social order. Ruth Underhill states of the Central Californian food gatherers: "There was no war chief and no system of war honors. When a feud started, because of trespass or suspected witchcraft, the two sides were likely to line up and appoint champions---a very economical way of fighting" (1953:283). This might imply, that, having shared ritual,
they were conditioned to a more symbolic handling of actual conflict.

b. Between the sexes

Social conflict between the sexes may be observed in ceremonies of the Pomo described by Kroeber. The ancient ghost ceremony (distinguished from the "Ghost Dance movement" (1925:263)) virtually excluded women, except for a portion of the ceremony in which women were deliberately frightened. A woman might be brought into the dance house to view her departed husband's "ghost", impersonated by an initiate painted in a frightening manner, who would rise from a hole. (1925:263). Again, he finds a clown (peheipe) of the Valley Maidu who "mocks women when they dance until they pay him" (Kroeber 1932:379). "Death and Resurrection," a ceremony of the Southern PoMo, features the ritual "stabbing" by a "coward or a clown" of a woman who is "doctored" and restored to life (Loeb 1932:105). Barrett reports a similar ceremony for another division of the Pomo, called the "Guksu Ceremony" in which a "coward or clown" symbolically stabs a woman "as nearly nude as barbaric modesty will permit" (1917:428).

The above rituals are of interest in relating only to male aggression against women. Instances of female aggression did not appear in the data studied, and a view that they were reasonably satisfied would be supported
by Spencer, Jennings, et al. "The Pomo woman, far from being a drudge, enjoyed a higher status than females did in many other Californian Indian groups" (1965:250).

A Freudian interpretation might be fitted to the above circumstances. The position of this paper, however, would be that the rituals of conflict combined drama and the delineation of role, male and female, by allowing the audience to identify, each with his own sex.

The ritual clown is prominent in the tribes of California. Reversal was a favored ploy with them. "The clown, who generally mimics the actions of the dancers, and attempts to make the spectators laugh in those dances in which he takes part, now answers the call of the bear, and bids him enter the dance house ... All make much fun of him." Thus Dixon writes of the clown in a Northern Maidu ceremony (1905:296,8). Gifford writes of the Central Miwok, "After two or three incursions into the ceremonial house for stealing food, the two clowns come in and start to shove back from the fire the pine needles with which the floor is covered. They do this in a very unceremonious fashion, knocking people over, throwing pine needles on them, and making themselves generally obnoxious" (1955:270). He relates how they "poke into houses and turn everything..."
upside down (Ibid:289), and behave in opposites (Ibid: 292).

The challenging of accepted behavior by behaving in opposites in ritual is viewed as a form of conflict. Ritual clowning depends largely on contrary behavior for interest and comic effect and is seen to be both amusing and instructive in demonstrating the discomforts of anti-social behavior, and the weaknesses of groups or individuals or the social order itself. Again, the difference between ritual challenge and rebellion, which are restrained, and actual rebellion must be emphasized. Social criticism, embedded in humor, would seem more palatable than harsh criticism.

The discomforts of anti-social behavior were demonstrated in the antics of the "Coyote" clowns of the Yokuts "...grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls" (Gayton 1948b: 173), and pretending incest with a sister or cousin (Gayton 1948a:123). Kroeber finds ritual clowns of the Yuki would "...hold their privates or each other's, ...direct each other to step in the wrong place..." (1925:186). Loeb records clowns "ridiculing everyone" in initiation ceremonies of the Yuki (1934:66). It is likely that the humor excited by the clowns did not hide the annoyances of behavior conflicting with norms.
Will Rogers won the American people by chiding their Congress. There were many clowns in California long before him who delighted audiences by teasing authority.

The clowning of the California tribes presents a consistent theme among diverse tribes of an area that has been competently treated ethnologically. Kroeber states that the clown's business "...was to mock sacred ceremonies, speak contradictorily, be indecent and act nonsensically" (1925:497).

2. Ritual departure from established norms
   a. Transvestism
   b. Scatology

There is very little evidence of transvestism or scatology among the Indian tribes of California.

c. License (sexual)

The challenge of sexual norms appears with the Indians of California in ritual. Kroeber reports sexual license among the Yurok when they had finished building a dam "...a period of freedom, jokes, ridicule and abuse run riot...sentiment forbids offense... and as night comes, lovers' passions are inflamed" (1925:59).

Kroeber describes the Yuki girls' adolescence ceremony at which both men and women were present: "The house is entirely black, affording opportunity for the abundant licentiousness that is permitted to the participants" (195). He finds a similar ceremony with the Shasta (300), and
the Maidu (428). At the initiation ceremony for instructing boys in the use of the Tobet dance costume, Kroeber relates: "...At the conclusion a female relative danced naked...The nude dancing by women was mentioned as having taken place on other occasions" (1925:641).

Ritual license in California seems similar to that of the Eastern Woodlands---more orgiastic than in the Plains or Southwest.

d. Anti-natural speech and behavior

Like the Indians of the Plains, those to the West practiced rites which defied the norms in the use of fire. The medicine men of the Cahuilla would "eat" live coals (Hooper 1920:331), and those of the Dieguenos Casa Grande "licked" hot coals (DuBois 1915:813). Strong writes that the Southern Mountain Cahuilla in their Fire Dance would push the fire with their feet and hands, and that the shamans would, on occasion, jump into the fire and kick coals around (1929:177). Spier finds that the shamans of the Southern Diegueno would do the same (1923:321,2). The Luiseno extinguished fires with the hands and feet in ritual (DuBois 1908:81).

Kroeber found the Porno Ash Ghosts eating coals and plunging hands into the fire (1925:264), and the Juaneno leaping into a large fire which they trod out
barefooted (642). Loeb found the same custom among the River Maidu (1934:180), the Chico Maidu (1934:192), and the Kato (1934:33), and the "Ghost" of the Wappo jumping in and out of fire (1934:33). Barrett also observed fire "eating" and handling among the Pomo.

This defiance of norms in the use of fire would imply the invoking of supernatural aid in the ceremony. Those who have studied the rituals often speak of the use of ointments, made from herbs, by the participants for protection. It seems reasonable to assume that special mental states and physical preparations were, separately and in combination, involved. It is the particular use of unusual behavior for dramatic emphasis that we term ritual reversal, in this instance.

This form of anti-natural behavior appears prominently in California. Again, the rites are recurrent or cyclically integrated into community life.

SUMMARY

There is substantial evidence that rites of conflict were universal among North American Indians and African tribes. Again we return to the question; why do we have rites of conflict?

Sociology has offered conflict theory, and Martin-dale traces its foundations back to Polybius (205-125
B.C.) who described a cycle of social conflict that required a government combining the best elements of kingship, aristocracy, and democracy (1960:130). Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406 A.D.) of Arabia held that men band together to solve the problems of nature, but "there arises the need of a restraining force to keep men off each other in view of their animal propensities for aggressiveness and oppression of others" (Issawi 1950:101). This restraining force was the state, but it in turn would fall prey to internal or external aggression.

Machiavelli, (1469-1527 A.D.), in The Prince and Discourses, views the state as an equilibrium of aggressive forces (the Prince, nobles and people) that must be severally recognized in the state. Hobbes (1588-1679 A.D.) saw an insatiable desire for power in man: "...and when that is done, there succeedeth a new desire." (Hobbes 1947:31). David Hume (1711-1776) postulated "legitimate power" based on force, a "struggle open or secret, between authority and liberty" (Green 1907:118).

Turgot (1727-1781 A.D.) saw conflict as the source of progress (Stephens 1895). This previewed the grim view of Malthus (1766-1834 A.D.) that humanity competes for scarce foodstuffs, the fittest survive, and the population is controlled. "Survival of the fittest" migrated to biology in the hands of Darwin and from biology to the ideologies of Marxism (dialectic
conflict) and Social Darwinism (survival of the fittest as leaders in business and government). Contrasting ideologies, radical and conservative, were thus drawn from conflict theory.

Walter Bagehot (1826-1877 A. D.) interpreted traditional conflict theory in Darwinian terms with a theoretical rather than an ideological focus. To Martindale "Bagehot perceived the dynamics of society as the tension between customary behavior and intrusive elements which conflict with it" (1960:178). Ludwig Gumplowicz proposed that as men tended to herd like sheep in groups, only the interaction of many groups in conflict could explain the dynamics of society (1899:92).

George B. Vold (1896- ) gave a distinctive turn to conflict theory in proposing that violations of the law are crimes and the violators criminals only if they belong to the minority group (1958:257). A distinctive emphasis on the positive aspects of conflict appears in the work of Georg Simmel (1858-1918 A. D.). His work has been carefully analyzed and reformulated by Lewis Coser in The Functions of Social Conflict. The group-binding and preserving functions of conflict in the creation of associations and coalitions are stressed as positive functions. The establishment and
Maintenance of a balance of power is proposed as functional.

As mentioned above, the positive aspects of conflict have been more recently treated by Gluckman and Norbeck, as a concern of anthropology.

Psychology's interest in conflict goes quickly back to the Hobbesian view that man is motivated by the anticipation of pleasure but modifies his actions by the fear of pain. He would take his neighbors' goods and home, but socially forgoes robbery and rape if only to protect his own. He refrains from hurting others only to avoid pain. From this view of restrained primal desires Freud proceeds to the concept of the "unconscious" pressure induced by these instincts and their restraint. Somehow, this pressure will be manifested in conscious aggressive action unless purged in some symbolic way. This view would seem to encourage and assign such rites of conflict a positive value.

This is an abbreviated behavioral science perspective from which to view the evidence of conflict in society. Societies that are transitional, from traditional to modern, are losing ritual and do not offer clear data on ritual rebellion.

The folk cultures of Yucatan described by Robert Redfield show vestiges of conflict in the symbolic bull
fight, "corridas", and the ritual clowns "chic" or "coati" who appear as buffoons and chase little boys at certain festivals (1941:294).

In our own culture, a blend of ethnic elements, the problem becomes magnified. There are indications of new, developing themes. The gatherings of youth at the southern beaches during annual Easter holidays to defy local authority and taunt the police might be called expressions of rebellion. In a more prolonged and diffuse way the "beatnik" and "hippy" movements could be included. Certainly, football games that attract vast audiences and pit symbolic tigers, owls, bulldogs, and broncos in vicious bodily contact will be ritual conflict to some future anthropologists. Professional wrestling matches feature ethnic heroes, villains and clowns, Von Erich the German, Bearcat Wright the Negro, Tojo the Japanese.

Annual "gridiron dinners" use mockery and comedy to "roast" important people.

The Christian theme of the crucifixion and resurrection at Easter could be called a rite of conflict, symbolic of eternal sin and redemption.

Computer analysis will no doubt soon facilitate the unravelling of complex themes of conflict in transitional and complex societies. Field data
collected now should be oriented to such use, prepared to accommodate standardized electronic tabulating techniques.

Returning to the evidence from simple, traditional societies, one broad but usable generalization appears tenable. This is our thesis: Among North American Indians rites of conflict are much in evidence, challenging the values of society but returning to them, in a patterned cyclical cadence, season after season, year after year.

Surely, one of the first things a primitive child would learn is to avoid the fire, but fire is handled ritually in many of these societies. In relatively small tribal groups cohesion is valued, yet there is evidence of conflict in ritual between formally defined groups, between the sexes, between superiors and inferiors. The social system itself and relations to the supernatural must be respected, in the face of external dangers; yet ceremonial clowns defy this respect. This repeated ceremonial ambivalence suggests an acknowledgement and rejection of alternative ways of behavior.

Gluckman proposes that only secure and stable relationships can be ritually questioned (1952:23, 24). Norbeck suggests that this cannot be verified because we lack means of judging this stability (1963:1273),
and suggests that the degree of organization and control
might be a better criterion (1963:1274).

These North American Indian groups were socially
stable. There is little evidence of actual rebellion
within their own systems until their lives had been
changed by subjugation and assimilation into the culture
of the United States.

The satisfying quality of Zuni life as described
in The Native Americans by Spencer, Jennings et al.
was previously mentioned. A passage from the same text
touches the keynote of this paper: "The rich, socio-
ceremonial life of the Creek town was punctuated by
dances, often held near the full moon....This 'fast',
as the Creek term, poskita, has it, fell in August,
at the harvest of the main maize crop, and constituted
a ceremonial purification of the town, marked by the
extinction of the old fire and the rekindling of the
new, and purging of all by the drinking of the sacred
emetic and by fasting, and the ritual washing away
of sins. It marked the amnesty for all crimes save
those construed as murder, of the public award of
war titles, and exceptionally a period of sexual
license connected with fecundity....Clan or phratry
councils met apart to hear 'uncles' admonish them, and
dances and a ball game formed ceremonial segments....
In this ceremony the Creek town redefined its social order, phrased anew its position in the cosmos, and, cleansed and rededicated, entered upon the new year (1965:434)."

This expresses the rhythmic, cyclical self-questioning and reification that we interpret from rites of conflict—the clearly traditioned group acknowledging flaws and returning confidently to its values, as if those values might become too saccharine if unchallenged, too diffuse unless redefined.

There is certainty and comfort in ritual; it will be repeated at a certain time or on a given occasion. There is the certainty also that man's works are imperfect, but he must have some agreement to live socially. The data would indicate that he has an urge to manifest his mixed feelings without destroying society, if we are to judge by rites of conflict among North American Indians.

The calumet was the long-stemmed highly decorated peace pipe of central North American Indians. To injure one with whom the pipe had been passed was an offense to the Great Spirit. The pipe was the sacred sign of an alliance. "Carry it about with you and show it and you can march fearlessly amid enemies who even in the heat of battle, lay down their arms when it is shown", said Father Dablon (Kinnetz 1940:173).
59.

Marquette passed the length of the Mississippi safely by grace of a calumet given him by the Illinois.

The orderly return to the alliance of normal social relations after rites of conflict is submitted as the calumet of North American Indian tribes.
NOTE

Generous use has been made of data prepared by

Mimi Cohen, under the direction of D. Edward Norbeck,
at Rice University.

REFERENCES CITED

BANDELIER, ADOLPH
1916 The Delight Makers. New York, Dodd Mead & Co.

BARRETT, S. A.

BRACKENRIDGE, H. M.

BROWN, MRS. W. WALLACE
1892 Chief making among the Passamaquoddy Indians, Journal of American Folklore Vol. V.

BUNZELL, RUTH

CATLIN, GEORGE

COSER, LEWIS A.

CUSHING, FRANK H.
1920 Zuni Breadstuff. Heye Foundation, Indian Notes and Monograms.

DIXON, R. B.

DORSEY, J. D.

DuBOIS, CONSTANCE G.

DUMAREST, N.

FAULKNER, WILLIAM

FENTON, WILLIAM
FENTON, WILLIAM

FEWKES, J. W.

FOSTER, GEORGE
1944 A Summary of Yuki Culture. Anthropological Records, University of California.

GAYTON, A. H.
1948a Yokuts and Western Mono. Ethnography I.
1948b Yokuts and Western Mono. Ethnography II.

GIFFORD, E. W.

GLUCKMAN, MAX
1952 Rituals of Rebellion in South-East Africa. Manchester University Press.

GRINNELL, GEORGE B.

GREEN, T. H. \& GROCE, T. H.

GUMPLONICZ, LUDWIG – ERANS, Frederick W. Moore.
1899 American Academy of Political Science.

HARPER, FRANCES

HILL, W. W.

HOBBES, THOMAS

HOEBEL, E. ADAMSON

HOOPER, LUCILLE

HULBERT, A. B. \& SCHWARTZE W. N. eds.

ISSAWI, CHARLES (translator).
1950 An Arab Philosophy of History. London, John Murray

JAMES, EDWIN
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshoni. Ibid. Vol. XI Pt. X.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PARSONS, ELsie Clews
1922 Winter and Summer Dance Series in Zuni 1918 University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology. Volume 17, No. 3.

PARK, Williams Z.
1941 Culture Succession in the Great Basin. Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir. Menasha, Wis.

Parker, A. C.

Radin, Paul

Redfield, Robert

Reichard, Gladys

Russell, Frank

Skinner, Alanson

Speck, Frank G.

Spencer, Jennings et al.

Simmel, Georg

Spiers, Leslie
STEVENSON, MATILDA C.

STEVE, W. WALKER
1895 The Life and Writings of Turgot. London, Longmans, Green.

STROM, WM. D.

SWALTON, JOHN R.
1911 Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico.
1925 Religious Beliefs and Medical Practices of the Creek Indians. Ibid. Vol. XLIV.
1927 Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians. Ibid. Vol. XLIV.

THWAITES, R. G.
1897 The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Hurons; Vol. 10. Cleveland, Burrows Bros.
1898 The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Hurons and Quebec, Vol. 14, P 1637-1638.

UNDERHILL, RUTH MURRAY

VOLD, GEORGE R.

WALLIS, W. D.

WALLACH, E. AND HOBBEL, E. A.

WATERMAN, T. T.

WISSLER, CLARK