Résumé. Des ethnographes modernes ont décrit les Renards comme étant organisés en groupes à filiation patrilineaire autrefois exogames, appelés clans, avec des divisions complémentaires qui recroisent les divisions en clan. Les écrits qui nous viennent d'autres siècles, par contre, semblent démontrer l'existence de villages de clans, d'authentiques systèmes des moitiés et de sociétés de guerriers. Le présent article propose, pour expliquer ces contradictions apparentes, une hypothèse sur l'organisation sociale des Renards au XVIIᵉ siècle et les changements qu'elle a subis pendant la période historique.
For the social organization of the Fox Indians, we are fortunate in having valuable studies by Sol Tax, based on fieldwork in the 1930s, and by his student Charles Callender, whose fieldwork was in the 1950s (Tax 1955, Callender 1962). Both of these scholars compiled detailed genealogies, based on interviews and on a published tribal roll of 1905, which extended their knowledge well back into the nineteenth century. We also have the notes of William Jones, a Harvard-educated Fox Indian (Jones 1939); these date from the early years of this century but present many difficulties in interpretation. From earlier centuries we have a certain amount of miscellaneous information, much of which, however, does not appear to agree very well with what is known from twentieth-century sources. This paper offers as an explanation of these apparent discrepancies an hypothesis about the social organization of the Fox in the seventeenth century and the changes it underwent during the historical period.

CONTEMPORARY DATA

The Fox of the present century are organized into name groups, in which membership is determined by the Fox name of each individual, though being generally inherited patrilineally. To avoid entanglements in terminology these groups will here be referred to as 'clans' in all their guises through history. In their conventional English labeling these clans may be listed as follows: Bear, Fox, Eagle (mekesiwa 'bald eagle'), Thunder, Wolf, Pheasant (pahkiwa 'ruffed grouse'), Elk, Bass,
and Swan. There are a few other clans which appear to be of recent origin, but discussion of their status and of multiple clan membership and some other details will here be omitted. Jones described the clans as exogamous (Jones 1939: 72), agreeing with Morgan's information from 1860 (Morgan 1964: 150). Although this is shown by the genealogies not to have been true after about the 1860s, one must agree with Callender's conclusion that "the evidence now seems adequate for reconstructing...Fox...clans as patrilineal, exogamous units..." (Callender 1962: 27).

In addition to the clan organization and entirely distinct from it are the dual divisions, called ki·ško·ha 'white-division member' and to·hka·na 'black-division member' (alternatively aškaša with archaic variant oškaša). These divisions function as good-natured rivals in ritual, war, games, and bantering conversation. Membership in these is assigned on the basis of birth order.

There is evidence from tradition and from the contemporary ritual organization that five of the clans were the original core of the clan system, namely Bear, Fox, Eagle, Wolf, and Thunder. Jones recorded the statement of Pushetonekwa that these were the five original clans (Jones 1939: 76), and they are the only clans that sponsor sacred-pack ceremonies. In these ceremonies the clans have reciprocal obligations, whereby Bear and Wolf serve as attendants for Eagle, Fox, and Thunder, and the latter three serve the first two (Fisher, in Jones 1939: 79).
HISTORICAL DATA

The historical information on Fox social organization from the 1650-1850 period is a hazy trail of fragments. In 1672 the Jesuit missionary Claude Allouez furnished a survey of the Indians of central Wisconsin in which he mentioned the mission of St. Mark to the Outagami, "where are the Ouagoussak, Makoua, Makoucoué, Mikissioua." (Thwaites 1896-1901, 58: 40)

The Outagami are the Fox (Ojibwa otaka·mi: 'person of the other side of the water'), and the four group names appear to be comparable to Fox clan names—a matter taken up in detail below. Comparison with the rest of Allouez' description makes it likely that these were separate residential groups, though this is not made explicit. Another seventeenth-century source is Bacqueville de la Potherie, who gives a circumstantial account from Perrot of an encounter with two Outagami chiefs, ending as follows (Bacqueville de la Potherie 1722, 2: 174 [i.e. 170]):

Les Outagamis sont de deux extractions, les uns se nomment Renards, & les autres de la Terre-Rouge. Celui qui refusa le Calumet etoit Chef des Renards, qui avoit pris la place de son frere. Le Chef de la Terre-Rouge suivit Perrot, & le mena dans sa cabane, ou il fit assembler tous les Vieillards & les Guerriers de sa nation, & leur parla ainsi.

The names Outagami, Fox (Renards), and Red-Earths (Terre-Rouge, meškwahki·ha, Mesquakie) are generally assumed to be synonymous, but this early passage presents a different picture, one that cannot lightly be dismissed.

A document of a different sort has survived from the eighteenth century in the form of de Léry's rather detailed
map of 1730 recording the exact location of three Fox villages and their surrounding corn fields near Lake Winnebago in 1723 (Kellogg 1925: 314). The fields are drawn as separate squarish areas, with each village about three leagues from the next. If the four Fox groups mentioned in Allouez' 1672 report were in fact separate residential entities, de Léry's map must certainly indicate their physical, spatial characteristics albeit fifty years later and at a different location.

In the course of the eighteenth century the Fox suffered very heavy population losses, starting well before the time of de Léry's map in fact. Repatriation of captive Foxes and the adoption of individuals from other tribes must have been important factors in building back their diminished numbers. By the early nineteenth century the complement of clans appears to be essentially the same as that found a century later. Forsyth's 1827 clan list has Fox, Bear, Wolf, Swan, Partridge [= grouse], Thunder, Elk, and Black Bass (Blair 1912, 2: 192). He gives Bald Eagle in his list of Sauk clans, and it seems almost certain from other evidence of the importance of this clan among the Fox that his omission of it from the Fox list was a mere oversight. For the Sauk Forsyth described two rival warrior societies ("bands or parties"), the Kees-ko-qui who painted white, and the Osh-cush, who painted black. Membership in these was assigned alternately to the sons of a man. Clearly these groupings are the direct antecedents of the dual divisions found later among both the Fox and the Sauk, which have comparable names and the same type of membership-assignment
rule, differing only by their inclusion of both sexes instead of only males. The warrior societies of Forsyth's day resemble very much in their functions the rival Ioway warrior societies, tukala and máwatani (Skinner 1926: 23a). The existence of these can be taken to confirm the essential differences between Forsyth's societies and the modern Fox and Sauk dual divisions, even though the total system of Siouan warrior societies is not directly comparable. Especially significant is the apparent fact that the Fox division name to·hka·na (replacing aškaša) is a borrowing of the Ioway society name tukala (Michelson 1925: 548). This borrowing shows that the Fox perceived a parallelism between the Ioway societies and their own, and it seems inexplicable unless it is assumed that the Fox also had warrior societies of the type that Forsyth described for the Sauk.

SYNTHESIS

The historical synthesis of the disparate recorded fragments of information about Fox social organization can best begin with the earliest, the names of the groups at the mission to the Outagami in 1672. These are to be compared with the names of the modern clans, traditionally the original ones, that sponsor pack ceremonies:
Of the four 1672 group names, makoua and mikissioua can be compared directly with the names of the modern Bear and Eagle clans. The name ouagoussak, a plural form, must be phonemic *wa·kosaki 'foxes' (-aki animate plural). Though this form is not in use in contemporary Fox, it is presupposed by the two modern forms wa·koše·ha 'fox; Fox clanmember' and wa·ko·ha 'Fox clanmember.' Both of these would be regularly formed diminutives from an early Fox *wa·kosa (-a animate singular), and this in turn would be the expected reflex of Proto-Algonquian *wa·kwehsa 'fox'. In fact *wa·kosa is probably directly attested by the Sauk clan name recorded about 1830 by Galland as Wau-koos 'Fox' (Galland 1869: 350). There is thus no difficulty in comparing ouagoussak with the modern names of the Fox clan. These three comparisons were already made by Michelson (1938: 179) and Fisher (Jones 1939: 73, note 6 to Table 1). The name makoucoué is more difficult, but it is clearly not a Fox word as it stands and must therefore be a miscopying of something else. Independently of any proposed comparison it can be observed that the c is unlikely, given the consistent use of k in the other forms, and that the final e must be an error for a, since all animate nouns in Fox end in a. The emendation to mahoueoua is then an easy
one, with the assumption that the \( h \) was miscopied as \( k \) under the influence of the preceding name in the list. This would match the name of the Wolf clan.

It appears, then, that the groups listed for the Outagami in 1672 were the antecedents of four of the five principal clans, as traditionally and functionally defined, among the Fox of later years. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that these seventeenth-century groups were exogamous patrilineal clans living in separate villages of the type depicted on the de Léry map. Fox social organization would then, on these points, be directly comparable to that assumed for the Ojibwa in the same period (Hickerson 1967: 324-325), and described by Atwater for the Winnebago in 1829 (Michelson 1935, 1938: 179). There is no difficulty in assuming that the Thunder clan was in existence in 1672 but simply not in the neighborhood of the mission at that time, since the Fox ranged far to the west during that period. Indeed, it would not be surprising if the five traditionally original clans were then the only clans in existence. If this were the case, the ceremonial grouping of Bear and Wolf against Eagle, Fox, and Thunder would have constituted a true moiety system, in which all the clans were divided into two groups with reciprocal functions.

The line of argument that leads to the postulation of moieties for the seventeenth-century Fox seems to be confirmed by the information that La Potherie got from Perrot about the Fox (Renard) and Red-Earth (Terre-Rouge) divisions among the Outagami. Independently of other speculations it would appear
that Perrot was describing moieties, and no additional assumptions are needed to conclude that his account furnishes the names of the two moieties that have been postulated above. It is even possible to go as far as to suggest that the Fox moiety was the one with the Fox clan in it (Eagle, Fox, and Thunder), and the Red-Earth moiety was the one with the Bear and the Wolf. A Red-Earth moiety with the earth-dwellers Bear and Wolf and a Fox moiety which included the sky-dwellers Eagle and Thunder would be comparable to the Earth and Sky moieties of the Miami (Callender 1962: 41), the Menomini (Hoffman 1896: 40-41; Callender 1962: 36), and the Winnebago (Radin 1923: 190-191). The apparently inconsistent position of the Fox clan in the putative Sky moiety would not be out of line with what is found in other such systems.

The comparison with other moiety systems can be carried further. As Fisher has pointed out (Jones 1939: 76, note 23), when the Fox chief whom Perrot encountered spurned the pipe and the Red-Earth chief tried to conciliate and summoned the council, they were engaging in behavior that was conventional for a war chief and a peace chief, respectively. If it was always the case that the war chief was from the Fox moiety and the peace chief from the Red-Earth moiety, then a direct comparison may be made with the Menomini, among whom the Sky moiety furnished war leadership and the Earth moiety furnished peace leadership (Hoffman 1896: 39-45). It may be significant in this connection that among the contemporary Fox the tribal
chieftainship traditionally belongs to the Bear clan (Jones 1939: 73, note 14; 82-83), which would have been in the putative Red-Earth moiety, while among the Sauk, at least, the war chief is said to have come from Fox clan (Hewitt 1910: 478). Among the Winnebago the situation is comparable, though the reverse: the peace chief is a member of the Thunderbird clan of the Sky moiety, and the war chief is from the Bear clan of the Earth moiety (Radin 1923: 200, 320). It is in this context that an explanation can be provided for the otherwise anomalous fact that an alternate name for the Fox clan of the Fox is War Chief (Jones 1939: 73). More speculatively it may be noted that the two most prominent Fox war chiefs of the early eighteenth century, Pemoussa and Kiala (Corkran 1969; Zoltvany 1969), have names that appear to be equivalent to the modern pe·mosa·ha, a Thunder-clan name (Jones 1939: 143, no. 16), and kya·na·wa, a Fox-clan name (Jones 1939: 121, no. 43). The Thunder and Fox clans are in the putative Fox moiety, from which, to judge solely by Perrot's information, the war chief appears to have come. However, not enough is known about Fox personal names and their history to permit a clear evaluation of this line of argument.

It remains to account for the changes that have taken place in Fox social organization since the seventeenth century. Of central importance would appear to have been the addition of new clans to the original set of five, a process which has continued through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This
can be readily understood as a concomitant of the building up of the Fox tribe, in part by the in-marrying or adoption of foreign males, after the drastic reduction in population during the wars with the French. The moiety system, however, bound up with ritual obligations of reciprocity, did not expand to encompass the new non-religious clans. As a result the non-ritual functions of the moieties atrophied, and they no longer served to structure lacrosse games (as they did among the Menomini, for example) and other secular events. In this context it is easy to understand how the rival warrior societies described by Forsyth—perhaps diffused from neighboring Siouans at an earlier date—might have expanded their functions to include those formerly taken care of by the moiety system. Membership was assigned to children of both sexes, and, like the moieties of the earlier period, these new dual divisions divided the whole tribe into two rival teams with reciprocal functions.

It thus appears that the social organization of the contemporary Fox could have developed out of a seventeenth-century system of exogamous clan villages grouped in moieties. The hypothesis presented has at least the advantage of not conflicting with any of the information available from the different periods, though the fragmentary nature of the evidence necessarily leaves some details uncertain.
1 The present paper grew out of discussions with Charles Callender about some aspects of Fox social organization, and I am indebted to him for the stimulation thus afforded. I also owe to him what I know about the Fox genealogies and the suggestion made here about Pemoussa's name (which was tendered with the requisite caution). Responsibility for the present hypothesis is, however, my own.

The Fox forms in this paper are written phonemically in the system of Bloomfield (1946), except that long vowels are indicated by a raised dot.

REFERENCES CITED


