

THE CANADIAN DAKOTA

WILSON D WALLIS

VOLUME 41 : PART 1
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1947

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PREFACE

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION was secured by the writer during four months of 1914, under the auspices of the Division of Anthropology, Geological Survey, Canada. It is published here by permission of Mr. Diamond Jenness, Head of the Division of Anthropology, National Museum, Ottawa, Canada.

Most of the time was spent at the Dakota reservation near Portage La Prairie, Manitoba. A few weeks were spent at the reservation near Brandon.

Two previous papers based on this field-work

have been published: "The Sun Dance of the Dakota"¹ and "Beliefs and tales of the Canadian Dakota."² No previously published material appears in the present work.

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WILSON D. WALLIS

July, 1944

¹ Wallis, 1919.

² Wallis, 1923.

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INTRODUCTION

MOST OF THE INDIANS at the Portage La Prairie reservation are Wahepton,¹ and all information is from that band. The reservation is comprised of Dakota who fled to Canada after the Minnesota massacres of 1862 and 1863. These uprisings are described by Isaac V. D. Heard in his "History of the Sioux war and massacres of 1862 and 1863." He attributes their grievances mainly to "the enormous prices charged by the traders for goods, by their debauchery of their women, and the sale of liquors, which were attended by drunken brawls that often resulted fatally to the participants" and to "the prohibition by our government of their sanguinary wars upon the Chippeways."²

Mrs. Eastman³ refers to an instance in which the Chippewa paid to the Dakota "what was considered the value of the murdered man, in goods, such as calico, tobacco, &c." But this was certainly not the traditional way, on either side, for settling scores. A tradition current among the Dakota during the middle of the last century declares that they used to go on the warpath from Mille Lacs to the mouth of the Minnesota River, where they fought the Winnebago or the Iowa Indians, as the case might be, and finally expelled these tribes from the territory.⁴ The Dakota who lived about 9 miles below Leech Lake were said to have, in 1832, many comfortable dwellings made of poles covered with bark, and to raise potatoes.⁵ Mrs. Eastman writes, in 1846,

They told me that their nation had always lived in the valley of the Mississippi—that their wise men had asserted this for ages past. Some who have lived among them think they crossed over from Persia in ships.⁶

Brackett says Yanktonnais means Arrow Shooters; Tetons, Pointed Lodges; Warpetons [Wahpeton], Tea Drinkers.⁷

The division of the Dakotas or Sioux, known as the M'daywakantons, or People of the Lakes, consisted in 1834 of seven distinct bands, whose summer residence was in villages, the lodges being built of elm bark laid upon a frame work of poles. These villages were situated at Wabasha prairie near the spot where

the flourishing city of Winona now stands, at Red Wing and Kaposia on the Mississippi, three of the bands on the lower Minnesota river below Shakopee, and the Lake Calhoun band on the lake of that name. These bands could bring into the field about 600 grown warriors. The Wahpakootas or People of the Shot Leaf were in villages on the Cannon river, or rather on a lake through which it runs, a short distance from the present town of Faribault, and at a few other points. They numbered about 150 warriors. The lower Wakpatons or People of the Leaf, were located at the Little Rapids, Sand Prairie, and on the banks of the Minnesota not far from Belle Plaine. The lower Sissetons occupied the region around Traverse des Sioux, Swan Lake, and the Cottonwood extending to the Coteau de Prairie. The Upper Wak-paton villages were on the shores of Lac qui Parle, and those of the Upper Sisseton on Big Stone Lake and Lac Travers . . .

The bands which have been enumerated, were all known and are still called by the Missouri River Dakotas, Isantis. They all raised corn to a considerable extent, and when the war of 1862 commenced, many of them owned large, well-fenced, well-cultivated fields, and comfortable houses. The authority of the chiefs in the olden time was very great, but from the date of the first treaties negotiated with the government it began to decline, until finally the chief was merely considered to be the mouthpiece of the soldiers' lodge, the members of which constituted the only real power in the bands.

Old Wabasha, long since dead, was the leading hereditary chief of the Peoples of the Lakes, and in all inter-tribal affairs of importance his word was law, not only with his particular band, but with all those belonging to the same division.⁸

Parker⁹ gives the number of the Wahpeton in 1856 as 700: Little Rapids band, 150; Lac Qui Parle band, 400; Big Stone Lake band, 150. According to West,¹⁰ the two former bands numbered 1200 a decade earlier.

The following were given as some of the Dakota bands:

Wahpeton, Village of the Leaves
Teton, Village of the Prairie
Iakton, Village of the End
Sisiton, Village of the Marsh
Bedawakanton, Village of the Spirit Lake
Kiuxsa, Law Breakers
Sitcagu, Burnt Thighs; said to be the same as Teton
Wahpekute, Leaf Shooters

¹ The use of the present tense, unless otherwise specified, is as of 1914.

² Heard, 1863, 31.

³ Eastman, 1849, xv.

⁴ Pond, G. H., 1872, 144-145.

⁵ Boutwell, 1872, 175.

⁶ Eastman, 1849, xvi.

⁷ Brackett, 1877, 467.

⁸ Sibley, 1874, 250-251.

⁹ Parker, 1857, 140.

¹⁰ West, 1889, 66.

MATERIAL CULTURE

THE TIPI

THE WRITER MEASURED A TIPI which had 16 supporting poles. The vertical height was 14 feet; the ground diameter, the same. (Numbering the poles from the one on the right of the entrance, as one enters), I was told that the sixteenth, that is, the one immediately to the left of the entrance, the sixth, and the eleventh were the first three poles erected. Numbers 1 to 5 were then put up in that order, and next, 15, 14, 13, 12, 10, 9, 7, and, last of all, 8, which is opposite the entrance, and to which the cover is tied. When all of the poles, except number 8, were up, the anchor rope was wrapped once, clockwise, around the apex of the cone of the poles, at the smoke hole. After number 8 had been placed in position, the rope was again wrapped about the apex, in the same direction, and tied to the anchor stake behind the tipi. If the poles are green, large, and heavy, little rope is needed to keep them in position. If they are small, light, and dry, they must be wrapped tightly at the apex, to prevent slipping. A tipi constructed with poles and covered with boughs is called *tioha'za*, "shade tipi." A tipi of the usual conical shape is called *tihAmiA*, "round tipi." Le Sueur says: "They make all their lodges of a number of buffalo skins interlaced and sewed, and carry them wherever they go."¹ In each tipi are usually two or three families. "Their teepees are always made of Buffalo-skins; nothing would induce them to use deer-skin for that purpose."²

Arriving late in the afternoon at the appointed camping ground, she clears off the snow from the spot upon which she is to erect the teepee. She then, from the nearest marsh or grove, cuts down some poles about ten feet in length. With these she forms a frame work for the tent. Unstrapping her pack, she unfolds the tent cover, which is seven or eight buffalo skins stitched together and brings the bottom part to the base of the frame. She now obtains a long pole, and fastening it to the skin covering, she raises it. The ends are drawn around the frame until they meet, and the edges of the covering are secured by wooden skewers or tent pins. The poles are then spread out on the ground, so as to make as large a circle inside as she desires. Then she or her children, proceed to draw

the skins down so as to make them fit tightly. An opening is left where the poles meet at the top, to allow the smoke to escape. The fire is built upon the ground in the center of the lodge. Buffalo skins are placed around, and from seven to fifteen lodge there through a winter's night, with far more comfort than a child of luxury upon a bed of down. Water is to be drawn and wood cut for the night. The camp kettle is suspended for the evening meal.³

TRENCHES

Pike, in 1805, found

... holes, dug by the Sioux, when in expectation of an attack, into which they first put their women and children, and then crawl themselves. They were generally round, and about ten feet in diameter; but some were half moons, and quite a breastwork. This, I understand, was the chief work, which was the principal redoubt... the moment they apprehend or discover an enemy on a prairie, they commence digging with their knives, tomahawks, and a wooden ladle; and in an incredibly short space of time, they have a hole sufficiently deep to cover themselves and family from the balls or arrows of the enemy. They have no idea of taking those subterraneous redoubts by storm, as they would probably lose a great number of men in the attack; and, although they might be successful in the event, it would be considered as a very imprudent action.⁴

W. T. Boutwell describes a Dakota embankment near Elk Lake which consisted

... of two considerable cavities in the earth, sufficient to conceal thirty men. They are so situated on the bank of the river, as just to overlook a bend, which is the commencement of a considerable rapid. Here, I am informed, a party of Sioux once entrenched themselves, and killed a large number of Ojibwas as they were descending the river.—When they once entered the rapids, there was no escape.⁵

When apprised of the approach of the enemy, they sometimes hid their women and children in holes, and covered them with brush-wood.⁶

FOOD GATHERING AND PREPARATION

The Dakota mode of hunting deer is to form an extended line with intervals of eighty or a hundred

¹ Le Sueur, 1872, 329.

² Eastman, 1849, 157.

³ Neill, 1872, 287-288.

⁴ Pike, 1872, 373-374.

⁵ Boutwell, 1872, 166.

⁶ Neill, 1882, 506.

yards between the hunters, and then advance at a rapid pace, completely scouring the country on the way. Anyone falling in the rear has but a poor chance for success. When an animal is killed, the carcass remains on the spot until the return of the owner, after the conclusion of the day's hunt. The skin is then taken off, and with a portion of the hind quarters, is the property of the man who shot the deer or the elk, and the remainder is equitably divided among such as have been less successful, or to the widows and orphan children in the camp. The rule is, that while there is any food on hand it must be distributed to all alike.¹

The Wahpeton did not use fish weirs. Since moving into Manitoba, however, they have learned their construction from, they say, the Cree. The weir was constructed of branches of ash, because this wood has a rough bark that is supposed to kill fish which come into contact with it. A fish weir which the writer saw at Griswold, in the Assiniboine River, had two long converging lines which led from the banks to a trap in the middle of the stream. They fished at night with a birchbark torch tied in front of the canoe. They speared fish, or shot them, with a bow and arrow. They also baited fish with a stick terminating in a carved fish head, above which was a charred and painted smoothed stick resembling a fish. Fish attracted by this bait were shot. This lure was sometimes put down through a hole in the ice at which they watched for fish. Apparently neither hooks nor gorges were used. The fish spear is a long shaft with two spaced prongs at the end. The prongs have inner barbs, one slightly above the other, but no central pinning stick. The spear head is wrapped to the shaft by means of a leather thong which has been soaked in water. Gum is placed over this layer of thong, and more thong is wrapped over the gum. Poisoning the water was not practised. Fish come up into creeks when the water is warm, and sometimes die there. Fish which are dead when found are not eaten. Only the old men eat eels.

Flesh of every kind is such a rarity with the Dahkotahs of these parts, that they eat every kind of quadrupeds and fowls they can obtain. Not only deer, bear, and squirrels, grouse, ducks, and geese, but muskrats, otters, wolves, foxes, and badgers, cranes, hawks, and owls. They eat not only what is properly called flesh of these animals, but every part which can be supposed to contain nutriment,—the

heads, feet, entrails, and the skins, if they be not valuable as an article of traffic. After picking the flesh off the larger bones, they break them and boil them to get any little oil they may contain to mix with their corn. Exclusive of their corn, their food consists in winter chiefly of muskrats, badgers, otters, and raccoons; in the spring, of fish, and roots which the earth produces spontaneously, with some ducks; in the summer, roots, fish, wild pigeons, and cranes; in autumn, wild ducks, geese, and muskrats.²

Mrs. Eastman says that in the extremity of hunger a woman would kill her child and eat its "tender limbs," though such a woman was said to "have no heart."³ Dorsey says the Ponca and Dakota, when pressed by hunger, "might eat the kidneys [of buffalo] raw."⁴

[Porcupines] are of great value among the Dahkotahs; their flesh is considered excellent as an article of food, and the women stain their quills to ornament the dresses of the men, their moccasins, and many other articles in use among them.⁵

If food be plenty, they eat three or four times a day; if scarce, they eat but once. Sometimes they go without food for several days, and often they are obliged to live for weeks on the bark of trees, skins, or anything that will save them from dying of famine.

When game and corn are plenty, the kettle is always boiling, and they are invariably hospitable and generous, always offering to a visitor such as they have it in their power to give.⁶

Dorsey refers to the Dakota custom of drying wild plums for use.⁷

They ate the *tipsinna*, described as a turnip growing only in the high and dry prairie.

It has a thick, hard rind which the Dahkotah usually remove with their teeth. During the months of June and July, when the top can be easily discovered in the grass, the Indians of the Upper Minnesota depend, very much, for their subsistence on the *tipsinna*. They eat it both raw and cooked.⁸

Gathering the corn, as well as whatever else pertains to cultivating the earth, is considered to be the business of the women. They gather it in their blankets, and carry it to the scaffold, on which they stand to drive off the birds. Here it is thrown in a

¹ Thomas S. Williamson, in a letter to the *Cincinnati Journal*, November, 1835, quoted by Neill, 1882, 444-445.

² Eastman, 1849, 162.

³ Dorsey, 1884, 293.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, 166.

⁵ Eastman, 1849, 225-226.

⁶ Dorsey, 1884, 306.

⁷ Neill, 1882, 506.

⁸ Sibley, 1874, 261.

heap exposed to the sun, till the husks begin to wilt. These husks are then stripped from the corn, but most of them still left attached to the cob. The husks of many ears, still fast to the ear, are then platted together into a long string, by which the corn is suspended over a hole to dry. After hanging for several weeks, exposed to the weather till it is entirely free from moisture, the corn is threshed off the cobs, and put in bags made of skins of small fibres of lynn bark woven together with the fingers.

The smallest and most unripe ears are prepared in a different way. The husks being entirely torn off, they are boiled. Then the corn is shelled, and dried by being strewed thin where it will be exposed to the direct rays of the sun. When thoroughly dried it is put in bags same as the others. When the corn is sufficiently dried, it is put in sacks containing from one to two bushels each, and put away in what are called *caches* by the traders. These are made by digging a hole about eighteen inches in diameter, perpendicularly one or two feet deep, and then enlarging it in the form of an earth oven till of sufficient size to contain what they have to put into it. They are usually five or six feet in diameter at the bottom, and as much in depth. The bottom and sides are lined with dry grass, on which the sacks of corn are placed. Dry grass is also put on top of the corn till it is filled, except the perpendicular part. This is filled with earth which is stamped down firmly. Corn thus laid away keeps dry and good from September till April under ground.¹

Syrup and sugar were obtained from the maple and also from the *icahasatca* tree which is said to be found only south of Manitoba, and was used by the Dakota before they made syrup from the Canadian maple. Not only is the *icahasatca* tree described as of lighter color than the Canadian maple, but its syrup and sugar are said to have a better flavor. To procure the sap a notch is cut in the tree, and under this is hung a birchbark trough which conducts the sap into a vessel. The sap is boiled soon after it has been collected. When it has boiled down to the proper consistency, some of it is set aside for syrup, and the remainder is placed in vessels, where it is allowed to harden into sugar.

UTENSILS AND TOOLS

A cooking vessel was made by digging a hole in the ground to serve as the pot and cutting the hide of a buffalo about the neck and below the forelegs to serve as a cover. A fire was built

in this hole, stones were placed on the fire, and the buffalo hide cover was placed over the hole. Sticks were driven through the hide at the edges to keep it in position. Also, a hide is pressed against hot stones until it is scorched and well heated, and is then shaped into a vessel. It is allowed to set, until it becomes stiff and hard, and is then ready for use as a cooking vessel. The meat is not put in until the water boils. Heated stones are thrown into the water until the meat is cooked. They cook meat "a long time."

Plates were made of birchbark sewed with fir root. Seams are sealed with the gum of this tree. Birchbark served as spoons.

On the shores of lakes they found thin slabs of stone. Some of these were ground to a sharp edge and served as knives.

ARROWHEADS AND ARROWSHAFTS

Arrowheads were made of buffalo horn or deer antlers ground to a sharp point. The shaft was fitted into the hollow of the horn or antler. A crane's bill or a turtle's claw was softened over the fire and straightened, then placed along the end of the shaft and wrapped to the shaft with thong. Sometimes a bone was softened by boiling, and the arrowshaft was thrust into it. None of the arrows, it is said, were barbed.

Dried bones were boiled to make glue to fasten the feathers to the arrowshaft. The feathers were laid upon the shaft, which was not cut or split for their insertion. The tip of the feather was tied down and the glue was placed along its split rib. The base of the feather was also wrapped. Three feathers were placed upon the arrowshaft. Any feather of suitable size was used, that of a wild goose, a crane, or other bird. An eagle feather, however, was accounted the best. The feather is laid on a board, heated first along one side of the quill, and then turned and heated on the other side. The heating makes the quill split and scrape easily. The quill is scraped from the larger end toward the tip of the feather, the larger end being held in the mouth, and the tip in the left hand. A thong is wrapped around the smaller part of the arrowshaft, near the end, and the small end of the feather is inserted and wrapped. Gum, obtained from the exuded sap of an evergreen tree, is melted and placed along the smoothed quill, which is then glued to the shaft. The larger end of the quill is wrapped with thong. The gum, placed on a

¹ Thomas S. Williamson, in a letter to the *Cincinnati Journal*, written November, 1835; quoted by Neill, 1882, 443.

board, is softened by means of a hot stick held over it, and applied to the rib of the quill with a small stick. While wrapping the feather, the arrowshaft is grasped in the left hand, one end of the thong is held in the mouth, and the other end is held in the right hand. The wrapping is done, in part, by twisting the arrowshaft with the left hand, thus winding the thong around it. When the feather has been fastened, the fringed edges are trimmed off with a knife.

The stick for an arrowshaft is measured from the tip of the middle finger to the top of the upper arm, at the shoulder. The width of the arrowhead lies parallel to the feathers. The arrowhead is fastened to the shaft with thong. The arrowhead used in hunting buffalo is long and narrow, so that it will easily pass between the ribs of the animal.

Bow and arrowshafts are made of strong wood, usually white ash. To string the bow, it is held with both hands, one at either end, and is bent over the upraised knee to the required tension; the two points of sharpest curvature are then about midway between the middle and the end. The bow is notched close to each end, for the attachment of the thong. When not in use, one end of the thong is slipped off, to preserve the elasticity of the wood. A sinew from the back of the buffalo is sometimes used as backing for the bow. It is smoothed out, fastened down with gum, and is then painted red. In discharging the bow, the arrowshaft is grasped between thumb and forefinger of the right hand.

In many instances the arrowshaft, from arrowhead to the quill end of the feathers, is painted. Red, blue, and yellow are the favorite colors, but any color may be used.

The shaft was also decorated, at least after iron knives were introduced, with numerous incisions, in geometric patterns. Zigzags, which were frequent, represented lightning. An arrowshaft with lightning design would kill animals which were far away, and would also secure big game, such as deer, bear, caribou, and moose. Occasionally, an arrowshaft of this kind would pass through the body of the animal.

Glue from the horn of an elk hastens the death of an animal, and occasionally was placed on the tip of an arrow. No other substance believed to be a poison was used. An animal killed by lightning inflates considerably and is made unfit for food. This happens also to an animal

killed by a "poisoned" arrow, and makes the flesh unfit for use. At first, four lightning marks, that is, zigzags, were incised on the shaft, but the animal killed by such an arrowshaft was not suitable for food. Later, only three zigzags were incised. These did not spoil the flesh. Le Sueur says the Dakota managed "the bow admirably," and states that he saw them kill ducks on the wing several times.¹

MISCELLANEOUS TECHNIQUES

The Dakota anointed the legs and soles of the feet of Hennepin with wildcat oil, presumably to relieve fatigue.²

Buffalo horns to be used as a headdress were given the finishing touches by a scouring with ashes, to make them smooth and to impart a polish.

Elm was the best wood for making fire, and was sometimes carried on the march, for fire smoulders in the punk, often for a long time. Dried punk and grass were placed between two hollowed stones which were rubbed vigorously until smoke came. The smouldering portion was then blown upon until a flame resulted.

A method of firemaking restricted to medicine-men was to rub dry punk between the bare hands until a smoulder started. The method of firemaking, with a firedrill, described by Hennepin seems to have been forgotten: "taking a piece of cedar full of little holes, he placed a stick into one, which he revolved between the palms of his hands, until he kindled a fire. . . ."³

A strong stick inserted between large bushes or young trees which stood close together was used as a lever to break or uproot them.

TOBACCO AND PIPES

A man said he would make tobacco. He procured calamus root, *sike'awo'ta*, cut it up and dried it, rubbed it between his hands, smelled it now and then, and finally mixed it with leaves of the white ash. He built a sweatbath tipi, heated four stones, and took a sweatbath. Tobacco of this kind was smoked only after taking a sweatbath. Before tobacco was common, leaves of the white ash were gathered in the autumn and were smoked as an offering to the various *wakan* beings. When no other material

¹Le Sueur, 1872, 329.

²Hennepin, 1872, 309.

³Hennepin, 1872, 309.

was available calamus root and the leaves of rose bushes were cut fine and mixed. Heard speaks of the use of "kin-ne-kin-nic, a species of willow,"¹ to mix with tobacco.

A man who was hunting sometimes carried the stem of a pipe, and a large hole at one end served as the bowl. If he had no stem, he made one by splitting a suitable piece of wood down the middle and digging a groove along the middle of the flat inner side of each half. He then joined the two parts and bound them tightly with basswood bark. A similar section, of proper length, was used as a bowl. Sometimes a hole about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep was dug in the earth to serve as a bowl, and the stem was thrust through an opening leading to it from above. Earth was packed tightly about the stem. The man could then, while lying down, have a comfortable smoke.

The catlinite used in making pipes, Wahpeton tradition says, was first found along worn

buffalo paths. The man who discovered it cleared away the enveloping earth and found a large mass of it. He took large pieces of it away. This was, it is said, in the present state of South Dakota. With a sharp stone and a bone he ground it down, and gave it proper shape. Then with a smooth stone, he finished it to an even surface, finally polishing it with sand, and then with rawhide. The bore in the stem and bowl was made with a stick and sharp gravel. All the old pipes were small. At the present day the Indians use a file to bore the holes. Mrs. Eastman speaks of a Dakota who had a fan attached to one end of his pipe stem.² According to Le Sueur,

They are all great smokers, but their manner of smoking differs from that of the other Indians. There are some Scioux who swallow all the smoke of the tobacco, and others who, after having kept it sometimes in their mouth, cause it to issue from the nose.³

¹ Heard, 1863, 83.

² Eastman, 1849, 227.

³ Le Sueur, 1872, 329.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

THEY MEAN by the word Dahcotah what we mean by the confederacy of states in our union. The tribe is divided into a number of bands, which are subdivided into villages.¹

It is [says Neill] an erroneous idea that chiefs have any authority. Popularity is the source of power, and they resort to measures which vie with those of the modern demagogue, to gain the ear of the people. They never express an opinion on any important point, until they have canvassed the band over which they preside, and their opinions are always those of the majority.²

Neill states that "from time immemorial, secret clans with secret signs have existed among them. It is impossible to force any member of these clans to divulge any of their proceedings." Neill quotes Culbertson, who visited the Dakota along the Missouri in 1850, in corroboration:

The Sioux nation has no general council, but each tribe and band determine its own affairs. These bands have some ties of interest analogous to the ties of our secret societies. The "Crow-Feather-in-Cap" band are pledged to protect each other's wives and to refrain from violating them. If the wife of one of their number is stolen by another of their number, she is returned, the band either paying the thief for returning the stolen property or forcing him to do it whether he will or not. . . .

The "Strong-Heart" band is pledged to protect each other in their horses. Should a "Strong-Heart" from a distance steal some horses, and they be claimed by a brother "Strong-Heart," his fellows would tell him he must give them up or they would give the robbed man some of their own horses, regarding it as the greatest disgrace to themselves to allow him to go away on foot. And thus I suppose that all these bands have some common object that unites them together, and here we have the origin of this system of banding. In the absence of law, it takes the place of our system of justice.³

CAMP LIFE

But they are all off at last. Mothers with children, and corn, and teepees, and children with dogs on their backs. They are all gone, and the village looks desolate and forsaken.

The party encamped about twenty miles from the village. The women plant the poles of their teepees

firmly in the ground and cover them with buffalo skin. A fire is soon made in the centre and the corn put on to boil. Their bread is kneaded and put in the ashes to bake, but flour is not very plenty among them.

The next day parties were out in every direction; tracks of deer were seen in the snow, and the hunters followed them up. The beautiful animal flies in terror from the death which comes surer and swifter than her own light footsteps. The hunter's knife is soon upon her, and while warmth and even life are left, the skin is drawn off.

After the fatigues of the day comes the long and pleasant evening. A bright fire burned in the wigwam of the chief, and many of the Indians were smoking around it.⁴

[In] the cornfields on your way to the village . . . you would see the women and the girls, dressed in something like a petticoat and a short gown, taking care of their corn. If the corn were ripe enough to eat, the men and boys would be there too. If not, some of the men and boys would be after deer and fish and some would be doing nothing. Some of the men helped their wives raise corn last year, and more of them said they should next year.

A narrow lane, which the women have made by setting up posts about as large as a person's wrist and tying slender poles to them with bark, leads through the cornfields to the village. The village, which stands on the south-east side of the lake [Calhoun, in what is now Minneapolis], consists of fourteen dwelling houses, besides other small ones. The houses are large, and two or three families live in some of them. . . . They came yesterday, and last night made the woods ring with their savage yells. I believe they are giving thanks to the Great Spirit for their safe return. They say this is customary.⁵

Of camp life Pond subsequently writes:

It is difficult for the inexperienced in such matters to form even a faint conception of life in an Indian camp of three hundred persons, especially when off hunting. Life in camp at such times, while entirely unconventional and primitive, is exposed to constant and vexatious annoyances. In the first place, the Indian tents are always populous. And this population, so very numerous, is also very active—an activity which neither slumbers nor sleeps, which knows neither weariness nor compassion. The tents are, moreover, very smoky, so that the occupant often imagines himself to be a side of bacon undergoing the curing process.

¹ Eastman, 1849, xviii.

² Neill, 1882, 85.

³ Neill, 1872b, 284.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, 60-61.

⁵ Pond, S. W. Jr., 1893, 47.

Then there are more varieties of noise in an Indian camp than the uninitiated would imagine possible. The dogs, which in a well-regulated camp are always very numerous, are constantly on the alert and striving to prove their vigilance by their noisiness. Like rival morning papers in an ambitious city, each one is exceedingly anxious to "scoop" his neighbor by first announcing the occurrence of anything new, from the appearance of a new moon to the arrival of a hostile Ojibway, and as soon as the first bark has cleft the stillness, a discordant chorus of say six hundred canines, at a very moderate estimate, resounds to the remotest border of the camp. When Indian dogs get waked up fairly, like the sea after a storm, they are slow to subside.

In summer evenings the song and drumbeat accompanying the scalp dance are fairly familiar sounds in the Indian camp. Their monotonous cadence was often heard night after night for weeks in succession.

The plaintive song with which the bereaved mother lamented her lost infant, or the lonely wife her slain husband, in bitter and long-continued wailings, was a common sound, and one of the saddest sounds when heard in the silence of the forest, in the dusk of evening, which ever fell on human ear or issued from human lips. It was a wailing for the dead, relieved by no hope, even dimly recognized, of an immortality beyond this life.

There is one more combination of noises, painful to the listener, whoever he might be, from which in those days the Indian camp was rarely free during the evening hours. Where the sick man was, there the medicine men were gathered together. The unearthly groans and diabolical utterances of the sorcerers at the bedside of the sick and dying it would be impossible to describe. They must be heard to be appreciated. The ceaseless shake of the gourd rattle added to the impressiveness of the weird ceremony. The manner in which the Dakotas ministered to the necessities of the sick and performed the last offices at the bedside of the dying was enough to make them long, as they often did, for death to come to them on the field of battle. Scalping, to a rational mind, would seem to have less of terror than the wild incantations of an experienced medicine man. It was often a relief to hear the succession of shots which the Dakotas fired, when death came,

"To fright away the spirits dread
That hover round the dying bed."

They told the camp that one of the spirits—for the Dakotas have four souls—had gone to the Great Spirit, and the conjuring of the sorcerers was over.

The foregoing are but specimens of some of the daily experiences of Indian camp life. . . . The sounds of feasting and revelry mingled with the wailings of the mourner and the scalp dance song; the shouts and groans of the conjurer blended with soft notes of

the lover's flute in his evening serenade; the songs of mirth with those of sorrow, and the notes of war and hate with those of love and peace. All came in one mingled medley. . . ."¹

An old man called at each tipi before break of day, roused the occupants, and told them to get up, wash their faces, and put on red paint. A man or woman who was not up before sunrise, with face washed and painted red, would not live long. People were told to paint their faces as the sun himself had done, for soon he, having adorned himself, would rise red. Whoever failed to observe early hours and thus adorn himself would be disliked by the sun and would soon die. The old man who gave the above information rises at an early hour. He asserted that people who now neglect to do as bidden by the sun are shorter-lived than the Indians of his young days.

DOMESTIC LIFE

A visitor walks into a tipi without rapping. When he enters, the host greets him with a loud "Ho!" To this the guest replies, "Good day!" "Rainy day!" or some such commonplace remark. The host then invites the visitor, if a man, to take a seat at the back of the tipi. A visiting woman sits on one side of the entrance. Neill says:

There is much system in relation to the place in which each should sit in a Dakota lodge. The wife always occupies a place next to the entrance, on the right. The seat of honor, to which a white man is generally pointed, is directly opposite to the door of the lodge.²

Under no circumstances may a woman step over the feet of a man.

THE TIOTIPI

The *tiotipi* was built in the center of the camp, or a large tipi was selected to serve as the meeting place for the older men. Here, during the day, they conversed, told their adventures, ate, and made all the plans for the camp, including the hunting of buffalo. A young man who killed game brought it to the *tiotipi*. Two young men were in constant attendance, cooking, and performing other services for the old men, who spent much of their time there.

In the *tiotipi* are painted sticks, some black

¹ Pond, S. W., Jr., 1893, 117-120.

² Neill, 1872b, 279.

and some red. A stick painted either one of these colors accompanies the meat which is brought to the *tiotipi*. A red stick is placed on one side of the *tiotipi*, a black one on the other side. A man is detailed to attend to these. Five black sticks and five red ones are apportioned among 10 medicinemen, a stick to each medicineman. In addition, there is one for each male from the age of 14 on. The stick of each man in the camp is stuck upright in the ground in the *tiotipi*, and each day the medicinemen assemble to observe them. If a man is destined to have a short life, or to die soon, his stick suddenly falls to the ground.

These sticks record the exploits of the person with whom they are associated. Thus, a black stripe is painted on the red stick if the owner has killed a Chippewa. If he has wounded a Chippewa, the black stick which has his token is painted with a red stripe; a stripe is added to indicate each additional wounded Chippewa.

When a vessel of meat is brought to the *tiotipi* all the old men say "Hai!" in token of gratitude; then two of them stand outside, near the entrance of the tipi, and sing a song of gratitude. The meat is not brought in by the donor but by the wife of the head of the *tiotipi*. The back of the tipi cover (? inside) is marked with charcoal as a record of each kettle brought. Sometimes tobacco accompanies the presentation of meat. There is always an abundance of meat.

Neither quarreling nor disputation is permitted in the *tiotipi*; only plans for the welfare of individuals or the camp are countenanced. Two pipes are used. The ashes from them are carefully kept in a box provided for the purpose. When the camp is about to be moved, these ashes are thrown into the fire of the *tiotipi*. When one of the pipes is filled, the stem is pointed toward the earth, and the earth is requested to diminish the wildness of the buffaloes. The ashes must be cautiously handled. Sometimes some of them are sprinkled on buffalo chips, which are then buried in the ground. This prevents the buffaloes from becoming frightened when hunted. Occasionally, when people are pursuing buffaloes, one of the animals becomes frightened and turns upon the horses, which then run from them. If a horse should then throw its rider, the latter would be killed. It is to prevent such a misfortune that the pipe is offered to the earth and the ashes placed on buffalo chips.

FIGHTING AND WAR HONORS

Heard speaks of the "Soldiers' Lodge" as a . . . secret organization of the young men to direct the action of the tribe when anything of moment is to be undertaken. In this it was determined [in 1862] that they would get all the credit possible, and when their annuities arrived, not permit the traders to receive them; and if they insisted, rob the stores, drive their owners from the reservation, or take their lives, as might seem expedient. The chiefs did not dare express dissent to this plan . . .

The traders knew from the organization of the lodge that it boded no good for a collection of their demands, and when an Indian would ask for credit they would retort, "Go to the soldiers' Lodge and get credit" . . .

They [the Indians] supposed that three certain Indians had disclosed the secret of the lodge to the traders. They started after one who was riding on horseback; he jumped off and ran into the woods. Then those who had guns shot a hundred balls into the horse, and the others stabbed him with their knives. The other two they caught in the street, and cut every piece of clothes from their backs before all the people.¹

For the regulation of the hunt, and to prevent the buffalo from being driven off, they organized a *Soldiers' Lodge*. This was a large tent pitched in the centre of the camp, where the symbols of power were kept in two bundles of *black* and *red* sticks. These represented the soldiers—those who had killed enemies and those who had not. To this tent the women brought offerings of wood and meat; and here the young and old men gathered to feast, and from these headquarters went forth, through an Eyanpaha (cryer), the edicts of the wise men.²

. . . the *Tee-yo-tee-pe* or Soldiers' Lodge which is only organized on special occasions for the hunt or for war.³

The young Indian from childhood is taught to regard "killing" as the highest of virtues. In the dance and at the feasts, the warriors recite their deeds of theft, pillage, and slaughter as precious things, and, indeed, the only ambition of the young Indian is to secure the "*feather*," which is but a record of his having murdered, or participated in the murder of some human being—whether man, woman, or child is immaterial; and after he has secured his first feather, his appetite is whetted to increase the number in his hair, as an Indian brave is estimated by the number of his feathers. Without the feather the young Indian is regarded as a *squaw*, and, as a gen-

¹ Heard, 1863, 48.

² Riggs, 1887, 133.

³ Riggs, 1887, 177.

eral rule, can not get a wife, and is despised, derided, and treated with contumely by all. The head-dress filled with these feathers and other insignia of blood is regarded as "*wakan*" (sacred), and no unhallowed hand of man nor any woman dare touch it.¹

You may have noticed perhaps an eagle's feather with a red spot, in the head of some Indians walking through our streets. It is a badge that the possessor has killed a foe. If the feather is notched and bordered with red, or dipped and topped with red, it signifies that a throat has been cut. The red band on a blanket shows that the woman has been wounded by an enemy; but the black band, that he has killed his enemy.²

A man who has killed a child or woman wears a dark eagle feather trimmed on each side, next the quill end, for about one fourth of its length. One who has killed an adult male enemy wears a light-colored eagle feather, trimmed similarly.

Five men may count coup on an enemy felled by a gun, and four men may count coup on an enemy struck down by an arrow. The only reason alleged for this distinction was the rather perverse one that a gun shot kills a man instantly, whereas he may not die as the result of an arrow wound. If an arrow strikes a man but does not kill him, the attacker is entitled to the same honor as though he had killed the man. Honors acquired by the warriors who did not shoot the enemy go to those who first strike the body with the hand. In each instance, the honor entitles the winner to wear one eagle feather. Each honor has exactly the same rank, whether acquired by the man who killed the enemy or by the last man to count coup.

Disputes about an honor, therefore, could arise only between two contestants for the last coup. In the case of such dispute, the two contestants were summoned before the leader of the party, who was always a medicineman. He faced them and sang. While he sang, he would see which one had won the honors, but would not indicate the man, lest the other should then, or later, in his anger at the decision, kill the leader. It is said that in the past this was not infrequently the fate of a leader who dared to render a decision. An eagle feather is given to both contestants; but it is severed a short distance from the tip, to distinguish the disputed honor from the undisputed. In the next fight,

the false claimant will be shot by the enemy.

After the return of a war party, the leader assembled the participants in his tipi and invited also all who had killed a Chippewa. They sat in a circle. In the middle was dug a hole about 6 inches in diameter. Into this each man threw a piece of meat. The meat belonging to a man who had killed a Chippewa would invariably fall into it. Thus there was almost immediate opportunity to decide which one of two contestants was the true claimant to a war honor.

Although, it was said, Teton and Yankton Dakota allowed women to wear headdresses of eagle feathers, the Wahpeton did not permit this. A Wahpeton woman might not touch an eagle feather or any part of the body of an eagle, for the bird is *wakan*. My informant possessed eagle feathers, and permitted no woman to touch them. Eagle feathers which were not being worn usually hung in the tipi exposed to view. Some men wore them on a war party, and some who were entitled to do so did not wear them.

If a scalp, or scalps, have been brought home, wood for as many hoops as there are scalps is procured by the man who has killed an enemy, and the scalps are stretched over the hoops. A cross mark (X) is painted on each. The man who struck the third coup stretches the scalps, and the leader of the war party ties them to the hoop, which he fastens in the ground, so that it will stand upright. An eagle feather is added to the hoop for each Chippewa killed. Thus if six Chippewa have been killed, six eagle feathers adorn it. In the War dance, the leader of the party carries this hoop, and begins the dance. It is then carried, in succession, by each member of the party. There is a hoop for each scalp taken, and only one scalp on each hoop.

Those who kill a Chippewa take his bow, arrows, gun, knife, tomahawk, medicines, moccasins, leggings, coat, and feather headgear. If they capture his tipi, they take possession of all of his useful property, but remove nothing that belongs to any other occupant, except the scalp. They leave the bodies of the dead in the tipi, and allow it to remain standing.

The Dakota do to the Chippewa exactly as the Chippewa treat the Dakota. If a Chippewa captures the tipi of a Dakota, the Dakota will return the same treatment which the Chippewa visited upon one of their tribe.

¹ Heard, 1863, 32.

² Neill, 1872b, 276.

This retaliatory standard is reflected in several stories of war parties.

Old man Pashee once rushed in ahead of an attacking party of Dakota and saved the life of a Chippewa whom the attackers were about to kill. Pashee took the Chippewa to his tipi, gave him food and tobacco, and the two smoked together. Meanwhile, the other Dakota, who had been clamoring to have the life of the Chippewa, waited near the tipi to capture and kill him when he came out. That night the host gave his prisoner Dakota clothing. They stole quietly out of the tipi, mounted ponies, and the Chippewa escaped. The next day, when upbraided for this action by his fellows, Pashee explained that he did not want to see any murdering done in Canada. [This was after the Dakota had crossed the international border.] Since that time the two tribes have been friendly. Subsequently, from time to time, this Chippewa gave his rescuer liberal presents, including a pony, a suit of clothes, and other things. They have remained very warm friends. In the presence of Pashee, this Chippewa never refers to Chippewa victories over the Dakota. When he begins to do so, Pashee asks him, "Who saved your life?" The only response to this inquiry is silence.

The Dakota were moving to another camping place. One member of the band was a man over 100 years old. He was walking about, feeling well, and moving alertly, but he said he would die there, and sat down; he was tired. They asked him whether he could eat well. He said he could. They gave him plenty of food, water, and wood, made a tipi of grass (*pezi woka*), left him there, and resumed the journey. He was partially deaf. A few days later, someone knocked at the entrance of the tipi with a club. He heard the knocks. A Chippewa walked in and offered to shake hands. The old man accepted the proffered hand, and, with a knife grasped in his other hand, he stabbed the Chippewa through the heart, and killed him. Other Chippewa came and killed the old man. "That was the oldest man I have heard of who killed a Chippewa. This, like other stories of old people on the march, came from my mother's mother, who was over 100 years old when she died. My mother was between 103 and 104 years old when she died, about 10 years ago. These are

the only stories from my mother's side that I can tell."

Another story of a young Dakota and a young Chippewa recites a similar magnanimity on the part of the Dakota who failed to reciprocate the kindness of the Chippewa. The fate suffered by the Chippewa as a result of his dependence on Dakota gratitude is considered both amusing and fitting.

On a July day in 1839, at Lake Harriet [in what is now Minneapolis], there was a cluster of summer huts constructed of small poles and barks, the summer home of four or five hundred Dakota souls, surrounded by their gardens of corn and squashes. It was an Indian [Dakota] village. The five hundred had swarmed out into and around the shores of the lakes. Men, women and children were all engaged in hunting, chopping, fishing, swimming, playing, singing, yelling, whooping, and wailing. The air was full of savage sounds, frightful to one unaccustomed to them. The clamor and clatter on all sides made me feel that I was in the midst of barbarism, and I was.

Suddenly, like a peal of thunder when no cloud is visible, here, there, everywhere, awoke the startling alarm whoop, "Hoo-hoo-hoo!" Blankets were thrown in the air. Men, women, children, ran—they ran for life. Terror sat on every face. Mothers grasped their little ones. All around was crying, wailing, shrieking, storming, scolding. Men vowed vengeance, whooped defiance, and dropped bullets into their gun-barrels. The excitement was intense and universal. "The Chippewas! The Chippewas have surrounded us! We shall all be butchered! Rupacoka-Maza is killed!"

Ah, yes! just across there on the other bank of Lake Harriet—there he lies all bloody. The soul is gone from the body, escaping through that bullet hole; the scalp is torn from the head.

A crowd has gathered, and every heart is hot with wrath. Ah, me! What wailing! What imprecation! The dead one is the son-in-law of the chief, the nephew to the medicine man, Red-Bird. Every warrior, young and old, utters his determined vow of vengeance as Red-Bird stoops to press his lips on the yet warm, bleeding corpse, cursing the enemy in the name of the gods.

Now see the runners scud in all directions! In an hour or two the warriors begin to arrive, painted, moccasined, victualled, and armed for the warpath. Indian warriors are all minutemen. . . .

The sun is just ready to sink as we look at the long row of warriors seated on the east bank. That tall form, dressed not much unlike Adam before the fall, save war paint, at the head of the line, is Red-Bird. One long wail goes up from three or four hundred throats, as Red-Bird utters his imprecatory prayer to

the gods. He presents to them the pipe of war, and it goes down the ranks, as he follows it, laying his hands on the head of each, binding him by all that is sacred in human relationships and in religion, to strike for the gods and for Red-Bird.

The next evening the dusky runners begin to arrive at Lake Calhoun, from the battle ground at Rum River. Red-Bird is killed; his son is killed; the Chipewas are nearly all killed. Seventy scalps dangle from the poles in the center of the village close by the tepee of the father-in-law of Philander Prescott. The scalp dance lasted for a month. It seemed as if hell had emptied itself here.

The pursuing party had overtaken the Ojibways before daylight in the morning, but had remained in concealment until the hunters left the camp for the day, and had then attacked the poorly defended women and children. The attack was sudden, impetuous, and unexpected. . . . The women raised their hands and looked back for a moment in dazed astonishment, then turned and fled. The Dakotas were worn out by their forced march of the day and night preceding, and those of their enemies who got off the field alive were not pursued.

Red-Bird's son, but a lad in years, was crying beside the dead body of Rupacoka-Maza on that second of July. His father sneeringly said to him, "What are you crying for? Don't you know which way the enemy has gone?" Red-Bird was killed by a man who had been shot down. His son, as he was being carried from the field with his entrails protruding from a ghastly wound, said to those who were carrying him, "Where is my father? I want him to see this. I suppose it is what he wanted." On being told that his father was dead, he said nothing more, and soon died.

Owanca-duta, then in battle for the first time, was asked by Mr. Pond how he felt about the slaughter of the women and children. He replied that in the excitement of the attack he enjoyed the work, but it made him feel bad to come back among the bodies of the slain. After the battle a forced retreat must be made to escape the vengeance of the Ojibway hunters. Shakpé, chief of the Prairieville band, who had many wounded, found himself likely to be left in the rear. He was a noted orator, and made a speech in this emergency which produced a profound impression. Among other things, he said: "You have poured blood upon me, and now you run away and leave me."

This bloody slaughter was not all.¹

Those who have killed an enemy are permitted to sit together and one by one relate their stories and have the event pictured on a long board previously planed for the purpose.²

¹ Pond, S. W., Jr., 1893, 142-146.

² Pond, S. W., Jr., 1893, 173.

When a warrior comes home and says, "I killed six enemies on my last raid," he is confronted with the demand to produce his evidence, and the only evidence admissible is the scalps of the dead enemies. Should he make such an assertion without the proof, he would be laughed out of the camp as a silly boaster.

Most people think the practice of scalping an enemy, generally indulged in by the Sioux, is a wanton desire cruelly to mutilate the foe. Such is not the case at all; he is prompted solely by the desire of procuring proof of his success, and he will take more chances to get a scalp than he would for any other object in life. Among the Sioux . . . for every enemy killed a warrior is entitled to wear a head-dress with an eagle feather in it . . . the killing of a full grown grizzly bear is equivalent to the killing of an enemy, and entitles the victor to the same decoration. I have known Indians who wore as many as sixteen feathers.

It is not alone the importance that these decorations give the wearer which enters into their value. When he returns from the war path, bearing scalps, he is received by all his band with demonstrations of the greatest pride and honor.³

The manner in which the Dakota who were sentenced to death for the massacres of 1862 and 1863 met their fate—the event is celebrated in a painting displayed in the Minnesota State Historical Society rooms, St. Paul, which shows a few score Indians hanging from scaffolds—is thus reported by Heard:

As they commenced the ascent of the scaffold the death-song was again started, and when they had all got up, the noise they made was truly hideous. It seemed as if Pandemonium had broken loose. It had a wonderful effect in keeping up their courage. One young fellow, who had been given a cigar by one of the reporters just before marching from their quarters, was smoking it on the stand, puffing away very coolly during the intervals of the hideous "Hi-yi-yi, Hi-yi-yi," and even after the cap was drawn over his face he managed to get it up over his mouth and smoke. Another was smoking his pipe. . . .

. . . One of the Indians, in the rhapsody of his death-song, conceived an insult to the spectators which it required an Indian to conceive, and a dirty dog of an Indian to execute.

The refrain of his song was to the effect that if a body was found near New Ulm with his head cut off, and placed in a certain indelicate part of the body, he did it. "It is I," he sung, "it is I"; and suited the action to the word by an indecent exposure of his person, in hideous mockery of the triumph of that justice whose sword was already falling on his head.

³Flandrau, 1900, 387-388.

The scene at this juncture was one of awful interest. A painful and breathless suspense held the vast crowd, which had assembled from all quarters to witness the execution.¹

SCALPING

Scalping is an art, and the manner in which it is done, depends wholly upon the circumstances of the occasion. A complete and perfect scalp embraces the whole hair of the head, with a margin of skin all round it about two and a half inches in width, including both ears with all their ornaments. This can only be obtained when the victor has abundant time to operate leisurely. When he is beset by the enemy, all he can do, as a general thing, is to seize the hair with the left hand and hold up the scalp with it and then give a quick cut with his knife, and get as big a piece as he can. By this hurried process he rarely gets a piece larger than a small saucer, and generally not bigger than a silver dollar; but no matter how small it may be, it entitles him to his feather. . . .

When he returns from the war path If the weather is pleasant, he strips to the waist, and paints his body jet black. He places on the top of his head a round ball of pure white swan's down, about the size of a large orange, and takes in his hand a staff, about five feet long, with a buckskin fringe tacked on to the upper three feet of it. On the end of each shred of the fringe is a piece of deer's hoof, forming a rattle, by striking together when shaken up and down. When arrayed in this manner he marches up and down the village, recounting in a sort of chant the entire history of the events of the raid on the enemy, going into the most minute details, and indulging in much imagination and superstition. He tells what he dreamed, what animals he saw, and how all these things influenced his conduct. He continues this ceremony for days and days, and is the admiration of all his people. I have seen four or five of them together promenading in this way, and have taken an interpreter and marched with them by the hour listening to their stories.

When this part of the performance is over, the scalps are tanned by the women, as they would tan a buffalo-skin, the inside painted red, and the whole stretched on a circular hoop, about the size of a barrel hoop, to which is attached a straight handle, about four feet long, so that it can be carried in the air above the heads of the people. It is also decorated with all the trinkets found on the person of the slain.

Then begins the dancing.²

When the Sioux are tired of killing, they sometimes take their victims prisoners, and, generally speaking, treat them with great kindness.³

On the woman's scalps were hung a comb, or a pair of scissors, and for months did the Dahcotah women dance around them. The men wore mourning for their enemies, as is the custom among the Dahcotahs.

When the dancing was done, the scalps were buried with the deceased relatives of the Sioux who took them.⁴

The Dahcotahs returned with the scalps to their villages, and as they entered triumphantly, they were greeted with shouts of applause. The scalps were divided among the villages, and joyful preparations were made to celebrate the scalp-dance.

The scalps were stretched upon hoops, and covered with vermilion, ornamented with feathers, ribbons, and trinkets.⁵

Neill describes a fight between the Chippewa and the Dakota in 1841 at Pokeguma, Mille Lacs, for which the Dakota prepared by stripping and bedaubing themselves with vermilion. The heads of the Chippewa whom they killed were cut off and scalped, a tomahawk was sunk into the brains of each, and the severed heads set up in the sand, near the bodies. The breasts were pierced, and one right arm was taken. "It is usual for Indians to leave their murdered [? enemies] on or near the battle-field, with their faces looking towards the enemy's country."⁶

. . . At the age of sixteen he is often on the war path. When a boy is of the proper age to go to war, he is presented with weapons, or he makes a war club. He then consecrates certain parts of animals, which he vows not to eat. After he has killed an enemy he is at liberty to eat of any one of those portions of an animal from which he agreed to abstain. If he kills another person, the prohibition is taken off from another part until finally he has emancipated himself from his oath by his bravery. Before young men go on a war party, they endeavor to propitiate the patron deity by a feast. During the hours of night they celebrate the "armor feast," which is distinguished by drumming, singing, and agonizing shrieks.

The war prophets or priests, by the narrating of pretended dreams, or by inspiring oratory incite the tribe against an enemy. If a party are successful in securing scalps, they paint themselves black and return home in mad triumph. As they approach their village, those who are there run forth to greet them, and strip them of their clothes and supply them with

¹ Heard, 1863, 290-291.

² Flandrau, 1900, 388-389.

³ Eastman, 1849, 129.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, 131.

⁵ Eastman, 1849, 131.

⁶ Neill, 1872a, 181.

others. The scalp is very carefully prepared for exhibition, being painted red and stretched upon a hoop which is fastened to a pole. If the scalp is from a man it is decked with an eagle's feather; if from a woman with a comb. At a scalp dance which we once attended at Kaposia, the braves stood on one side of the circle drumming and rattling and shouting a monotonous song, reminding one of a ditty of the chimney sweeps of a city. The women, standing opposite the men, advanced and retreated from the men, squeaking in an unearthly manner a sort of chorus. This is the chief dance in which the women engage. If a scalp is taken in summer, they dance until the falling of the leaves; if in winter, until the leaves begin to appear. When the scalp is fresh painted, as it is four times, it is a great occasion. After their mad orgies have ceased, they burn or bury it. . . .

. . . The Dakotas, like other savages in war, show no sympathy for sex, infancy or old age. At Pokeguma, the Kaposia band scalped two little girls that attended the mission school; buried a tomahawk in their brains, severed the hands from the bodies, and set them up in the sand. Mr. Riggs narrates an incident of some of the upper bands of Dakotas pursuing a weak Ojibwa mother. To save her life she swam a stream. Half naked she reached the opposite bank, dropped down too exhausted to attempt to proceed. With the delight of demons, just let loose from hell, her pursuers came over, stabbed and scalped her. Prematurely ushering her unborn babe into existence, they dashed its brains out upon the ground. Returning with a poor sick mother's scalp, they came home as "conquering heroes come," and were received with pride and honor. Such is savage warfare, and the savage idea of what constitutes true glory. But, notwithstanding their horrid mode of warfare, they are not destitute of affection for their own offspring or friends.¹

PUNISHMENTS

When a member of his tribe was killed, the murderer became nervous and, not infrequently, lost his mind. A certain man, suspected of an unpunished murder that occurred among the Dakota some three years ago, is believed by some to be guilty, because he shows increasing signs of nervousness and absent-mindedness. Ames states that blood revenge is taken by the nearest relative of the murdered man.²

A party of Dakota were hunting. A cousin of mine was shot by accident. A man mistook him

for a moose, and shot him under the heart. The bullet went through his body. As he fell to the ground, he gave two war whoops, to inform the others that he had been shot. I ran through the thicket to the spot, and was the first to reach him. My cousin said he had been shot. He thought a party of Chippewa had done it. He told me to hide a short distance away. If the shot had come from Chippewa, they would soon return to take his scalp. I went back a few yards and lay down. While I lay there, the remainder of the party came up. We lay there for some time, but no Chippewa appeared. Then they said the shot must have come from a man of our own tribe who was afraid to return, because he had shot one of our own men. We searched for him, and found him, standing in the bush. We asked him why he had shot this man. He said he had mistaken him for a moose. They told him to have no fear, but to go and see the wounded man. He replied that he did not care to see the man dying. When we returned to the man, he was dead. The man who had shot him was not punished, because the shooting was an accident.

A fairly old man and his two sons were members of a hunting party. The old man became tired, sat on a large log, filled his pipe, and was looking for game that might come his way. A small boy, about 14 years old, was also in the party. It was the first time he had gone out to hunt. He mistook the man for a moose, shot and killed him. As soon as the shot was fired, he heard a war whoop which the man had given to warn his sons of his fate. The boy went to the place, saw that he had shot a man, and ran away. A man met the boy and asked what had happened. He reported that he had mistaken the man for a moose and had shot him. The sons took their father home and buried him. They had the lad brought to them, presented him with some clothes, and said they would be peaceful; that he did not know what a moose or a deer looked like while it was lying down. They did not punish him, for he was a young boy and was on his first hunt.

Another hunting party took with them a young boy, about 14 years old, for his first hunt. He saw two deer and shot at the larger one. The

¹ Neill, 1872b, 275-277.

² Ames, 1890, 234.

bullet passed through its body and penetrated the side of a man in the woods beyond the deer. The wounded man gave a war whoop, and died. The others came to him and carried the body home. This happened close to a white man's house, where they secured boards, made a coffin, and buried the body. The boy's father put a white blanket on the boy's horse, which was one of the best in camp, another white blanket over its head, and led the horse, thus covered, to the tipi of the deceased. He told the members of the dead man's family that the boy had shot the man accidentally, and he [? the boy's father] desired peace. He presented the horse and the blankets to the dead man's youngest son. The two white blankets indicated that peace was desired. The son of the deceased agreed; it was the first time the boy had been hunting and the victim's relatives agreed not to punish him. The youngest son of the dead man then accepted the horse and the blankets.

A party went out to hunt. One of the men heard the report of a gun; almost immediately he was shot in the side. He gave a war whoop, but no one came. He repeated it, whereupon two men came. He told them he had been shot. This was early in the winter. They went to the place where the report of the gun indicated it had been fired and found that one of their own men had been there—they saw his footprints. A member of the party followed the footprints to the man's tipi. He went into the tipi and asked him why he had shot this man. He said he had mistaken him for a deer. After a long time the wounded man recovered. A few years later, having discovered who had shot him, he went to that man's house and, while the latter slept, fired his gun at him and killed him. He told the people he had had a difficult time because of the wound; moreover, he did not believe he had been shot by accident. Others said it was well. The killer was not punished.

A man went to hunt. A Dakota shot him. He went to the wounded man, told him it was an accident, that he had mistaken him for a moose, and carried him home. The wounded man made no comment about the incident. He recovered. A few years later these two men quarreled. The guilty man started the quarrel, and told his

victim that some day he would kill him. The other replied that the former had once tried to kill him, but he had recovered, and no one could kill him. He went into his tipi, brought out his gun, and killed his original assailant. Had he not quarreled with his victim and not referred to the previous shooting, the assailant would not have been killed by him.

It is always competent for a Dakota soldier to punish another man for a misdemeanor, if the other man did not rank above him in savage prowess. As for example: If a Dakota man had braved an Ojibwa with a loaded gun pointed at him, and had gone up and killed him, he ranked above all men who had not done a like brave deed. And if no one in the community had done such an act of bravery, then this man could not be punished for anything, according to Dakota custom.¹

The Sioux have many women and they punish conjugal infidelity with severity. They cut off the tip of their noses, and a piece of the skin of the head, and draw it over.²

Neill says that, in many instances,

If a woman proves faithless to her husband, she is frequently shot or has her nose cut off. This latter practice was noticed by Le Sueur, in 1700.³

The Dakota say that in the old days, when warlike virtues were at a premium, men turned their thoughts to other things than women, and breaches of the marital bond, or unchastity on the part of the unmarried, were very rare.

... They [the men] are very jealous; some cut their noses, others the ears, and there are some who cut off the hair; and others who give a feast in honor of the lover. They do this so as to kill him. In spite of this jealousy, the Sioux, in order to show their friendship to those they love, offer them their wives. It is an insult to refuse, and they look at it in this way; but if after having had acquaintance with these women by consent of their husband, anyone wishes to renew it without his making the offer a second time, such one would surely be killed, even were he the husband's best friend.⁴

The punishment visited upon an erring wife is reflected in the following story:

¹ Riggs, 1887, 90.

² Le Sueur, 1872, quotation from Charlevoix, 336.

³ Neill, 1872b, 279.

⁴ Ames, 1890, 229.

A wife deserted her husband who transformed himself into a rattlesnake. He awaited the elopers in the path they were taking to the camp of the woman's paramour. The path led up a hill, at the top of which the abandoned husband awaited them. He raised his head high into the air, thrust it toward his wife, and asked her whether she liked the paramour. "No," she replied. The snake said, "Not so; I am convinced you like this man better than your first

husband." He sprang at the man, coiled about him, and killed him. He killed the woman in similar fashion. He hissed to summon all the rattlesnakes. They came, ate the bodies, leaving only the bones. The large hill where this occurred is called Rattlesnake Hill (*Co'baspa'po*). A great many rattlesnakes are there, among them this deserted husband, who retains his snake form and dispatches everyone who approaches the hill.

HAIRDRESS

BOYS AND GIRLS WEAR THE HAIR in the same manner. There is neither age nor sex difference in hairdress. A medicineman said that when he was up among the Thunders, they told him that one should not cut one's hair; should one do so, the offender would be killed by the Thunders; or, if not killed by them, he would have a short life. If he retained all of his hair, he would have the longest life possible. However, one medicineman, when with the Thunders, was told to

cut his hair on the right side. After he was born on earth, he disobeyed these instructions and the Thunders struck him with lightning. Another man who had been similarly instructed had all of the hair burned off one side of his head. The Thunder asked: "Why did you not cut it as I told you to do? I shall now do it myself." Forthwith, the Thunder burned off all the hair on that side of the man's head.

DUDES

AN INDIAN [DAKOTA] young man passes hours in attiring himself. That green streak of paint upon the cheek; those yellow circles around the eyes, and those spots upon the forehead, have cost him much trouble and frequent gazings into his mirror, which he always keeps with him. That head-dress, which appears to hang so carelessly, is all designed. None knows better than he how to attitudinize and play the majestic or stoic. No moustachioed clerk, with curling locks, and kid gloves, and cambric handkerchief, and patent-leather boots, and glossy hats, is half so conscious

as he who struts past us with his streaming blanket and ornamented and uncovered head, holding a pipe or a gun in the place of a cane, and wearing moccasins in the place of boots. The rain upon his nicely decorated head and face, causes as much of a flutter as it does when it falls upon the hat of a nice young man who smokes his cigar and promenades in Broadway.¹

¹ Neill, 1872b, 279-280.

SOCIAL LIFE

CHILDBIRTH

THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT was given by an old man who had assisted at a delivery on an occasion when no midwife was available.

Ordinarily, most of the women assist in taking care of the mother and the newborn child. The infant is first washed. Water, heated in a large birchbark vessel by dropping a hot stone into it, is scooped out by hand and poured over the infant. The stone is removed and the child is washed with the remaining water. A special *wakan* stone is used for this ceremony to insure the infant's growth and strength. Nowadays the infant is wrapped in cloth. Previously it was wrapped in rabbitskins lined with soft feathers or down; an outer wrapping of tougher skin was laced up along the front of the body. If a birth is unduly delayed after labor pains set in, a medicineman is called in to ascertain the cause of the delay. He sings and so frightens the infant that it soon effects an exit. The cord, cut with buffalo sinew, is set aside to dry and harden. The adhering end is tied close to the body with soft buffalo sinew. A broad flat piece of buffalo hide is wound around the child's abdomen to cover the navel. When the stub of cord disintegrates and drops off, the mother puts it away. When dry, she strings beads on it and sews it in a bead-covered bag, which is given to the child when it is able to walk. He keeps this throughout his life. [One of these, procured by the writer, is in the Canadian National Museum.] The cord is not kept for a girl, but is thrown away at once. The afterbirth is buried outside the camp, in a place where it will not be found.

Before the birth of her child, the expectant mother may not eat eggs, liver, fowl, the female or young of any animal, or salt. Medicines of all kinds are taboo to her. Young animals are not strong; if she should partake of them, the child would be weak and not have a "strong life." For about a week after the birth of the child, the mother must remain in the cool air, and may eat only cold foods. When the infant appears to be strong, she may eat anything.¹ No taboos, as far as we could learn, attach to the

father either before or after the birth of his child.

Ames says:

The women make their child-bed outside of the lodges; as soon as the children are born they are washed in water; these women are not at all ill after childbirth. One constantly sees them when journeying lay down the burdens they carry, in order to give birth; when on a hunt, having washed the child, they wrap it in a bear skin and pack it on the back with the other bundles. They go seven or eight days without returning to live in their husband's lodge, where they kindle a new fire after throwing out the old ashes.²

STATUS OF THE CHILD

When the child begins to walk, its mother and father give him or her clothes. Guests come to see the child, bringing presents of small value. At the ceremony held at this time the mother places the child in her lap and a medicineman sings. A *wakan wohapi* (*wakan* feast) is held, at which they pray to the stone used at the time of birth, and ask it to give the child strength and grant it long life. The Thunders told the Dakota not to cut the children's hair and threatened to kill any man or woman who disobeyed. Children wear the hair in long braids as soon as possible.

The White people now say that every boy is to cut his hair and go to school. When the White man came to us, wanting to cut the hair of our children, we consented, and also allowed all to go to school.

A medicineman learned, however, that the shorter lives of the younger generation are due to the cutting of their hair. The Indians see plainly that the children are not growing large and strong as they did before the old Indian way was stopped. The Chippewa have noticed the same thing in their case. We see plainly now that if we had kept to the old way, there would be more Indians today.

When a boy or girl does not heed the parents' advice, a man dressed in strange garb goes to them with reinforced advice designed to frighten them into obedience. Mrs. Eastman says the Dakota woman "would tell you it was lawful to beat a girl as much as you chose, but a sin to strike a boy!"³

¹ For comparable data among the Chippewa, see Sister M. Inez Hilger, 1936a, 46-47.

² Ames, 1890, 237.

³ Eastman, 1849, 79.

An affair . . . not a very common occurrence among the Indians. Karboka's daughter quarreled with her little brother, and as her father could not stop her without, he whipped her. The girl being very angry came over to the hill by our house, where the dead are laid upon the scaffolds, to bewail her misfortune. Her grandmother, hearing her from the field where she was picking corn, left her work and came over to see what was the matter with her granddaughter. Like all good grannies, on hearing from the girl that her father had punished her, she became enraged, and in revenge hung herself by the portage collar to a scaffold on which the corpses lie.

The little girl, seeing her sympathetic grandmother in such a predicament, was so terrified that she set up such a screaming that it called us all out. . . . Jane was first on the ground and had the old woman loosed before we arrived. This she did in a quick-witted way, worthy of the instincts of her race. Rightly reasoning that the rope would not sustain her weight in addition to that of the old lady, she grasped the rope above the old woman's head and all came down together.

Even with their ideas of futurity, the old woman acted a very foolish part, for when one hangs herself, as a punishment for the act, she has to drag through eternity that which she hangs herself to, and at the same time be driven about by others. Now the old woman would have had the whole scaffold, which would have made her a severe load.¹

If you enter an Indian encampment you will notice the little boys engaged in shooting arrows, or in hurling miniature spears.²

When my chief informant was 15 years of age, his father made him a spear. With this he killed a Chippewa in his first fight.

Among the earliest songs to which a Dakota child listens are those of war. As soon as he begins to totter about he carries as a plaything a miniature bow and arrow. The first thing he is taught as great and truly noble is taking a scalp, and he pants to perform an act which is so manly.³

The children are taught that it is wicked to murder without a cause; but when offence has been given, they are duty bound to retaliate.

The day after the return of Fiery Wind, the boys of the village were to attack a hornet's nest. This is one of the ways of training their sons to warfare. One of the old warriors had seen a hornet's nest in the woods; and he returned to the village, and with the chief assembled all the boys in the village. The chief

ordered the boys to take off all their clothes, and gave them each a gun. He then told them how brave their forefathers were—that they never feared pain or danger—and that they must prove themselves worthy sons of such ancestors. "One of these days you will be men, and then you will go on war parties and kill your enemies, and then you will be fit to join in the dog feast. Be brave, and do not fear the sting of the hornet, for if you do, you will be cowards instead of warriors, and the braves will call you women and laugh at you."

This was enough to animate the courage of the boys—some of them not more than five years old pushed ahead of their elder brothers, eager to show to their fathers, who accompanied them, how little they feared their enemies, as they termed the hornets. And formidable enemies they were too—for many of the little fellows returned sadly stung, with swollen limbs, and closed eyes; but they bore their wounds as well as brave men would have endured their pain on the battle-field.

After leaving their village, they entered the woods farther from the banks of the river. The guide who had seen the nest led the way, and the miniature warriors trod as lightly as if there was danger of rousing a sleeping foe. At last the old man pointed to the nest, and without a moment's hesitation, the young Dahcotahs attacked it. Out flew the hornets in every direction. Some of the little boys cried out with the pain from the stings of the hornets on their unprotected limbs—but the cries of Shame! Shame! from one of the old men soon recalled them to their duty, and they marched up again not a whit discomfited. Good Road cheered them on. "Fight well, my warriors," said he; "you will carry many scalps home, you are brave men."

It was not long before the nest was quite destroyed, and then the old men said they must take a list of the killed and wounded. The boys forced a loud laugh when they replied that there were no scalps taken by the enemy, but they could not deny that the list of the wounded was quite a long one. Some of them limped, in spite of their efforts to walk upright, and one little fellow had to be assisted along by his father, for both eyes were closed; and, although stung in every direction and evidently suffering agony, the brave boy would not utter a complaint.

When they approached the village, the young warriors formed into Indian file, and entered as triumphantly as their fathers would have done, had they borne twenty Chippeway scalps with them.

The mothers first applauded the bravery of their sons; and then applied herbs to their swollen limbs, and the mimic war furnished a subject of amusement for the villages for the remainder of the day.⁴

¹ Pond, S. W., Jr., 1893, 173-174.

² Heard, 1863, 32.

³ Neill, 1872b, 275.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, 50-51.

AGE STATUS TERMS

The following age and marital status terms are used:

ō'kci' Apa, baby, from birth till about one year of age
sūcē'tcA, child, from about one year to about five years

ōksi'dA, boy, from about five years of age until puberty

witcē' Ana, girl, from about five until puberty

kōskA, young man, from puberty until marriage

witca'sta, young man, from marriage until middle age

witca'hta, man above middle age

wikō'akA, maiden, from puberty till marriage

wino'kicA, married woman not over middle age

wako'kA, woman over middle age

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

I made few inquiries on these topics and the tales contain no illuminating incidents. Some of the following information is from early sources in which, it appears, one can place considerable confidence.

There are two kinds of marriages among the Dahcotahs, buying a wife and stealing one . . . it is an understood thing that, when the young people run away, they are to be forgiven at any time they choose to return, if it should be the next day, or six months afterwards.

When a young man is unable to purchase the girl he loves best, or if her parents are unwilling she should marry him, if he have gained the heart of the maiden he is safe. They appoint a time and place to meet; take whatever will be necessary for their journey; that is, the man takes his gun and powder and shot, and the girl her knife and wooden bowl to eat and drink out of; and these she intends to hide in her blanket. Sometimes they merely go to the next village and return the next day. But if they fancy a bridal tour, away they go several hundred miles with the grass for their pillow, the canopy of heaven for their curtains, and the bright stars to light and watch over them. When they return home, the bride goes at once to chopping wood, and the groom to smoking, without the least form or parade.

Sometimes a young girl dare not run away; for she has a miserly father or mother who may not like her lover because he had not enough to give them for her; and she knows they will persecute her and perhaps shoot her husband. But this does not happen often. Just as, once in a hundred years in a Christian land, if a girl will run away with a young man, her parents run after her, and in spite of religion and common sense bring her back, have her divorced, . . .

Sometimes the Dahcotah lover buys his wife with-

out her consent; but War Club was more honorable than that: . . .

When all was settled between the young people, War Club told his parents that he wanted to marry. The old people were glad to hear it, for they like their ancient and honorable names and houses to be kept up, just as well as lords and dukes do; so they collected everything they owned for the purpose of buying Walking Wind. Guns and blankets, powder and shot, knives and trinkets, were in requisition instead of title-deeds and settlements. So, when all was ready, War Club put the presents on a horse, and carried them to the door of Walking Wind's wigwam.

He does not ask for the girl, however, as this would not be Dahcotah etiquette. He lays the presents on the ground and has a consultation, or, as the Indians say, a "talk" with the parents, concluding by asking them to give him Walking Wind for his wife . . . after having gone to so much trouble to ask a question, he never for a moment waits for an answer, but turns round, horse and all, and goes back to his wigwam.

The parents then consult for a day or two, although they from the first moment have made up their minds as to what they are going to do. In due time the presents are taken into the wigwam, which signifies to the lover that he is a happy man. And on the next day Walking Wind is to be a bride.

Early in the morning, Walking Wind commenced her toilet—it was no light task to deck the Indian bride in all her finery.

Her mocassins [moccasins] were worked with porcupine, and fitted closely her small feet; the leggings were ornamented with ribbons of all colors; her cloth shawl, shaped like a mantilla, was worked with rows of bright ribbons, and the sewing did honor to her own skill in needle-work. Her breast was covered with brooches, and a quantity of beads hung round her neck. Heavy ear-rings are in her ears—and on her head is a diadem of war eagle's feathers. She has a bright spot of vermilion on each cheek, and—behold an Indian bride!

When she is ready, as many presents as were given for her are collected and put on a horse; and the bride, accompanied by three or four of her relations, takes the road to the wigwam of the bridegroom.

When they arrive within a hundred yards of the wigwam, Walking Wind's father calls for War Club to come out. He does not come, but sends one of his relations to receive the bride. Do not suppose that Walking Wind's father takes offence at the bridegroom's not coming when he called; for it is as much a part of the ceremony, among the Dahcotahs, for one of the bride's relations to call for the bridegroom, and for the groom to refuse to come, as it is for us to have the ring put upon the third finger of the left hand.

As soon as the warrior deputed by the husband elect to receive the bride makes his appearance, the Indians raise a shout of applause, and all run towards him as he approaches them, and while they are running and shouting they are firing off their guns too. . . . Walking Wind, in order to complete the ceremonies, to be a wife, must jump upon the back of her husband's relative, and be thus carried into the wigwam of which she is to be the mistress. . . . The bride draws back and pouts a little, when some of her friends undertake to reason with her; and she, as if to avoid them, springs upon the back of the Dahcotah, who carries her into the wigwam.

[The bridegroom is] seated on the ground in the teepee, looking as placid and unconcerned as if nothing was going on. . . . Walking Wind is on her feet again, and she takes her seat, without any invitation, by the side of him, who is literally to be her lord and master—and they are man and wife.¹

. . . A young man, when he wants a wife, announces the fact and begs his friends to give him an outfit. He then proceeds to the parents and makes a purchase. . . . Usually they pay a horse, or four or five guns, or six or eight blankets, a value equal to thirty or forty dollars.

The chief of the Kaposia band has three wives, who are sisters. His second wife he purchased of her father while he was drunk, and she but ten years of age. It is said that a friend throws a blanket over the bride and bears her to the lodge of the purchaser.²

When a man courts a girl he visits her at night, sometimes three months running, with knowledge of her father and mother, who take great care to keep the fire in the lodge alight so as to see what is going on and for fear he might obtain some favors. The man makes presents to the girl's family while the courting is in progress, who accept these presents without giving others in exchange if the marriage pleases them. The wedding being determined on, the man goes to fetch his intended by night, and on entering the lodge fires off his gun at the door and then hands it to the nearest relative of his wife and immediately leads her away. Sometimes these marriages do not last very long, and these Indians send back their wives.³

. . . [Sacred Wind] had many lovers, who wore themselves out playing the flute, to as little purpose as they braided their hair, and painted their faces.⁴

She was in love with another, and neither threats nor coaxings would induce her to accept a substitute.

¹ Eastman, 1849, 103-109.

² Neill, 1872b, 278-279.

³ Ames, 1890, 229.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, 85.

A lover will take gum and after putting some medicine in it, will induce the girl of his choice to chew it, or put it in her way so that she will take it up of her own accord. It is a long time before an Indian (that is, Dakota) lover will take a refusal from the woman he has chosen for a wife.⁵

The girls are their own mistresses until they are married; nevertheless there are some among these Indians, generally in the chief's families, to whom court has been paid for twenty or thirty years sometimes, to give themselves in marriage to those distinguished for bravery.⁶

According to our informant, marriage was a matter of mutual choice on the part of boy and girl, and matches were not arranged by the parents. If the parents of either object to the match, the couple elope. Elopement is said to have been resorted to unless the boy's parents invite the girl and her parents to a meal in the tipi. On this occasion a pipe is first passed around and smoked, in turn, by the boy's father, the girl's father, her mother, and, last, the host's wife. The boy's father then explains to the girl's parents that his son likes their daughter and that he approves of the match. Presumably, when matters have been allowed to go this far, the girl's parents intend to give their approval.

The boy and girl are told by their parents that they must now live together; that doubtless they love each other, inasmuch as they have been meeting at trysting places; that they must be ever cheerful and willing to help each other, and never quarrel, as children are wont to do. The boy's father tells the couple that the boy must assist his wife's father by giving him some of the food which he (the boy) will procure when hunting. Should the boy's mother be sick, they are to go to her tipi, and the girl must cook for her mother-in-law and take care of her. The girl's father then advises the boy and girl in about the same words.

The mother of the boy and one of his sisters put clothes on the girl. The girl's father and brother put clothes on the boy. At the meal which follows, the couple sit together and partake of food together. They are now man and wife. They live in a tipi of their own, built against that of her father. Here the girl cooks and here they take their meals together, un-

⁵ Eastman, 1849, 45.

⁶ Ames, 1890, 229.

disturbed by visitors. When the girl has become accustomed to married life and is no longer abashed at being a bride, the newly wedded pair leave her father's tipi and build one of their own elsewhere. During the residence near her father's tipi, a time not exceeding one week, she is supposed to feel badly over the thought of leaving her home. Neither songs nor dances accompany the marriage ceremony.

At the death of the husband, the widow becomes the wife of his oldest unmarried brother, if this brother desires her; if all the brothers are married, the widow goes to the eldest son of the eldest son of her husband's father's eldest brother; and so on in order of age of husband's father's brothers. If all these potential mates are married, she goes to a son of the husband's father's sisters, in order of age (? of these sisters).

Upon the death of a wife, if the husband is a brave fighter and a good hunter, industrious, up before sunrise to be about his work, he will be desired by her parents as a son-in-law, and one of her sisters will be given to him as wife. Under these circumstances elopement does not take place. The parents-in-law invite the man to partake of a meal in their tipi, at which time the marriage is consummated in the manner described above.

Le Sueur says polygamy was prevalent. Husbands were very jealous and sometimes fought a duel (?) for their wives.¹ "They marry as many women as they can support by hunting," and some have "as many as ten wives."²

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

Originally, the corpse was sewed up in buffalo or deer hide. This was wrapped with thong, in three places—around the neck, waist, and feet—and was raised to a high limb of a tree and tied there. The deceased was buried in his or her clothes, but none of the deceased person's property was placed with the body. After a death, the camp was moved. The informant did not remember having seen this type of burial.

In later times, the body was placed on a platform, about 8 feet above the ground, supported on two groups of three poles each, a group of

poles under each end of the platform. The poles were tied together at the top and, for stability, were spread apart at the base. The body was placed on poles laid over the top of these two supporting groups. Any kind of wood might be used. The property of the deceased was wrapped in a blanket with the body; over this was placed a buffalo hide sewed with thong, the stitch running along the front of the body, from the head toward the feet. The women prepared the corpse for burial, and men carried it to the platform and placed it upon the platform.

Mrs. Eastman³ says a warrior might not put aside mourning until he had either killed an enemy or given a medicine dance. "They threw on the body [of a dead warrior] their blankets, and other presents, according to their custom of honoring the dead."⁴ The same writer speaks of "the bold peak, Pilot Knob, on whose top the Indians bury their dead."⁵

They enclose the grave of a warrior, she says, and erect at his head a *wakan* stone.⁶ Sometimes warriors go to the grave of a fellow-warrior who died in fight, and there bewail his fate. They sing somewhat as follows: "You were a brave warrior; you killed many Chippewa; it is too bad that you yourself could not die fighting; we grieve that you had to die like an ordinary man."

For four days after a death, members of the family of the deceased might do nothing except hunt and work. They might converse with others, but not jokingly or obscenely, which was highly unbecoming at such a time. During these four days, they might not enter the tipi of another, although others might enter theirs. This conduct was expected also of every relative, no matter how distant, that is, of all to whom the deceased would use a term of relationship.⁷ All of the women so related unbraid their hair and leave it so until they are told to braid it; this may be two or three years. After a time, some of the older men or women tell them to braid it; they say, "You have now mourned long enough." The mourning for a young person usually lasts from six months to a year. For four days after the disposal of the body, food for the spirit of the deceased is taken to the

¹ Le Sueur, 1872, 329.

² Ames, 1890, 229.

³ Eastman, 1849, 227.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, 98.

⁵ Eastman, 1849, ix.

⁶ Eastman, 1849, 53.

⁷ These are given below, pp. 40-41.

platform. The spirit hovers about the place four days, then leaves. Those who bring the food say: "Spirit, we bring you food. Do not trouble our children." If there is an infant in the camp, it will probably be specified in the request, for very young children are in the greatest danger. During these four days, a widow goes often to the platform, sits by it, and mourns. After this period, she goes at increasingly longer intervals.

Ames¹ says burial may be: 1, on a scaffold; 2, in the ground, with wearing apparel and weapons; 3, by cremation, if death occurs during a journey, in which case the ashes are collected (? and taken home). Mrs. Eastman says:

The body of a dead Dahcotah is wrapped in cloth or calico, or sometimes put in a box, if one can be obtained, and placed upon a scaffold raised a few feet from the ground. All the relations of the deceased then sit round it for twenty-four hours; they tear their clothes; run knives through the fleshy parts of their arms, but there is no sacrifice which they can make so great as cutting off their hair.

The men go in mourning by painting themselves black and they do not wash the paint off until they take the scalp of an enemy, or give a medicine-dance.

While they sit round the scaffold, one of the nearest relations commences a doleful crying, when all the others join in, and continue their wailing for some time. Then for awhile their tears are wiped away. After smoking for a short time another of the family commences again, and the others join in. This is continued for a day and night, and then each one goes to his own wigwam. . . . In the evening the cries of his wife were heard as she called for her husband, while the rocks and the hills echoed the wail.²

The Dakota mother cuts off her hair, and tears her clothes, throwing them under the scaffold whereon rests the body of her dead son. Long described a burial ground surrounded with a fence:

In the centre a pole is erected, at the foot of which religious rites are performed at the burial of an Indian, by the particular friends and relatives of the deceased. Upon the pole a flag is suspended when any person of extraordinary merit, or one who is very much beloved, is buried. In the enclosure were two scaffolds erected also, about six feet high and six feet square. Upon one of them were two coffins containing dead bodies.³

Neill reports, on the authority of G. H. Pond, the story of a widow who carried the body of her deceased husband more than 100 miles to its permanent resting place near Mendota. The widow then hanged herself from the scaffold and died.

The ducks and the geese and the deer [said a Dakota to Riggs], when one is killed, make an outcry about it, and the sorrow passes by. The Dakotas, too, like these wild animals, make a great wailing over a dead friend—they wail out their sorrow, and it becomes lighter; but you keep your sorrow—you brood over it, and it becomes heavier.⁴

The following narrative, written at Fort Snelling in 1836, by the missionary, Rev. J. D. Stevens, describes the mourning for one who died away from camp:

Yesterday a portion of this band of Indians, who had been some time absent from the village, returned. One of the number [a woman] was informed that a brother of hers had died during her absence. He was not at this village, but with another band, and the information had just reached here. In the evening they set up a most piteous crying, or rather wailing, which continued, with some little cessations, during the night. The sister of the deceased brother would repeat, times without number, words which may be thus translated into English: "Come, my brother, I shall see you no more for ever." The night was extremely cold—the thermometer standing from ten to twenty degrees below zero. About sunrise, next morning, preparation was made for performing the ceremony of cutting their flesh, in order to give relief to their grief of mind. The snow was removed from the frozen ground over about as large a space as would be required to place a small Indian lodge or wigwam. In the centre a very small fire was kindled up, not to give warmth apparently, but to cause a smoke. The sister of the deceased, who was the chief mourner, came out of her lodge, followed by three other women, who repaired to the place prepared. They were all barefooted, and nearly naked. Here they set up a most bitter lamentation and crying, mingling their wailings with the words before mentioned. The principal mourner commenced gashing or cutting her ankles and legs up to the knees with a sharp stone, until her legs were covered with gore and flowing blood; then in like manner her arms, shoulders, and breast. The others cut themselves in the same way, but not so severely. On this poor infatuated woman I presume there were more than a hundred long deep gashes in the flesh. I saw the operation, and the blood instantly followed the in-

¹ Ames, 1890, 233.

² Eastman, 1849, 101.

³ Long, 1889, 30.

⁴ Riggs, 1887, 109.

strument, and flowed down upon the flesh. She appeared frantic with grief. Through the pain of her wounds, the loss of blood, exhaustion of strength by fasting, loud and long-continued and bitter groans or the extreme cold upon her almost naked and lacerated body, she soon sunk upon the frozen ground, shaking as with a violent fit of the ague, and writhing in apparent agony.¹

According to custom, the corpses of the chief's sons were dressed, and then set up with their faces towards the country of their ancient enemies. The wounded Ojibway was horribly mangled by the infuriated party, and his limbs strewn about in every direction. His scalped head was placed in a kettle, and suspended in front of the two Dahkotchah corpses, in the belief that it would be gratifying to the spirits of the deceased, to see before them the bloody and scalpless head of one of their enemies.²

In their habitat in Minnesota the Dakota recognized many natural elevations, *pahas* or *pahodans*, as sacred places. In the valley of the James River are some of these sacred hills, called *pahawakan*,

which are more than one hundred feet high, and can be distinctly seen from the farther border of the Coteau des Prairies, a distance of about forty miles. . . .

These natural elevations, where they are found near Indian villages, have been used as burial places. Among the Dakotas, the native way of disposing of the dead is that of placing them on scaffolds. A *paha* or conspicuous point is preferred as the place of erecting such scaffold, that it may be seen from a distance. At the present time [1852] burial soon after death is practiced to a considerable extent by the Dakotas of the Minnesota Valley, including those still on the Mississippi; and where they still prefer to place upon scaffolds at first, they not unfrequently bury in the course of a few months. But their graves are so shallow that, to cover the dead sufficiently, they are often obliged to carry up earth; and it is probable that formerly they carried up more than they do at present. To prevent the body from being dug up by wolves, they generally enclose the grave by setting up around, in a cone-like form, billets of wood. The decomposition of the bodies, and the rotting of the palisades and scaffolds, enrich the ground and cause a more luxuriant growth of vegetation, which, of itself, directly tends to add to the size of the mound. Then this rank vegetation forms a nucleus for drift. Then the grass and dust which the wind blows over the prairie, lodge and

make the elevation still greater. On the hill, a short distance east of the ruins of Fort Renville, to the north west and in sight of the mission houses of Lac-qui-Parle, there is a *paha* of this kind, in which in years gone by, many persons have been buried. It now presents on the top a very irregular surface, partly owing to the interments thus made, and partly to the burrowing of the gophers in it. On the southwest side of the Minnesota, a short distance back from the Wahpetonwan village, there is another mound which has been long used as a burying place. Similar ones are to be found near all Dakota villages.

If the question be asked: Why do the Dakotas prefer these mounds as the places for deposit for their dead? I answer: *First*, as before suggested, that the place may be seen from a distance all around. As they wail morning and evening they can conveniently look to the abode, not only of the body of their departed friend, but as many of them believe, of one of the spirits also. *Secondly*, all *pahas* are under the guardianship of their god Heyoka. And *thirdly*, a hill may be regarded as a more congenial place of rest for a spirit than a valley; and thence, too, the earthly spirit may the better hold communion with the one which has gone to the east along the "iron road," or is above making progress on the "wanagi tachanku," (the via lactea) or *Spirits road*.³

Neill gives the following lament of a bereaved mother. Whether or not the translation which he offers is literal, it rings true in spirit and intent.

Me choonkshe, me choonkshe, wails the mother, [my daughter, my daughter], alas! alas! My hope, my comfort has departed, my heart is very sad. My joy is turned into sorrow, and my song into wailing. Shall I never behold thy sunny smile? Shall I never more hear the music of thy voice? The Great Spirit has entered my lodge in anger, and taken thee from me, my first born and only child. I am comfortless and must wail out my grief. The pale faces repress their sorrow, but we children of nature must give vent to ours or die. *Me Choonkshe, me choonkshe*.

The light of my eyes is extinguished; all, all is dark. I have cast from me all comfortable clothing and robed myself in comfortless skins, for no clothing, no fire, can warm thee, my daughter. Unwashed and uncombed, I will mourn for thee, whose long locks I can never more braid; and whose cheeks I can never again tinge with vermilion. I will cut off my dishevelled hair, for my grief is great, *me choonkshe, me choonkshe*. How can I survive thee? How can I be happy, and you a homeless wanderer to the

¹ Quoted by Neill, 1882, 445-446.

² Neill, 1882, 465.

³ Riggs, 1872, 149-151.

spirit land? How can I eat if you are hungry? I will go to the grave with food for your spirit. Your bowl and spoon are placed in your coffin for use on the journey. The feast for your playmates has been made at the place of interment. Knowest thou of their presence? *Me choonkshe, me choonkshe.*

When spring returns, the choicest of ducks shall be your portion. Sugar and berries also, shall be placed near your grave. Neither grass nor flowers shall be allowed to grow thereon. Affection for thee will keep the little mound desolate, like the heart from which thou art torn. My daughter, I come, I come. I bring you parched corn. Oh, how long will you sleep? The wintry winds wail your requiem. The cold earth is your bed, and the colder snow thy covering. I would that they were mine. I will lie down by thy side. I will sleep once more with you. If no one discovers me, I shall soon be as cold as thou art, and together we will sleep that long, long sleep from which I cannot awake thee, *me choonkshe, me choonkshe.*¹

When anyone dies, the nearest friend is very anxious to go and kill an enemy. A father lost a child while the treaty of 1851 was pending at Mendota, and he longed to go and kill an Ojibway. As soon as an individual dies the corpse is wrapped in its best clothes. Some one acquainted with the deceased then harangues the spirit on the virtues of the departed; and the friends, who sit around with their faces smeared with a black pigment, the signs of mourning. Their lamentations are very loud, and they cut their thighs and legs with their finger nails or pieces of stone to give free vent, as it would appear, to their grief. . . . The corpse is not buried, but placed in a box upon a scaffold some eight or ten feet from the ground. Hung around the scaffold are such things as would please the spirit if it were still in the flesh, such as the scalp of an enemy or pots of food. After the corpse has been exposed for some months, and the bones only remain, they are buried in a heap, and protected from the wolves by stakes.²

Hennepin, who visited the Dakota in 1680, says that Aquipagnatin, one of the head men, had the bones of some distinguished relative, which he preserved with great care in some skins dressed and adorned with several rows of black and red porcupine quills. From time to time he assembled his men to give it a smoke, and made us come several days to cover the bones with goods, and by a present, wipe away the tears he had shed for him, and for his own son killed by the Miamis. To appease this captious man, we threw on the bones several fathoms of tobacco, axes, knives, beads, and some

black and white wampum bracelets. . . . We slept at the point of the Lake of Tears, which we so called from the tears which this chief shed all night long, or by one of his sons whom he caused to weep when he grew tired.³

One formality among the Naudowessies [Dakota] in mourning for the dead, is very different from any mode I observed in other nations through which I passed. The men, to show how great their sorrow is, pierce the flesh of their arms above the elbows with arrows, and the women cut and gash their legs with sharp broken flints, till the blood flows very plentifully. . . .

After the breath is departed, the body is dressed in the same attire it usually wore, his face is painted, and he is seated in an erect posture on a mat or skin, placed in the middle of the hut, with his weapons by his side. His relatives seated around, each harangues in turn the deceased, and if he has been a great warrior recounts his heroic actions nearly to the following purport, which in the Indian language is extremely poetical and pleasing:

"You sit still among us, Brother, your person retains its usual resemblance, and continues similar to ours, without any visible deficiency, except it has lost the power of action. But whither is that breath flown, which a few hours ago sent up smoke to the Great Spirit? Why are those lips silent, that lately delivered to us expressions and pleasing language? Why are those feet motionless that a short time ago were fleetier than the deer on yonder mountains? Why useless hang those arms that could climb the tallest tree, or draw the toughest bow?"⁴

Pike says that the bodies of those who have been killed [the enemy?] are not buried.⁵

Pond says Dakota attached white cloths to the tops of poles by their graveyard, and that they always disposed of their dead on high places. The hair of surviving friends is cut off and strewn about the graves. They often cut themselves very badly with knives when their friends die. Perhaps, too, you would see some food which they laid by the graves for the dead to eat.⁶

. . . By his side, in his last resting-place, are laid the weapons of the fray, and friends periodically visit it to recite his gallant deeds.⁷

. . . Most frequently they suppose death to have

¹ Neill, 1872b, 277-278.

² Neill, 1872b, 294.

³ Hennepin, 1872, 308; see also, 310.

⁴ Carver, 1872, 358-359.

⁵ Pike, 1872, 378.

⁶ Pond, S. W., 1908, 478-482.

⁷ Heard, 1863, 33.

been occasioned by a spell having been cast upon them by some enemy.¹

Last night a widow ran off with her family in the night and left her tent to the spirits, who frightened her away. An old man who is here says the "spirits" scared her because she had plenty to eat and does not feed them. They are always very particular to feed the spirits of their deceased friends and honor them by various performances. The spirits eat only the shade or spirit of the food; the substance is often devoured by the living, who are not unfrequently collected by invitation, under the scaffold where the body lies, to feast on that which is presented to the spirit.²

The women are "slavishly fearful of the spirits of the dead . . .³ They [the Dakota] have a far greater fear of the spirits of the dead, especially those whom they have offended, than of Wahkon-tun-kah, the Great Spirit."⁴

"GAME-OF-THE-DEPARTED-SPIRITS"

. . . The present game is played at the expense and request of some individuals who have recently lost relatives by death. The object of it is to conciliate the favor of the spirits departed. They believe that the spirits of the dead control the weather, making it pleasant or unpleasant at their pleasure. This is a beautiful day, therefore they have positive evidence that the game is pleasing to those for whom it is played. The near relatives of the deceased furnish the property which is staked and have invited persons to play for it.

At our village a short time ago the son of the chief, Mahkahnartahkah (Groundkicker) made a ball-play to the spirit of a child he lost last fall. He purchased \$50 or \$60 worth of clothing and invited ninety men to play for it, forty-five on a side. Besides this he feasted them all. However, the spirit did not seem to be pleased, as we had a very tedious snowstorm. Heathenism is expensive.⁵

INHERITANCE OF PROPERTY

The property of those who belong to the *wakan watci'pi* is divided among the members, as described in our account of that society.⁶ The property of others goes, at death, to those in the camp who are of the sex and approximate age of the deceased, no preference being shown

relatives. The possessions of a deceased woman are distributed among all the women; of a man, among all the men of the camp. An early French manuscript translated by Ames states that

The property left by the deceased is shot for at a mark by all the Indians of the village except those of his own family, or gambled for with straws, with a dish, at lacrosse, or by racing. They celebrate the obsequies of the dead after their goods have all been disposed of, either by lot, or by feasting, or by games, but feasting is preferred. These feasts are common to all the village and are observed in two ways: One, by inviting some one from each family in the village, but providing enough so all the village may have a little; they exhibit the bones and ashes of the dead, or if these be wanting then such thing as he most valued when living, which they keep to represent him; they also exhibit the representation of his manitou and likewise those of the whole family; the family conjurers chant until they begin to dish up the feast, serving the invited ones only, the rest helping themselves from the kettles; the family eats nothing at all. They also observe as obsequies a feast called the "Crow Feast," which is usually for dead warriors.⁷

At the death of a chief, his horse is given to his successor, who must never part with it. His bow and arrows, and also other property, go to his successor in office.

THE AGED

Mrs. Eastman's account of the treatment of the aged and the feeble⁸ accords with our field data. Neill says, "When a young man is sick, he is generally well watched, but old persons, and those that have some deformity, are often neglected."⁹

STATUS OF WOMEN

At her first menstruation a girl retires to a tipi in the woods, some distance from camp, and remains there eight days. During three of these days she is attended by an old woman, usually her mother or her grandmother, who imparts instruction and advice. During this period she must not scratch her head or her face with her hands. If she does so, sores and pimples will break out over her face. She is given a scratching stick to use when there is need of it. She may not touch her food with her

¹ Eastman, 1849, 71.

² Pond, S. W., Jr., 1893, 174-175.

³ Eastman, 1849, xx.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, 72.

⁵ Pond, S. W., Jr., 1893, 174.

⁶ Below, p. 69.

⁷ Ames, 1890, 233.

⁸ Eastman, 1849, xix-xx.

⁹ Neill, 1872b, 271.

hands. Mitts are placed on her hands and tied around the wrist, to prevent contact with food when handling it. She is fed by the woman attendant for the first meal.

A menstruating woman retires to a tipi in the woods away from the camp and remains there two days. At the end of this period she must wash herself, even if this involves the hardship of breaking the ice and washing in ice-cold water, in very low temperatures.

As mentioned, a woman may at no time step over a man.

When some of the upper Dakotas had taken a prisoner they secured him to a stake and allowed their women to torture him by mutilating him previous to killing him, *etiam genitalia exciderunt*.¹

. . . Good Road's second wife had Chippeway blood in her veins. Her mother was taken prisoner by the Dahcotahs; they adopted her, and she became the wife of a Dahcotah warrior. She loved her own people, and those who had adopted her too; and in course of time her daughter attained the honorable station of a chief's second wife. Good Road hates the Chippeways, but he fell in love with one of their descendants, and married her. She is a good wife, and the white people have given her the name of "Old Bets."

Last summer "Old Bets" narrowly escaped with her life. The Dahcotahs having nothing else to do, were amusing themselves by recalling all the Chippeways had ever done to injure them; and those who were too lazy to go out on a war party, happily recollected that there was Chippeway blood near them—no farther off than their chief's wigwam; and eight or ten braves vowed they would make an end of "Old Bets." But she heard of their threats, left the village for a time, and after the Dahcotahs had gotten over their mania for shedding blood, she returned, and right glad was Good Road to see her.²

All women are wilful enough, but Dahcotah women are particularly so. Slaves as they are to their husbands, they lord it over each other, and it is only when they become grandmothers that they seem to feel their dependence, and in many instances yield implicit obedience to the wills of their grandchildren.

They take great delight in watching over and instructing their children's children, giving them lessons in morality, and worldly wisdom. Thus while Red Earth was making her determination, her old grandmother belonging to the village was acting upon hers.

This old woman was a perfect virago—an "embodied storm." In her time she had cut off hands and feet of some little Chippeway children, and strung them, and worn them for a necklace. And she feasted yet at the pleasant recollections this honorable exploit induced.

But so tender was she of the feelings of her own flesh and blood, that the thought of their suffering the slightest pain was death to her.

Her son ruled his household very well for a Dahcotah. He had a number of young warriors and hunters growing up around him, and he sometimes got tired of their disturbances, and would use, not the rod but a stick of wood to some purpose. Although it had the good effect of quelling the refractory spirits of the young, it invariably fired the soul of his aged mother. The old woman would cry and howl, and refuse to eat, for days; till, finding this had no effect upon her hard-hearted son, she told him she would do something that would make him sorry, the next time he struck one of his children.

But the dutiful son paid no attention to her. He had always considered women as being inferior to dogs, and he would as soon have thought of giving up smoking, as of minding his mother's threats. . . . The grandmother had almost hung herself—that is, she seriously intended to do it. . . . When her son, in defiance of her tears and threats, commenced settling his household difficulties in his own way, she took her head-strap, went to a hill just above the village and deliberately made her preparations for the hanging, as coolly too as if she had been used to being hung for a long time. But when, after having doubled the strap four times to prevent its breaking, she found herself choking, her courage gave way—she yelled frightfully; and it was well that her son and others ran so fast, for they had well nigh been too late. As it was, they carried her into the teepee, where the medicine man took charge of her case; and she was quite well again in an hour or two. Report says (but there is a sad amount of scandal in an Indian village) that the son has never offended the mother since; so, like many a wilful woman, she has gained her point.³

Suicide among women seems to have been common. Neill records several cases: A wife who had been flogged by her husband went off in a rage and hanged herself. A grandmother, sympathizing with her granddaughter who had been whipped by the child's father, hanged herself.

. . . On another occasion, at the same place, a son-in-law refused to give his mother some whiskey, and in a rage she went on to a burial scaffold, tied the

¹ Dorsey, 1884, 313.

² Eastman, 1849, 42-43.

³ Eastman, 1849, 46-48.

portage strap around her neck, and was about to jump off, when Mr. Pond came up to her and cut the strap.¹

All the suicides mentioned by Neill were by hanging.

... The husband would shame and beat his wife for doing what he certainly would have beaten her for refusing to do [i.e., steal].²

... I have sometimes thought, that if, when a warrior, be he chief or commoner, throws a stick of wood at his wife's head, she were to cast it back at his, he might, perhaps, be taught better behavior.³

... Even as a child [the Dakota woman] is despised, in comparison with the brother beside her, who is one day to be a great warrior. As a maiden, she is valued while the young man, who wants her for a wife, may have a doubt of his success. But when she is a wife, there is little sympathy for her condition. How soon do the oppressive storms and contentions of life root out all that is kind or gentle in her heart. She must bear the burdens of the family. Should her husband wish it, she must travel all day with a heavy weight on her back; and at night when they stop, her hands must prepare the food for her family before she retires to rest.

Her work is never done. She makes the summer and the winter house. For the former she peels the bark from the trees in the spring; for the latter she sews the deer-skin together. She tans the skin of which coats, moccasins, and leggins are to be made for the family; she has to scrape it and prepare it while other cares are pressing upon her. When her child is born, she has no opportunities for rest or quiet. She must paddle the canoe for her husband—pain and feebleness must be forgotten. She is always hospitable. Visit her in her tepee, and she willingly gives you what you need, if in her power, and with alacrity does what she can to promote your comfort.⁴

... The garrulity of the women astonished me [writes Pike] for at the other camps they never opened their lips, but here [St. Croix River] they flocked round us, with all their tongues going at the same time; the cause of this freedom must have been the absence of their lords and masters.⁵

AMUSEMENTS

When the Dakotas are not busy with war, or the chase, or the feasts and dances of their religion, time hangs heavily, and they either sleep or resort to

some game to keep up an excitement. One of their games is like "Hunt the Slipper"; a bullet or plum stone is placed by one party in one of four moccasins or mittens and sought for by the opposite. There is also the play of "plum stones." At this game much is often lost and won. Eight plum stones are marked with certain devices. This game is played by young men and females. If, after shaking in a bowl, stones bearing certain devices turn up, the game is won.

The favorite and most exciting game of the Dakotas is ball playing. It appears to be nothing more than a game which was often played by the writer in school-boy days, and which was called "*shinny*." A smooth place is chosen on the prairie or frozen river or lake. Each player has a stick three or four feet long and crooked at the lower end, with deer strings tied across forming a sort of a pocket. The ball is made of a rounded knot of wood, or clay covered with hide, and is supposed to possess supernatural qualities. Stakes are set at a distance of a quarter or half mile, as bounds. Two parties are then formed, and the ball being thrown up in the centre, the contest is for one party to carry the ball from the other beyond one of the bounds. Two or three hundred men are sometimes engaged at once. On a summer's day, to see them rushing to and fro, painted in divers colors, with no article of apparel, with feathers in their heads, bells around their wrists, and fox and wolf tails dangling behind, is a wild and noisy spectacle. The eye-witnesses among the Indians become more interested in the success of one or the other of the parties than any crowd at a horse race, and frequently stake their last piece of property on the issue of the game.⁶

The editor of *The Dakota Friend* gives the following description of one of these games:

On Sunday, July 13th, 1852, Six's band moved down to Oak Grove, previous arrangements having been made, to play against the three bands of Good Road, Sky Man, and Grey Iron. The next day the game came off. The property bet was sixteen guns, six of which were double-barrels; eight horses and blankets, calicoes, belts, garters, etc., without number—worth at least \$800. This was met by the same, or what was of equal value, by the other party, making the whole amount staked on the game \$1,600. Not far from two hundred and fifty men and boys joined in the play, and the spectators numbered between two and three hundred. Six's band won the prize. Two more games were played, both of which were also won by Six's band, but the amount of property staked on the last two games was much less than that named above, say \$1,000 for the two, which makes \$2,600. And then they adjourned till next day.

⁶ Neill, 1872b, 280-281.

¹ Neill, 1872b, 289.

² Eastman, 1849, xvii.

³ Eastman, 1849, xi.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, v.

⁵ Pike, 1872, 377.

Tuesday, 15th.—At 11 o'clock the ball was again set in motion, and the stake was taken by those who lost yesterday; and on the second game, that which was lost on the first game yesterday, was recovered by Good Road, Sky Man, and Grey Iron. The success to-day was attributed to the wakon virtues of the ball which was used. It was made long ago by the old War-prophet, Ehakeku, formerly of Wabashaw's band; the same who fired the old council-house at St. Peters, some years ago. Near the close of the play, Visible-Mouth, a young "Medicine-man," received a blow from a ball club on his side immediately over the place where the medicine-god lies in him, which felled him to the earth. It was said that the god was stupefied by the blow, but was soon reanimated by the wakon applications of the Medicine-men present. After the victors had challenged Six to play another game to-morrow, they adjourned to the lodges to despatch a barrel of pork, two kegs of lard and ten sacks of corn (which Sky-Man's farmer had just arrived with from the Agency), and make up the stake for to-morrow.

Wednesday, 16th, 10 o'clock.—Parties met. Present the same as yesterday, viz: Six against Good Road, Sky Man and Grey Iron. Guns, blankets, coats, calicoes, tomahawks, pipes, beads, garters, belts, &c., &c., to the value of \$300 or \$400 were tied up, and the ball started. Six lost and the stake was renewed. Six lost again; but while a new stake was being put up, a dispute arose between the parties concerning some of the property which had been won from Six's band, but which they kept back. They broke up in a row, as they usually do. Grey Iron's band leaving the ground first, ostensibly for the reason above named, but *really* because Six's band had just been reinforced by the arrival of a company from Little Crow's band. Thus ended the ball play of three days continuance, during which time no less than \$4,600 worth of property had been bet. How can Dakotas be otherwise than poor?¹

A game of lacrosse, as played by the women is thus described by Mrs. Eastman:

Yesterday had been as bright as to-day, and Grey Eagle, the medicine man, had hung on a pole the prizes that were to be given to the party that succeeded in throwing the ball into a space marked off.

The maidens of the village were all dressed in their gayest clothing, with ornaments of beads, bracelets, rings, and ribbons in profusion. They cared not half so much for the prizes, as they rejoiced at the opportunity of displaying their graceful persons. The old women were eager to commence the game, for they longed to possess the cloth for their leggins, and the calico of their "okendokendas" (skirts).

The women, young and old, were divided into two

¹ Neill, 1872b, 280-282.

parties; but as one party threw the ball towards the space marked off, the others threw it back again far over their heads, and then all ran back, each party endeavoring to reach it first, that they might succeed in placing the ball in the position which was to decide the game.

But the ball is not thrown by the hand, each woman has a long stick with a circular frame at the end of it; this they call a bat stick, and, simple as it looks, it requires great skill to manage it. . . .

The old medicine man cheered them on. "Run fast, Wenona! take care that Harpstenah does not win the game. Ho, Harpstenah! if you and your leggins are old, you may have the cloth yet."

Now Wenona's party is getting on bravely, but the ball has been caught and thrown back by the other party. But at last it is decided. In the struggle for the ball, Harpstenah received a blow from an old squaw as dismal looking as herself, and Wenona catches the ball and throws it into the appointed place. The game is ended, and the medicine man comes forward to distribute the prizes.²

Pond says "compelling the ponies to fight" was "a favorite amusement of the young bloods of Prairieville."³ "They also practice foot racing."⁴

PERSONAL TRAITS

Like the rest of mankind, they are by no means insensible to flattery. When a Dakota thinks that he cannot obtain a horse, or some other article that he wishes, by a simple request, he will take a number of wood-peckers' heads and sing over them in the presence of the individual he hopes to influence, recounting the honorable deeds of the man to whom he gives the birds' heads. This process acts like a charm, and is often successful.⁵

Want of truth, and habitual dishonesty in little things, are prevalent traits among the Sioux . . . they almost all steal.⁶

PERSONAL NAMES

A name may not be taken while a person who bears that name is alive. The name given the child helps it to grow and to become strong. It is bestowed by an old man or an old woman, but not necessarily by a person of the same sex as the child. Temporary designations are used until the child receives its permanent name.

² Eastman, 1849, 56-57.

³ Pond, S. W., Jr., 1893, 188.

⁴ Neill, 1872b, 282.

⁵ Neill, 1872b, 279.

⁶ Eastman, 1849, xvii.

These are indicative of order of birth of that sex; for example, first daughter, second daughter; first son, second son; and so on. "Gideon was the fifth child; and so was called by the Dakotas *Hakay*."¹ The designations recorded by Riggs are included below in our list.²

ORDER OF BIRTH	GIRLS	RIGGS	Boys	RIGGS
First	Wino'ne	Winona	Tcaske'	Caske (Chaska)
Second	Ha'pe	Hapan	Hepo'	Hepan (Ha-pan)
Third	Ha'psti	Hapistinna	Hepi'	Hepi (Hapee)
Fourth	Wiha'ki	Wauske	Watca'to	Catan (Chatan)
Fifth	Hapo'nA	Wihake	Hake'	Hake (Haka)
Sixth	HapstinA	—	Tatco'	—
Seventh	Wihake'da	—		

Frequently, parents designate both young and adult children by these terms, though they also use the personal name when they address them or speak about them. If an infant becomes ill any time before a child can see and recognize things, before it begins to think, that is, before it is about six months old, the medicineman will interpret this as owing to the fact that the child does not like its name, and he will give it a new name. My informant remembered one episode of this kind. Considerable difficulty was encountered in selecting a name for a male child whose father was a white man. The medicineman sang and sang, the spirits of stones came from various directions, but because the boy was not an Indian, they all said they were unwilling to give him a name. The medicineman, anxious to bestow a name on the boy, was not content to accept this reply from the spirits of the stones. Finally, a stone came from the north and said the baby should be given a name; he should be called "Different Boy," Hapsi 'dAto 'ctA, because, being half white, he was different from the other Dakota. Examples of Wahpeton names of males are:

Pa'ziapamAni, Thinking-while-walking-around. This old man, probably the most sensible and astute in the Portage la Prairie settlement, was my informant for more than three months.

Hoto'ihida, Bellowing.

Cakeiza'komAni, Clattering (of hoofs)-against-each-other. He was told that this name

would enable him, when grown, to move about rapidly and to run fast. (In 1914 he did not excel in these qualities.)

Tawe'nkpeduta, Holy-arrow. This name was bestowed because it was heard in a dream by a man after performing the Sun dance. It is a

Thunder name. The Thunders kill anything they shoot at without setting it on fire. This boy was told he would be like a *wakan* arrow; he would be healthy and strong, and, when grown to manhood, would be a good hunter and an excellent marksman. He is still in school and perhaps all that was forecast about him will come true.

Ide'Amani, Burning-(while)-walking. When this name was conferred, its donor predicted that the boy would be healthy and would grow up to be strong, a good hunter, and an accurate marksman. In the autumn of 1913 he hunted for the first time and shot six deer. The same person named this boy and the one immediately preceding, but this time a voice came to him, in the daytime, from some unknown source, and not in a dream.

They always name their children after the elders of the father's family if boys, and of the mother's family when girls. It might be said all their names mean something; nevertheless, there are some they cannot explain, saying the significance of these words is lost. To name a child, the father and mother make a feast, to which they invite the most respected ones of all of the families of the village of like sex with the child, and if it be a celebrated name that is to be given it, they make presents to each invited family; neither father nor mother partake of this feast. The child rests in the father's arms if a boy, and in the mother's if a girl. Previous to the feast, if it be a boy of a war chief's family, the father commends him and his weapons to the manitous of all his family's warriors; if a girl, the father commends her to the manitous of the mother's family. When a war chief dies they give his name to his brother's son, who drops his first name and succeeds to rank of chief,

¹ Riggs, 1880, 358.

² Riggs, 1893, 45.

and they go through the same ceremonies as when naming a child.¹

AFFINAL TABOOS

A man may not speak to his step-daughter, nor she to him; a reciprocal taboo applies between a woman and her son-in-law. They may, however, be together, in or outside the tipi. Inquiry elicited no explanation of these prohibitions.

If a person enters a dwelling in which his son-in-law is seated, the latter turns his back, covers his head with his robe, and avails himself of the first opportunity to leave the presence. If a person visit his wife, during her residence at the lodge of her father, the latter averts himself, and conceals his head with his robe, and his hospitality is extended circuitously by means of his daughter, by whom the pipe is transferred to her husband to smoke. The same formality is observed by the mother-in-law, if she wishes to present him with food, it is invariably handed to the daughter for him, or if she happens to be absent for the moment, it is placed on the ground, and she retires from the lodge, that he might take it up and eat it.²

Though a son-in-law lives near the parents of his wife, he never names or talks to them, and never looks his wife's mother in the face. He thinks it is respectful to act in this manner. He occupies a large lodge, while his wife's parents frequently live in a small one, in the rear, whom he supplies with game until he has a family of his own. Should the parents accidentally meet him, they hide their faces. If the mother starts for the daughter's lodge and perceives her husband inside, she does not enter.³

KINSHIP TERMS

The terms recorded below are used by ego male when referring to persons related in the degree specified. If a different term is used by a female, this is indicated by the abbreviation *f.* *My* should, therefore, be prefixed to each term.

āte', father

āte'dA, father's brother, step-father and his brothers, mother's sister's husband and his brothers

tāwi, father's sister

ōkō, father's or mother's father and his brothers, great grandfather, and remote male ancestors

¹ Ames, 1890, 237-238.

² James, 1823, vol. 1, 233-234. Dorsey, 1884, 263, quotes the above inaccurately, and adds: "The Dakotas have this custom and call it *wistenkiyapi*."

³ Neill, 1872b, 297.

kasi, father's or mother's mother (and her sisters?), great grandmother, and remote female ancestors
misa', father's brother's son, younger brother, mother's sister's son

tōksi, father's brother's daughter; *f.* uses *mita'* if that relative is younger than the speaker, *mitcu'*, if older

ma'mAnA, father's brother's wife and her sister, mother's sister, step-mother and her sisters

mitci'ksi, father's brother's son's son, son, brother's (older or younger) son, step-son

mita'kuA, father's brother's son's son's daughter, sister's son's son or daughter, son of *mitci'ksi*

mitcaksī, father's brother's son's daughter, mother's sister's son's daughter, step-daughter, daughter

hA'nka, (*idje'AJA*, *f.*), wife of father's brother's son

taha', (*sidi'ē*, *f.*), husband of father's brother's daughter, mother's brother's son's wife and her brother, mother's sister's daughter's husband and his brother, sister's husband and his brother

ēci'dA, brother of *ma'mAnA* or of ego's mother

mita'gos, wife of *mitci'ksi*, and her sibling

atē'dA, step-father and his brother

t'nA, mother

tq'in, mother's brother's wife and her sisters, mother's sister's husband's sister

taha'sī, (*itcesi*, *f.*), mother's brother's son

hoga'sī, (*idje'pasi*, *f.*), mother's brother's daughter

hō'ka, (*idje'APA*, *f.*), mother's brother's son's wife and her sister, brother's wife, sister's husband's sister

tō'sidA, (*mita*, *f.*), mother's sister's daughter

hā'ka, mother's sister's daughter's husband's sister, older brother's wife and her sister

tci'yē, (*tiwidō*, *f.*), older brother

mita'sA, daughter of *tōst'dA*

mētō'skA, son of *tōst'dA*, sister's son

tā'kē, older sister (*mitcū'*, *f.*, see *tōksi*, above)

tā'ksidA, younger sister (*mita'*, *f.*, see *tōksi*, above)

tā'kūsq, son's or daughter's son, and his male descendants

Riggs⁴ gives the following kinship terms:

timde (*f.* speaking), older brother
chingē (*m.* speaking), older brother
misunka, younger brother
nichun (*f.* speaking), older sister
tanke (*m.* speaking), older sister
mitanka (*f.* speaking), younger sister
tankshi (*m.* speaking), younger sister
tahan (*m.* speaking), brother-in-law
hanka (*m.* speaking), sister-in-law
tahanshi (*m.* speaking), male cousin
hankashi (*m.* speaking), female cousin
ichepan, husband's sister

⁴ Riggs, 1893.

ichepanshi (f. speaking), husband's brother's wife,
and female cousins

shiche, husband's brother

icheshi (f. speaking), male cousins, and husband's
sister's husband

According to Riggs, males and females use the same term for grandfather, grandmother, nephew, niece, and grandchild. Son-in-law and daughter-in-law are designated by the same word. A parent of the husband and a parent of the wife use the reciprocal term *omawheton*, when addressing each other. Single terms are used for father and father's brother, and for

mother and mother's sister. The same term is used for brother and for father's brother's son, and, similarly, one term designates sister and mother's sister's daughter. "The mother's brothers and the father's sisters are uncles and aunts; and their children, cousins." The children of father's brother and of mother's sister are designated by the same term as brother and sister. Thus, *tahanshi* is father's sister's son, or mother's brother's son; *hankashi* is daughter of mother's brother or of father's sister. A man or a woman addresses another of the same division (e.g., Wahpeton) as *mita' akutye*, "my friend."

DANCE SOCIETIES

I SAW SO MANY of their different varieties of dances amongst the Sioux [wrote Catlin] that I should almost be disposed to denominate them the "*dancing Indians!*" It would actually seem as if they had dances for every thing. And in so large a village, there was scarcely an hour in any day or night, but what the beat of the drum could somewhere be heard. These dances are almost as various and different in their character as they are numerous—some of them so exceedingly grotesque and laughable, as to keep the bystanders in an irresistible roar of laughter—others are calculated to excite his pity, and forcibly appeal to his sympathies, whilst others disgust, and yet others terrify and alarm him with their frightful threats and contortions.¹

My most trustworthy informant, a man then over 70 years old, said that his grandfather's great grandfather was a child when the Wahpeton of Minnesota first saw white men, and that they then possessed only one dance, the *wakan watci'pi*; the other dances and societies were introduced subsequently. This holy dance seems to be little adapted to Dakota ritual and song; indeed, the words of the songs are, allegedly, unintelligible to the members. As one Wahpeton asserted, the *wakan watci'pi* may have been borrowed from the Fox or the Sauk, and the other dances may have had their origin among the other Dakota tribes. (Some tribes recently introduced dances which carry no intrinsic evidence of borrowing.)

Prospective participants in a war party or in any dance, except the War dance and the Young Men's dance, may not have sexual intercourse during the preceding four days and nights. Many observe this taboo for five or six days. The taboo applies to the four days following the performance as well as to the four days preceding it, and to any performance resulting from instructions from the Thunders. The taboo applies also to those who take scalps.

WAR DANCE

There are now 10 men and 10 women in the War dance (*I wa'ktci watci'pi*) society. It has the following officers:

- 1 *eta'cA*, leader, a male
- 2 *eta'cAio'ke* (next-to-the-leader), a leader for women, and one for men; males
- 1 *wino'ktcA*, leader of the women, a female

¹ Catlin, 1842, vol. 1, 245.

- 6 drummers and singers, men
- 2 *wa'waye'kA*, policemen, one for men one for women
- 2 *waga'hapa*, "strikers," women
- 2 *ie'skA*, heralds or announcers, one for men one for women; males
- 2 women singers

Originally, only braves who had taken scalps were eligible to membership. The organization now consists largely of sons and grandsons of such men.

Tradition explains the origin of the society as follows:

A medicineman dreamed that they would kill many Chippewa and that afterwards they would hold a dance. They went to fight, all returned the following morning, and brought scalps. In the afternoon, they began the dance. They secured a long oak pole, painted it red, and tied the scalps to its top. This pole is called *tca wakan*. The dance was held around it in the open.

The songs had their origin in the same dream. Each cardinal point had a special song. The songs are sung in the following order: west, east, south, north; that is, first, toward the sun which is setting or has set, next toward the east, where he will reappear, to the south whence he will detour, and, lastly, to the north. The words of the songs have now been forgotten, it is said, and only meaningless syllables are sung.

This origin tale is attributed to an old man who is said to have lived 100 years ago.

Before the participants begin to dance, they sit in a circle around the pole, make thank offerings of tobacco to the sun, and pray for help and strength in future conflicts. The first pipeful is smoked only by the medicinemen; the second is also smoked by them, and then by all the other members. The pipe passes around the circle from right to left, that is to say, in the direction of the sun (clockwise). At the first puff, the smoker, with arm extended, offers the tobacco to the west, and says: "Thunder, I offer you a pipeful of tobacco"; to the east, the land of the dead: "Spirits, smoke this pipeful of tobacco. I give you this pipeful of tobacco to smoke. I pray you to assist me in every undertaking." The second medicineman begins the actual smoking; the first one merely extends the tobacco toward the four cardinal points and

offers the prayers; he does not light the pipe. There seems to be no ceremonial number of puffs. The medicineman who first offers the tobacco is seated facing south. When the pipes have been smoked, the dance begins.

Previously the dance was held only following a fight from which scalps were brought home. It was then a solemn, important affair, and secret from all, except tribal eyes. Now it is held about twice a month in the summer, and on most Thursday nights through the winter. The old people deplore this frequent performance as a degeneration. At present, the dance is often held in conjunction with the Young Men's dance (*pe'zio watci'pi*). Frequently, Cree from a nearby reservation are formally invited to attend. The Dakota leader invites the leader of the corresponding society among the Cree to the War dance, and hands him tobacco. The Cree leader attends, announces the invitation, and gives the assembled members the tobacco brought by the Dakota for this purpose. The Cree then feel obligated to accept.

The leader of the men is elected by the women members of the society. Previously, the bravest man, he who had taken the largest number of scalps, was chosen for this office, and held it for life. The leader now has life tenure. He must be interested in the welfare of the society and a person of sound judgment. His past record is the test of these qualifications: his liberality with money, his readiness to give other assistance, and regular attendance at the meetings of the society count in his favor. Only a middle-aged or an elderly man is eligible. The present leader at Portage La Prairie was appointed by the chiefs at Griswold, Manitoba, a larger Dakota reservation, some 70 miles west. He was preceded by a younger brother, after whose death the office was for a time unfilled. His uncle, before this brother, had been the leader. Meanwhile, dances were held, but nothing went smoothly, and the society had been about to disband, when the present leader was appointed.

The present assistant leader of the men has held office since a reorganization, about 1908. He is elected by the women; the assistant leader of the women is elected by the men.

The same interchange is observed in the election of the two policemen and the two announcers. The officers responsible for the women are elected by the men, and those responsible

for the men are elected by the women. Reciprocity between the sexes is also observed in their functions. For no office, except that of leader of the men, is there a regular term; the length of the incumbency depends on the pleasure of the electors. They are privileged at any time to remove any officer, except the leader of the men, and to choose a successor. Removal from office of the policemen and the assistant leader of the men is invariably accompanied by dismissal from the society; other officers who are supplanted may remain in the society. When meeting to decide on a removal or an election, the men and women meet "quietly" and separately for discussion and decision. At the next meeting they make known their desire, which is now represented as unanimous. The complementary body may voice an objection, but this is improper, and protests have no weight, once the electors have come to a decision.

In 1914 the writer witnessed a dance in the *iwa'ktci* tipi, an oblong hall of logs and pole beams covered with straw. Six singers and drummers sat in the middle around a large drum made from the hollowed section of a tree, with a buffalo hide stretched over one end, the wood being left at the other end. Tied to the drum are four staffs, one pointing north, one east, one south, and one west.

The singers, elected by the entire society, are selected for their abilities. At the present time, the leader is also a singer. Leadership, however, does not of itself make one a singer. Singers may resign, but cannot be removed. A singer who resigns must offer the society a token of value, worth from approximately \$3.00 to \$15.00. Either money or any article may be offered. At various times singers have offered a Winchester rifle, a shot gun, a suit of clothes, a second-hand buggy. The offering is given to the oldest man in the settlement. After such an announcement, if the gift passes into the possession of the oldest man, the singer who resigned cannot be reinstated. Sometimes the members are reluctant to accept a proffered resignation, and they, or another person, offers to recompense the oldest man with something more valuable than the token offered by the resigning member. This is the procedure followed after a member announces his intention to resign.

One summer two women and three singers wished to resign. One of the women announced the fact, and offered a shawl and a woman's

dress to the oldest woman. The other woman made a similar offer and added some beadwork for moccasins. The leader of the women said she did not wish them to resign. She offered \$5.00 each to the two oldest Cree women living on Long Plains reservation, of her own money. (The society would reimburse her to the extent of about \$4.00, out of each \$5.00.) Because the leader's offer was higher, the two women might not withdraw, for \$5.00 represented more than the value of either of their offers. Thus they were forced to continue in the society for at least a year, at the end of which time they might again offer their resignation, together, as always, with a present, usually for the oldest person in that settlement or one nearby.

Any member may make a superior offer and thus block a withdrawal. A member who does so will be largely, but never completely, reimbursed by the society. On another occasion each of two singers who wished to withdraw offered \$5.00 toward the erection of a new dance hall for the society. The leader of the men said that the society had at its disposal \$16.00 which it would add to the building fund. These men, therefore, were obligated to continue as singers for another year. The third singer offered a Winchester rifle. To counter, a member offered a coat and a waistcoat, the leader of the men offered a rifle, and the assistant leader of the men, a blanket; these articles would be given to the oldest man on the Cree Long Plains reservation. [The Cree have a corresponding society, and frequently make similar presents to the Dakota. Either women or men may give presents to the oldest woman or the oldest man.]

The society maintains a fund to be used for such emergencies as circumventing resignations, and for special needs in the settlement, as, for example, the purchase of a coffin when a family is too poor to provide one, food, or other necessities for those in need.

A member may be removed or be reinstated at any time, provided that the leader and the assistant leader of the men did not assent to the removal. A young man 24 years old told me he was twice removed, and twice reinstated by the women; and was removed a third time. When he gave me this information he was not a member, but some of the women, he said, were considering reinstating him, although he did not wish to belong again. One who wishes to withdraw temporarily informs the leader of the men

(who is the leader of the society) that he wishes to withdraw temporarily, but will return when needed, and asks that someone be secured to take his place. If he makes this request, he may be reinstated; if not, he cannot be reinstated. One who attempts to withdraw and fails to do so is not thereby prejudiced, but is treated as though no unpleasantness had occurred. Neither money nor any other inducement is offered by one who wishes to become a member. A person should not express a desire to join, but should wait until invited.

The leader and the assistant leader of the men may assist the singers at any time. The policemen supervise everything. During the ceremonies they sit in the dance hall to maintain order. No definite place is assigned to any officer. The policemen are elected by all of the members. If they are removed from office, they are *ipso facto* expelled from the society.

The policeman who supervises the women directs each woman member, a day or a few days before the dance, to prepare a vessel of food to be taken to the dance on the designated night. The policeman who supervises the men leaves a similar message with each male member. The policemen must do this not later than the day preceding the dance, so that there will be ample time for preparation. With each person whom the policeman informs he leaves a short stick, a *tcati' yawa'*. Each policeman has 10 of these sticks, which are, however, the property of the society. They are numbered, by notches, from 1 to 10. The leader of the men receives stick number 1, the assistant leader of the men, number 2, and the women strikers receive 9 and 10, respectively.

The policemen also prepare a vessel of food. Food is prepared by each man and each woman to whom the message is given, and his or her stick is tied to the vessel in which the food is brought. The sticks serve as tallies for the policemen. They do not attach a stick to their own vessels of food. At the dance tipi, the policeman who has told the women to bring food keeps tally on the vessels brought by the men; the policeman who has told the men keeps tally on the vessels brought by the women. Any defaulting member is given a vessel of food, all of which must be consumed. The dance continues until the defaulter has paid the penalty. If a defaulter fails to consume all of the food in the vessel, that is, does not pay the penalty in full, he or

she must give something worth more than the food which was in that vessel. If a member who has brought no food asserts that he or she was not warned to do so, the policeman who should have given the message is treated as the offender, and must eat all of the food in the vessel offered him, or make a present of greater value than the food. Each policeman checks on his colleague's performance of duty. If a member states that he was not informed, the policeman, despite his asseveration to the contrary, must pay the penalty. Penalties, it is said, are now seldom imposed, for the food is brought in large vessels.

The men and women each have an announcer. If a member desires to make an announcement of considerable importance to the society, he or she must tell this to the *ie'ska*, who repeats it to the society. A member speaking to the group must go to the middle of the room and there smoke a large pipeful of tobacco. The policeman of the men, if the offender is a woman, or the policeman of the women, if the offender is a man, then puts the culprit in a corner, places a vessel of food before him and announces that he must eat all of it. If all the food is not consumed, the delinquent must make a present of something worth more than the food. If the offender cannot finish the pipeful of tobacco, and calls upon someone else to finish it, he must stand in the middle of the room and, in addition, pay more than the value of the tobacco. Before any of the above-mentioned penalties are exacted, the policeman who enforces them must also give something, however trivial, to any member present. If the herald does not repeat an announcement precisely, word for word, the person who delivered the message may, without penalty, make this fact known to the society. In that event, the announcer must smoke the pipe and eat the vessel of food, or pay the additional penalty that a defaulting offender must pay. Exaction of these penalties is accompanied by much hilarity.

The two women singers assist the men. They have no prescribed position during the dance, but lead in the singing of the women. The women "strikers" carry a whip with a wooden handle and thongs, with which they strike any member who misbehaves. The leader of the men announces that the strikers will do so, and adds that no one is to take offence. The leader of the men, the policemen, and other officers, are liable

to receive their scourgings. Sometimes these women announce that they will mete out no punishment. Formerly the dancers carried a staff (*wa'paha*) in the right hand. It was about 5 feet long, hooked at the top, to which scalps were attached, and along one side were eagle feathers. A spear with eagle feather attached was carried by some of the dancers. The present ceremonial objects, including a drum, drumsticks, staffs, and whips, were made by a medicineman now deceased. He admonished the members of the society to beat the drum only for the dance, and not to allow profane hands to touch the staffs, whip, drumsticks, or drum. They were told that if the Government should prohibit the performance of the dance, they should remove these objects to a secret place and leave them there to decay; and never to part with them otherwise. These regalia are enclosed in canvas cases, and are hung high inside the house of one of specified members.

A new skin cover has been put on the drum, and members are now not so scrupulous about using it. While the original cover placed over it by the medicineman remained intact, the drum was hung up out of reach, was handled only by the drummers, and then only when they used it in the dance. Formerly all these ceremonial objects were kept in one house, suspended from a pole. According to a legend, a small boy, when alone, tapped the drum; it fell, rolled, and knocked him down. He was sick for about a month. A medicineman learned that the illness was visited upon the child because the deceased owner of the drum was angered by his thoughtless act. The middle of the cover of this old drum was decorated with a Morningstar, painted red. The remainder of the cover was blue, yellow, and green. The Morningstar, when it rises, red and bright, betokens good weather, as clouds before sunrise presage bad weather. Hence, whenever the drum is used, the Morningstar is pleased; if it is during the warm season, it provides a clear night, and in the cold season even an impending blizzard is averted.

One night, while the drum was being used in the dance, the skin cover suddenly ripped from side to side. That night a medicineman learned, in a dream, that this had happened because on the previous day a drummer had violated the dance by having sexual intercourse. The taboo on sexual intercourse covers, for drummers, the four nights preceding the dance; hence, the an-

nouncement of a meeting is made considerably in advance. An offender must announce his transgression and refrain from participation. Only the drummers are subject to this restriction. In this instance the offender died within about a month after his offence. In 1914 several spears were thrown at a dummy, which had been stuffed with gunny sacks and clothing. None of the spears had any effect on it, but it was demolished by staffs used by the War Dance society, which were made by the above-mentioned medicineman. This was further proof of the *wakan* quality of these staffs. When I tried to purchase them, I was told that a duplicate set might be obtained, but not these. Subsequently, I was told that the members feared to part with them, lest misfortune befall the owners.

The whip which is carried in the War Dance society by the two women who keep order is about 1½ feet long and approximately 2 inches wide. The handle has a skin covering, fur side out. At the end are feathers, sashes of European manufacture, and two long narrow strips of leather, which serve as lashes. One edge of the stick is straight, the other is cut into a step pattern; the design elements are alternately blue and red, the colors put on sacred stones, when they are used in a ceremony. The flat surfaces are decorated with brass tacks.

When not in use, the staff is kept in a canvas case, for protection. It is a stick about 5½ feet long, sharpened at one end, the whole wrapped with cloth which is bordered by eagle feathers. At intervals, trade ribbons are attached. A narrow resilient piece of wood attached at the upper end hangs over in a crescent. In the old days, the scalps taken from the enemy in the fight which the dance commemorated were attached to this piece. The staff is carried in the right hand of the dancer. Each participant carries either a staff or a spear.

As far as could be learned, age was not considered in selecting members. It was stated that, formerly, the wives of members were the only women who might belong to the society. Although the usual prerequisite to the performance of this dance was to bring back scalps from a fight, it was also given when one had been "killed" and had miraculously revived, or had recovered from wounds which were generally mortal, and had returned to the camp. Formerly the dance was held around the oak pole on

which was suspended the hoop to which the scalps were attached for drying. The hoops were made of chokecherry or saskatoon.

The two policemen who see to it that members bring food pass the food around. They give it first to members, and, if some remains, to non-members who are present. Nowadays, when the food is passed, the visiting Cree, especially the older ones, are usually treated as members of the society, and, as an act of courtesy, are served first. One informant stated that there was an officer, called *oga'hivAzi* (encirler) whose duty it was to make known to the leader the needs of female members.

At the dance which the writer witnessed in 1914, several Cree from Long Plains reservation were present, by special invitation from the leader of the Portage La Prairie society. At about nine o'clock in the evening the singers and drummers took their places and began to sing and drum, to summon the members, who do not come until they hear the drum. The singing and drumming continued, intermittently, for an hour or more, before the members began to straggle in. Each brought his or her pot of food and placed it on the right side (as one enters) of the doorway. The men sat on a narrow bench along the hall in the back of the room. The women remained close to the door, and sat, crouching, with feet behind them or shifted slightly to the right, their bowed heads nearly covered by shawls. They seldom spoke. The men conversed, and occasionally a remark elicited general laughter. During most of the time, however, they were quiet and attentive.

When most of the members had assembled, and while the drummers were singing and drumming, three dancers entered the room and went to a corner, on the right, at the back of the hall. All were young men, probably under 30 years old, adorned with buffalo hair headdress, or with eagle feathers at the crown of the head and with the bells, bands, bone beads, metal belts, and sashes adorned with down feathers and inset with mirrors, that constitute familiar Dakota decorative costume. Each carried a cloth-wrapped hoop. In pre-White days, the scalps would have been attached to these hoops. A few minutes later, amidst singing and drumming, a dancer leaped into the cleared space and began an animated dance punctuated with loud stampings, interspersed with sharp shrill war whoops that followed in quick succession and

synchronized with the music of the drum and the singing. He danced for several minutes, in erect posture, with the palmar surface of one hand resting on his body above the hip, swinging his body gracefully from side to side to the rhythm of the music, and carrying the hoop around his head so that it rested on one shoulder. At intervals he shifted the hoop from one shoulder to the other. Suddenly, the dancer pulled the hoop down over his body, and crouched so low that his buttocks almost touched his heels. While he maintained this same rapid step and heavy stamp, he moved the hoop back and forth across one foot and then the other, or across both. Other dancers joined him, and for several minutes, they all danced at the same time. This was the *pe'ziowakci'pi* dance.

After a rest and a lull, the drummers shifted into position suitable for the next dance in which the women members encircled the singers, holding hands, and moved sunwise with a slow up and down motion on alternate feet. Sunwise direction, they say, is taken because it is the direction of the movement of the sun.

The women sang with the men singers. Later they were joined by some small girls. Anyone might now participate in the dance, but no one else did so. I was told that these dances would be repeated alternately during the remainder of the night. The last mentioned was still in progress when I left, at about midnight. At this time the vessels of food, together with water, were distributed to all who were present. The first vessel was given to the oldest Cree visitor, and the next to the next oldest visitor. Some time after the dance had begun, a clown looked in through the door, to the great amusement of all, then suddenly withdrew, and later entered the hall with antics that occasioned more merriment, especially among the women. His performances continued for an hour or longer, during the dancing. This, however, was the introduction of a feature not common to the old dance.

Another performance of the War Dance society witnessed by the writer at Portage La Prairie furnished an instance of mourning. While members of the Young Men's society were dancing, a young woman spoke privately to the women's herald. The herald rose and announced that this woman wished to say that while looking at the singers it appeared to her

as though her brother (a singer, at the time of his death a few months before), was sitting there singing, so much did one of the singers remind her of him. Some of the members responded to portions of the announcement with "Ho!", to indicate sympathy for the bereaved. The woman then rose, walked to the singer who had so forcibly reminded her of her dead brother, and shook hands with him. The dance was at once resumed. Some of the women wept. Later, the mother of the dead boy went to the women's herald and told him much the same. This, too, was announced. The mother then sang, in a voice broken with sobs, the doleful plaint: "My son, I seem to see you here. I am grieving for you, my son. I am grieving for you, my son." After a few minutes the singers interrupted her by renewing their song, and the dance continued as before. In these instances, both women were members; it is said, however, that frequently an ex-member mourns thus for a deceased member of whom she has been especially reminded.

Their dances and feasts are not amusements. They all have an object and meaning, and are celebrated year after year, under a belief that neglect will be punished by the Great Spirit by means of disease, want, or the attacks of enemies. . . . Revolting as the ceremony of dancing round a scalp seems to us, an Indian believes it to be a sacred duty to celebrate it. The dancing part is performed by the old and young squaws.¹

Women are not excluded from joining in their feasts or dances; they dance the scalp dance while the men sit round and sing, and they join in celebrating many of the customs of their tribe.²

Flandrau gives the following account of the War dance following the taking of a scalp:

When night comes the men arrange themselves in two lines, about fifteen feet apart, facing each other, all provided with tom-toms, and musical instruments of all kinds known to the savage. When everything is ready, they sing a kind of a weird chant, keeping time with the instruments and their feet. Then the squaws, with the scalps held aloft, dance in between the lines of the men from opposite directions, until they meet, when they chassé to the right and left, then dance back and forward again, every once in a while emitting a sharp little screech which I have never known to be successfully imitated. During the dance, the men join in a kind of shuffle from right to left, and back again, keeping the music

¹ Eastman, 1849, xx.

² Eastman, 1849, 64; see also, 79.

going all the time. The whole performance is one of the most savage and weird ceremonies I have ever witnessed. It is kept up for weeks. . . . I have been lulled to sleep many times by this wild music, heard from a distance of half a mile, on a still night.

It was supposed that when the scalp was taken while the leaves were on the trees, it was danced over until they fell, and then buried, and when taken in winter it was buried when the leaves come in the spring, but I never was quite sure about this.¹

Performers in the war dance painted their faces in such a manner as to render their appearance most frightful, and each one held some weapon in his hand. They stood with their knees bent, and kept time to the drum and rattle by short, quick jumps, lifting both feet from the ground at the same time. When they stopped to breathe, some one would recount, in a loud voice and with appropriate gestures, his exploits in war. At intervals, the loud, abrupt, sharp notes of the war-whoop were heard. These dances were very violent exercise, and could not be continued long at a time. There was some variety in them, but they closely resembled each other.

Their main object in war dances seemed to be to render themselves as hideous and terrible as possible. In this they succeeded so well that persons of weak nerves, who were not acquainted with them, did not care to go very near them while the dance continued, even to gratify their curiosity to see how Indians look. Indeed no one, while viewing a war dance, would think it desirable to have them lay violent hands on him.

No easy or graceful movements were made in any of the Dakota dances. The motions of the men were unnatural, abrupt and violent, and the strength of the dancers was taxed to the utmost. None of their favorite recreations had any attractions for the indolent, effeminate, or feeble; but they were designed to afford the actors an opportunity to exhibit agility, hardihood, and powers of endurance, qualities that were highly prized by the Dakotas.

This [the Scalp dance] was one of the few dances in which both men and women participated, and in this they danced separately. Most of the dancing was done by the women, while the men stood by, singing the scalp tune and beating the drum. Usually some old women seized the staff to which the scalp was attached and led off the dance, and then the other females formed a circle and danced around her. The dancing performed by the females was characterized by gravity and decorum, with no such demonstrations of triumph and exultation as we might expect to see on such occasions. Their singing, however, had in it a sound of triumph. The female dancers, clothed in their best apparel, stood close together in a circle, with their blankets wrapped around them and their

faces toward the center of the circle. They stood very straight, with serious countenances, having their eyes fixed on the ground before them.

In the dancing they raised both feet simultaneously from the ground and jumped a few inches sideways. This was done by the action of the muscles of the ankles and feet alone, and in this way, standing perfectly straight and in close order and moving by each leap a few inches to the right, they kept time to the music and passed slowly around the circle. At certain stages of the dance, the men and women formed in two separate lines, facing each other, and danced back and forth, the two lines alternately approaching each other and then again receding.

During all the time that the dance continued, the tune of the scalp dance was sung. The few words of the song were frequently repeated, and the women at intervals responded with short, shrill notes, which could be heard at a great distance. The character of the music was in keeping with the nature of the dance. When heard in the darkness, the ceaseless reverberations of the drum, the loud defiant notes of the men, and the shrieking chorus of the women, as they rose on the night air, made such music as we might expect from those who could dance with delight around the scalps of the dead.

The dancing of the men was in a very different style from that of the women. It was never very agreeable, and was sometimes disgusting to the beholder. To the civilized eye, the whole performance had a fiendish aspect, and, unlike most of their dances, was often continued far into the night. This furnished a convenient opportunity for illicit intercourse between the sexes; for, in the excitement and confusion of the dance, some of the dancers might slip off into the darkness without being missed. The more thoughtful of the Indians complained of the demoralizing influences of the scalp dance when held in the night.²

. . . It was customary to have a [scalp] dance whenever a scalp was brought to a village, and the same scalp was taken to several villages and danced around at each, and might be danced around many times at the same village. In all the scalp dances I ever saw men and women danced together, not mingled, but the men on one side of the circle and the women on the other, facing them; and though the women were close to each other, and the men were also, the men did not come very near the women. A woman, generally quite old, held the pole to which the scalp was attached, and shook it as they danced. I think these things were all customary in scalp dances, and that men and women, or boys and girls both, were necessary to a scalp dance, and aside from the sight of the scalp, these were the pleasantest of all their dances.

¹ Flandrau, 1900, 389-390.

² Pond, S. W., 1908, 436-438.

If a scalp was taken after the trees were green it might be danced to till the leaves fell; if taken after the leaves fell, till new ones grew; but they were not infrequently buried sooner.¹

YOUNG MEN'S DANCE

This society has 13 members. There are two leaders (*wAga'kapa*). At present, the dance is always held in conjunction with the War dance. The two leaders go to the members, as is done in the War dance society, and tell them to prepare food. If one fails to bring food, the treatment is as described for the War dance society. It is asserted that the only difference between the two societies consists in the fact that membership in the Young Men's dance (*pe'zio watci'pi*) is limited to men. The two oldest members are the leaders. The present leaders at Portage La Prairie are each about 30 years old. The other members are about 20 years old. It is said that a man may continue to be a member of this society as long as he lives. The age status of the present members, however, indicates that this is not the observed rule. Faces of members who participate in the dance are painted red, blue, green, and yellow. The dance may be held at any time. [Every man who goes to fight carries medicine with him and accompanies a medicineman; if he accompanies a medicineman, he will return alive and unscathed.]

Members were chosen from among the braves. Those who wore eagle feathers were the first to dance. Sometimes, during the performance, the bravest of those who were dancing presented a pony and clothing to an old man or an old woman, to demonstrate that the donor was brave, and was unconcerned about what he might give away. Giving away horses and other things, it was said in the old days, was more difficult than facing a gun. When men possess property, they do not give it away; they want other people to give them things, and do not intend to help other people. Sometimes the bravest man gives all that he owns to the poor. In each dance some participant gives something to the poor and needy, but never to the able-bodied. Sometimes a man gives away his gun and all of his dancing paraphernalia, or his buckskin suits, or his oblong bone heads. The herald (*ie'ska*) announces that such and such a man will give specified things to a designated person. On one occasion, a man announced that

the first one who saw his wife might have her as his own wife. This man was separated from his wife; she fell in love with another man, and became his wife. After giving his wife away in this manner, a man may not take her back, or show regret over his action. Both parties are pleased, for the recipient wants another wife, and the woman another husband (meaning, perhaps, that the wishes of the two have been previously ascertained by the donor).

There is no special place for holding the dance and no arrangement of the dance ground. There is a leader, a drum keeper, six other singers, two marshals, who carry whips, a herald, and two men who preside over the cooking, 13 in all.

The leader is chosen, not because he is the bravest in the group, but because he is a good speaker, a man with foresight for the interests of the society, one always willing to help the members and never causing trouble. There is no age qualification for a leader. He is chosen by vote of all the members. He is not told, except formally, that they desire him in the society. While a dance is in progress, the two men who supervise the cooking, and the two who act as marshals, tell the herald that a certain member is to be expelled, and another man is to become the leader. The herald makes the announcement. During the dancing the two marshals dash for the chosen leader, whom they pick up and carry to the dancing ground, while he resists. If he succeeds in touching the ground before he reaches the dancing place, the society has no claim upon him. The marshals are always strong men. A leader retains office as long as he is satisfactory.

One who wishes to leave the organization stands up and tells the herald he will give a pony, blanket, gun, or some other possession to the poor; he says he is tired of the dance, wishes to rest, will postpone further participation in it, and asks them to choose another in his place. Under such circumstances a member is never retained. During the next performance a successor is chosen. One who has announced his intention to leave the organization may not subsequently ask to be reinstated, but may continue to attend the dance and participate in it. If the members decide that no better person can be selected, they may later, but not immediately, reinstate him; they tell him they cannot find one who is better qualified, and they wish him to rejoin them.

¹ Williamson, 1894, 409.

When a new member joins, the procedure followed when a leader is inaugurated (p. 49) is adopted. When the society is about to admit a new member, the marshals announce their intention of donating to the poor certain things which are their individual property. They are not reimbursed. When a member wishes a dance held, he communicates his desire to the leader who, as in the War Dance society, may initiate it, or may refuse to comply. The leader may hold the dance whenever he desires. When he decides to hold it, he tells the two men who supervise the cooking to direct the other members to prepare food, that the dance will be held on a designated day. On each occasion these two men arrange which members each shall notify. The herald then goes to each member and bids him prepare food for the designated day; the food to be brought is specified. Each member must bring a vessel of food to the dance. The penalty for omission to perform this task is the same as that imposed in the War Dance society.

Members of the society are usually foremost in a fight, but bravery is not imposed by its rules. If a member demonstrates cowardice, he is, as in the War Dance society, expelled from the organization. A member of this society may not have simultaneous membership in another society; when he is no longer a member, he may belong to any other society. This is also true of the War Dance society. Any member of either of these two societies may participate in a performance held by the other. If a member is killed, the others provide food and assistance for the widow. This aid is continued until she remarries. Members are obligated to care for all the poor and needy in the camp.

If a man resigns, his successor is the son of a member. A member is not immediately succeeded by his son. If a man is expelled, his son may not become a member. A man who has been removed may not be reinstated. Formerly the dance was held only, and always, after a fight, and immediately after the War dance. The *pe'zio watci'pi* is said to be older than the War dance, although the Wahpeton had the War dance when the Young Men's dance was introduced among them. It is said to have originated in a tribe beyond and adjoining the Hota'kA. In the former tribe, a man dreamed that the *wakan* beings told him to give the *pe'zio watci'pi* and then go out on a war party.

He was to select certain young men who would assist him in the dance. Should he do this, each of the men in the party would kill a Chippewa. Next morning he announced his dream, selected the young men, and told them to don the proper paraphernalia, preparatory to the dance. All painted their faces with red pigment and celebrated the dance. Next day they went to fight. Each member of the party secured a scalp. When the leader returned, he announced that he would hold another dance and wished to have more members. Each member should carry a spear, tomahawk, bow, arrows, and a warclub. On one occasion the leader announced that they would elect new officers. After the election and another dance, all of the participants went on another war party. Thus they continued to do. The Hota'kA procured it from this tribe. In this way the society passed from tribe to tribe. Now, every settlement in which there are many young men has this society. At Portage La Prairie, most of the young men were members. One account states that the *pe'zio watci'pi* originated among the Hota'kA, who lived to the southeast of the Wahpeton. It is said that members of this tribe shave the head, with the exception of a small circular patch at the top, in which they wear eagle feathers. A party of Wahpeton, while out hunting, visited a camp of Hota'kA who were then celebrating the *pe'zio watci'pi*. An Hota'kA invited the Wahpeton to the camp, asked them to witness the dance, and explained its features. They made a drum for them and told them how to use it. This was said (in 1914) to have occurred some 66 or 67 years ago, when the informant was a boy.¹ The men returned with the drum, announced they would hold a dance, and then put on the regalia. One of the performers asked others to assist him with the singing. Only the men who had witnessed the dance participated.

After a time, others learned it and were allowed to participate. Some were elderly, some middle-aged. An old Hota'kA told them that after the drum had been beaten and the singing started, all young men and old should participate, whether they were members or not. Since that time there have been no age qualifications.

¹ The Hota'kA may be the Hotouga (Fish-eaters), who are said to have inhabited the Great Lakes region before migrating southwest in pursuit of the buffalo. See Maximilian, 1906, Appendix No. I; and Swanton and Dixon, 1914, 385. Riggs identifies Hotanke with Winnebago. See "Handbook of American Indians," vol. 2, 961.

NO FLIGHT DANCE

A medicineman, before birth, was told by the Thunders to organize the No Flight dance (*nape'cAni watci'pi*). He did not hold it until long after the designated time. One night, in a dream, the Thunders told him they would allow him four days in which to perform it. Accordingly, he made the drum, painted a black circle around its top, and the heads of a buffalo and an elk in the center. Either buffalo and bear, bear and deer, bear and elk, buffalo and moose, moose and elk, or deer and moose heads were painted in the center of the drum.

Forty-four rawhide rattles containing beads and shot were made. The rawhide was stretched, then sewed around a ball of clay, to give it the proper shape. The clay ball was left in it until the rawhide was dry and stiff. A tipi was erected and the ground was cleared. Two posts, notched at the top, were set up, and a pole was laid horizontally in the notches. The ends of the rattles were tied, and they were hung from this pole in sets of two. The *nape'cAni watci'pi* tipi is *wakan*, and no woman may approach it. While the members dance, other men shoot at them with guns or with bows and arrows, but the participants never run away.

One time, after holding this dance, the participants went out to fight, and killed a Chippewa. A Chippewa was chasing a Dakota and aimed a spear at him. The other Dakota warned their comrade that the Chippewa was close behind him. The Dakota turned his head to see how close the Chippewa was, and, observing that the Chippewa was about to thrust a spear into his back, the Dakota grasped his rattle and began to sing the No Flight song. (In the No Flight dance, each participant has a rattle tied to his wrist.) The Chippewa thrust the spear into the Dakota's back and fled. The Dakota killed the Chippewa; but he survived with the spear in his back. His companions tried in vain to remove it. The wounded man grasped a tree and the others pulled the spear out. Part of his lungs came out with it. They pushed them in, and endeavored to restore them to their proper place. They cut part of them off. A few days later the Dakota showed signs of improving, and later he recovered. He succeeded the medicineman who had initiated the No Flight dance and became the leader of the society. Thus he had done better than the man who was given the dance in a dream.

The No Flight dance was not held often, but only when one was directed in a dream to perform it. Two staffs are used. They are wrapped with oblong pieces of red cloth, to which eagle feathers are attached. At the top of the staff also there are eagle feathers. The lower end of the staff is sharpened.

The society now has 47 members. The leader is followed by the two staff bearers. He goes about the tipi, carrying the 44 rattles, and gives one to each of the 44 members present. Invariably after a dance they go to fight. The dance is held in the No Flight tipi. Non-members who may attend will receive something to eat and perhaps will be given a smoke.

The informant described a dance, witnessed by him, which was performed while a thunderstorm was approaching. The members faced the storm and sang and danced outside the tipi; no rain fell; the clouds parted, some went to one side and some to the other.

Staff-bearers carry their staffs to battle and use them as spears. Other members carry the rattles. On the homeward journey the rattles are hung on a tree and abandoned. Therefore, new rattles must be made before each dance.

The No Flight dance derives its name from the fact that members must be brave and have no fear of weapons. If a man is seen aiming his gun at them and about to shoot, they run directly toward him. A man chosen for membership is visited in his tipi, without warning, and is presented with a rattle. He cannot refuse this invitation to join. A member cannot be removed, but may resign. When he is about to resign, he must give a present to a poor man or woman. When he has done this, he cannot be refused permission to withdraw. Seldom is a new member admitted, except to replace one who has been killed by the Chippewa. The widow of a member who has been killed is assisted by surviving members as long as she remains unmarried. As is true of all dance societies, membership in one society at a time is the rule. Only young active men are chosen as members; middle-aged or older men are never selected. A man may retain membership until death. If he resigns, usually his son is selected to replace him. When very old, a member may, without consulting the society, give his place to his son. Wife-giving was not practised and members did not give away property. Some-

times a period of 10 to 15 years elapsed between successive performances.

The following is a story about a man in the No Flight society:

"I was a very small boy. I do not know whether I was then standing on my head or on my feet, but I remember something of what I saw; when I was older I heard people tell about this dance. [At this time, 1914, the informant was believed to be 78 years of age.] This man announced that before he was born he was told by the Thunders that after being born and growing to manhood he should organize this dance. When he was about to arrange it, the Thunders came to him, in a dream, and told him they were now ready for him to give the dance. After receiving this warning, he saw 22 men with their entire bodies painted gray standing on the north side. Twenty-two men similarly painted with red earth stood on the south side. These were the Thunders who would transport him to earth.

(Sometimes the Thunders come to a man and tell him to perform the No Flight dance. If he fails to do so, he will be struck by lightning and killed. I knew a man who was killed by lightning because he had been told by the Thunders to give the No Flight dance and failed to do so. Instead he gave the Young Men's dance, which was not the one he had been told to make. He had gone out to bring in his horse and was riding through a storm toward camp. He was singing the No Flight songs, for he knew he would be killed. While he was ascending a hillock, he and his horse were struck by lightning, and were killed. An old man who was a member of the No Flight dance threw away his gun, held out his pipestem, and sang the No Flight songs. He was shot in the leg, but continued to sing. The enemy ran closer, shot him again, and killed him. He had done this because he was a member of the No Flight society, and would not run away.)

"The leader stepped into his place and the others took their places behind him: 22 on the south side, and 22 on the north, the two lines converging at the leader [in V shape], as when wild geese follow their leader. The leader carried the man. The 44 who followed were Thunders. The one next to the leader, in the line painted gray, shouted when he saw a Dakota camp. From every tipi came smoke from a smudge of sweetgrass or of ground spruce. The Thunder

next to the leader called out that he wished to make all of his children on earth happy and give them a great deal of fun. The leader told the man behind him that he should not say this. One of the red Thunders then shouted that he wished to go through the camp quietly and have the rain fall gently, so that the people would have an undisturbed sleep; another wanted a severe thunderstorm accompanied by strong wind, to frighten the people—if some of the tipis should be blown over the occupants could go to others for shelter. The leader did not agree. The people heard the Thunders and expected a severe thunderstorm; but the sound of the Thunder was all they experienced, for there was no wind, only a little rain, and, by morning, the storm was spent. The first gray Thunder had spoken in the Clown fashion [that is, had stated the opposite of his meaning]."

The above was narrated by the man before he began the dance. He continued:

"Before the storm had passed over the camp the Thunders were kicking him and telling him to select the tipi in which he wished to be born. He did not like any of the tipis, though they traveled until morning. The second night they went to a camp which contained more people. The Thunder third in place behind the leader made suggestions similar to those made by the one ahead of him on the previous night, but was rebuked for his unkindly insistence. One of the red Thunders who was following the leader gave utterance to sentiments similar to those expressed by a red Thunder during the previous evening. The man informed the leader that he had chosen the tipi in which he desired to be born, and they sent him down into it. The second Thunder on the right-hand side, that is, on the south side, and the second one on the left-hand side made a loud noise while he was being sent down—as when lightning strikes close to a tipi. The Thunders, before sending him down, said they would inform him when the time came to give the dance. He had now arrived at the proper age. The tipi in which he was born, and also the man in the tipi, had met with his approval. When grown, he had made sport of his father; but when he was traveling about with the Thunders, his father had seemed to be a handsome young man. After his birth his father's looks did not please him at all. He announced to everyone that his father had previously seemed of pleasing appearance, but now

he was not pleased with his looks. [The informant said he had seen the man's father, who looked like a simpleton.] He said he had now arrived at the proper age and the Thunders had told him to give the dance. Ever since he had been old enough to understand, he had been solicitous about the matter, and had feared that he would postpone it too long, and might not be able to carry through. Inasmuch as he had been told to do it, he would perform it, and would be pleased to have it finished. The grass, *wi'tcapetca*, which ripens about the first of August, was now ripe, and he was ready to perform the dance. He [said he] was glad he was about to perform the dance; he would rather obey than disobey the Thunders. When all was ready he brought 22 rattles on which moose heads were incised and 22 on which bear heads were incised. He placed the former on the left hand side, the latter on the right hand side. On each side was a staff. Each man on the left had a rattle, painted gray; those on the right had rattles painted red. They visited six camps. They danced for a day at a camp, spent the night there, and went to another camp. After visiting six camps, they performed the dance in three towns in which white people were living. The Dakota in the camps gave them few presents. In the towns they danced in front of the largest stores. Their proprietors rolled out barrels of tea, sugar, flour, soda biscuits, and packages of clothes. They also received needles, thread, blankets, red and black cloth, guns, powder, shot, gun caps, and other things that they liked. Wagon loads of such material were given them. When they returned to their homes they had enough to stock up their own stores. After arriving home they danced occasionally. The man kept all the rattles and staffs, for he thought he might some time need them in another dance.

"One night, before the man was going to fight, the Thunders told him to take the men out to fight the northern Chippewa; they were to take their rattles and staffs, leave them in the bush, and all would return home safely. He summoned all his men and announced the dream instructions of the Thunders. They did as he told them. Each man took his rattle and staff and left them in the bush. Some killed Chippewa and others earned eagle feathers. Every one in his party earned an eagle feather. After this they had a big dance. He then told

them this was all that the Thunders had told him to do.

"I never heard any more about the man. He was a medicineman and treated the sick."

THE *MAWA'TANI* DANCE SOCIETY

MAwa'tani is said to be the name of a band of Chippewa.¹ The similarity of this society to the *i wa'ktci watci'pi* was pointed out by the informant. A drum supported on four feet, or on staffs, is used. The members hold the dance and sing their songs when they wish to forecast something. Their dress bears some resemblance to that of the Clowns. On the crown of the head they wear hats decorated with owl feathers; some are very small, not more than 4 inches in diameter.

The society is said to have been introduced to the Wahpeton by a Sisseton named PezickuiA (Sweetgrass). The Wahpeton had previously witnessed its performance, but had not adopted it. When the Sisseton announced that he would give the dance, people from all of the nearby camps came to see it. Those who assisted him made the drum and two staffs. They wrapped one of the staffs with red cloth, the other with black.

When all was ready, he announced that he wished to hunt buffalo, and was giving the dance because he knew the buffaloes were not coming closer. He bade the people go to a little hill to the west of the camp and there lay a red cloth on the ground. When the buffaloes saw the cloth, they would come to it. Early the following morning all prepared to hunt buffaloes. They climbed to the top of the hillock on which they had spread the cloth and gazed over the prairie beyond. They espied a herd of buffalo around a lake that lay within their field of vision. They killed plenty of buffaloes. After they returned from the hunt, they cooked some of the buffalo meat and had another dance.

Only two women belonged to the society. They wore red skirts, waists, and blankets and painted their faces red. The man announced that he had invited the women to join the society to assist the men with the singing and said they would take part in the dance whenever it was held. The Sisseton said that every time he gave the dance he did so in order that they might obtain game. Upon hearing this, all were

¹ Probably Mawakhota, a band of the Two Kettle Sioux. See "Handbook of American Indians," vol. 1, 823.

pleased, and the dance was continued until dark. This time he did not see the spirits of buffaloes; but after the dance the people procured plenty of game.

After another performance of the dance, he announced that he had seen the spirits of buffaloes. The following morning a party hunted buffaloes. He wished to accompany them, but some of the men wanted him to remain at the camp with them in order to sing with the other old men and make tobacco offerings to the stone, so that none of the hunters would be injured. He was anxious to go, however, and accompanied them. He killed a buffalo. While he was skinning it, he laid his knife on the ground, and, when he turned the buffalo, he forgot the knife was there, and stepped on the blade, which passed through his sole and came out through the top of his foot. The other medicinemen told him the accident was the result of his joining the other men on the hunt; if he had remained in the camp, it would not have happened.

After another dance, the man announced that on the hunt they would see another kind of buffalo, the *tato'kahAneskia'* (a crazy buffalo), which is unlike the others. This buffalo will kill anyone whom it sees. If it sees a black object on the ground, it will tear it to pieces with its horns. It is wilder and fiercer than the common buffalo, though not different in appearance. After being told that they would encounter this kind of buffalo the men were warned not to try to kill it, to leave it undisturbed, and merely observe whether it was going north or east.

The following day they all went to hunt and saw a crazy buffalo hiding behind the bushes. It was going directly east, with its horns tearing to pieces every black object in its path. This it did until it disappeared from sight and the herd also had disappeared. The party returned to camp with the information that the crazy buffalo was traveling eastward. The man declared this was a good omen, indicating that they would obtain an abundance of buffalo; that they would come from the north and would travel eastward; that when the men went out to hunt, they should chase the first herd of buffaloes they saw, and not cease until they had killed all of them. If they should see a second herd, they should not pursue it. Every day, after returning to camp, they held a big dance. One evening, after the dance, the man announced that before sunrise a buffalo would come into camp.

All the Dakota who had come from other camps returned to their homes. Autumn was approaching, and the people were living in tipis. He warned them to allow no children outside early in the morning and said that adults also should remain within the tipis. Early next morning, a buffalo came into the camp, and while it was walking about the camp, this man killed it. He directed four men to cut off its head. He ordered them to lay the red cloth which they had previously put on the hillock on the buffalo head and that others place a piece of cloth, of any color, over its head. He directed also that all who had eagle feathers tie one to a horn of the buffalo; and those who did not have eagle feathers tie a hawk, owl, crow, or any other bird feather to it. Some were told to place tobacco on the buffalo head. He declared this was desired by the buffalo; if the people should do this, they would continually get plenty of buffaloes. When the four young men had taken the buffalo head to the place where the cloth lay, everyone, young and old, of either sex, took cloth, tobacco, or feathers, and placed these over it until the head was covered with their offerings. After a subsequent dance, he announced that they would now have ample buffalo meat all the time, but none should go to hunt until he told the people to do so.

The following night he had a dream. The next morning he announced that he had dreamed about the people in a camp about 2 miles away, but did not further indicate the content of his dream. The following morning he announced that he had again dreamed about the people in that camp and that the Chippewa had come and had stolen their horses.

He dispatched all of the young men in his own camp to an adjacent camp to warn the people that the Chippewa were coming, but he forgot to warn them that the Chippewa were planning to steal their horses. The young men departed late in the afternoon. They were loath to leave the dance. It was then dark. When they arrived at their destination, the Chippewa had already stolen all the horses that had been grazing on the west side of the camp. The next morning an old man went about and announced that all of the horses were gone and that he had seen footprints resembling those of Chippewa. He urged the men to eat breakfast, pack a lunch, mount their horses, and try to overtake the Chippewa and recover the horses. Those in

the party remarked to one another that the Chippewa did not know how to steal horses and that their owners would doubtless recover them. Every young man and every boy able to ride joined the pursuers. They divided into two parties; one party traveled ahead of the other. When the advance party had reached the crest of a hill, they signaled with a mirror to the second group that they had discovered the tracks of the Chippewa. The rear party joined them, and, together, they followed the Chippewa tracks. When these debouched into the bush, one Dakota party followed; the other party continued in the open. They followed the trail until late in the afternoon. They arrived at a small thicket in the prairie and sent two men ahead to reconnoiter, for they were sure the Chippewa had stopped there for a meal and a rest. The two men returned and reported that they had seen all of the horses, but could not find the Chippewa. The Dakota hobbled their horses and surrounded the grove. Some remained in the open; some entered the bush. They found the Chippewa asleep. They crawled toward them on their hands and knees until some could touch the feet and others the heads of the sleeping enemy. One of the Dakota then stood up in the midst of them, pointed his gun upward and fired it. The Chippewa jumped to their feet and tried to get their guns, but they were surrounded by the Dakota. Seeing that they were helpless, they held up their hands. The Dakota killed all of the 10 Chippewa. Not one of them escaped.

This was the second time the Chippewa had attempted to steal the horses. On the former occasion there were eight Chippewa in the party. At that time, a medicineman in the camp had found out about it; on the second occasion, the medicineman knew nothing about it. But this man had the information before the Chippewa came, though the young men delegated by him were tardy in carrying the news to the other camp.

So the men returned home, with extra scalps and horses. Four of them carried the news to the first camp and took with them three of the scalps for the men who had come to inform them. They tied a scalp to the best-looking horse taken from the Chippewa and sent both to PezickuiA, with a message that the people from the other camp had sent them to him as a present. The people in the recipient's camp did

not know whether to hold his dance or the war dance. He told them they might hold both at the same time. The people attended first one, then the other, and so were present at both dances.

These people were living as we live on the reservations at the present time; they had gardens in which they raised many potatoes and much corn. This dance was held before the crops were ripe. Late in the autumn they dug the potatoes and gathered the corn; after which the people would dance as often as they pleased. They were now somewhat weary of PezickuiA's dance, for they had plenty of meat, and the potatoes and corn had been gathered. Their attitude displeased him; he told them that later they would want him to resume his dance; for his part, he did not intend to dance; and he informed his family that he would not hold the dance again until he was entirely out of meat. The people were informed of what he had said about discontinuing his dance, but remarked that they had sufficient potatoes and corn, and inasmuch as winter was approaching, they would be able to secure ample game. A nearby lake furnished plenty of fish, so that even if he did not hold his dance, they would have plenty of provisions, and knew where to secure more when the present supply was exhausted. Later in the autumn, during the period when he was not giving the dance, the people hunted every day. They saw the tracks, but could not secure any game. Meanwhile, they were consuming all of their meat, potatoes, and corn.

When the first snowstorm came, all of the buffalo meat had been eaten. They had only corn and potatoes; they were tired of this diet, but were unable to secure game. At first they took plenty of fish, but suddenly they were not able to obtain any. Some of the people had consumed all of their potatoes and corn. Ever since they disregarded PezickuiA's dance, they had been unable to obtain game. Two of the women quarreled about some food and eventually fought about it. One killed the other and was herself so badly injured that she died the following day.

All the people in the camp felt "lonesome," and were unwilling to remain there after one woman had killed another. Also, they were starving. They formed small parties and left the camp. After moving about from place to place and vainly trying to find food, they reassembled

at the former camping place. One day all of the old men met in one of the tipis and asked the host to invite PezickuiA to perform his dance again and try to save the people from starvation. Some of them were almost starved, were eating only twice a day, and always the same kind of food. PezickuiA explained to the men assembled that he had discontinued giving his dance because of the unkind remarks he had heard people make about it. They knew they would later have need of him and should not have spoken as they did; he had told his family he would forego all dances, and the men would be unable to get game; also that he had brought it about that the people should be unable to get fish; he had intended to refuse to assist the people; but was not willing to see them starve, for in other camps people would say, "PezickuiA, after all, is of no account; he did some things for the people, but they could not depend on him." He declared he did not wish to have such things said about him and that on the following morning he would tell them what he would do to alleviate conditions. They answered that they would be grateful for his help. He directed them to spread a red cloth on the ground, as they had done previously. They were to set up two staffs near it and secure them so that the wind could not blow them down, and were to erect a strong tipi for his dance. The men did as directed; they spread the cloth on the ground. They dug holes into which they set the ends of the staffs, then poured in water and added a little snow; when this froze, the wind could not blow the staffs over. PezickuiA directed some to hunt, some to get fuel, some to fish. They were to continue at these occupations four days.

They did as directed and secured abundant game, fish, and fuel. On the fifth morning there began one of the severest blizzards they had ever experienced. It lasted four days and nights. The people asked PezickuiA to do whatever he could for them. If they had not asked him to help them, all of the people would have perished in the blizzard. When it stopped, the snow lay so deep on the ground that people could not stick their heads out of the entrances of their tipis. Thus, again, PezickuiA saved his people. On the fourth day after the blizzard he went out, saw a buffalo walking through the camp, aimed his gun at it, and shot it. He delegated two young men to cut off its head and carry it to the place where the other buffalo head had

been put. They ate the remainder of the buffalo. The other people carried to the head offerings similar to those they had taken on the previous occasion.

On the morning of the fifth day PezickuiA directed them to carry the staffs around all day and set them up at night so that they would not fall over or be blown down by the wind. Early the following morning, they were to go to a hill, sit there, and wait until the buffalo came. Some of the young men volunteered to carry out his directions. They put on warm clothes and moccasins, and carried the staffs about throughout the day. It was winter and the days were short. At night they arranged the staffs so that the wind could not blow them down, and prepared to camp for the night. In the morning they sighted a hill to the west. They climbed to the top and sat there, watching. To the west they descried some dark objects which they thought were short oak trees. After a while, however, they discovered that these dark objects were moving. When they were sure that these were buffaloes, they returned to the camp, and informed the people that they had seen a large herd of buffalo moving toward the camp. An old man went through the camp and announced the news. PezickuiA said it was too far to go to hunt buffaloes—the days were too cold. He directed that at dusk they should send young men out to travel until they became tired and sleepy, when they must stop and camp for the night. They were to rise early on the following morning, before sunrise, and continue the journey. About sunrise, they should sit and look in the direction whence they had seen the buffaloes on the previous occasion.

The party set out. When the men became tired and sleepy, they stopped and camped for the night. Early the following morning they were up, ate breakfast, and resumed the journey. When the sun rose, they sat down, and looked west. Suddenly, they descried a herd of buffalo approaching. They returned to camp with information that the buffaloes were coming. Every man prepared his gun and mounted his horse. They hunted and all secured plenty of buffalo meat.

That night they held a big dance, during which PezickuiA announced that he had seen the spirits of the buffalo approaching. Early the following morning all of the young men were told to go out and try to ascertain the location

of the herd. The young men returned and reported that more buffaloes were coming. Again they went to hunt, and all made a killing. In the herd was a white buffalo. This was the first time they had seen a white buffalo. It was very swift, and several gave chase to it. It required all of the best and fastest horses to overtake it. They killed a red fox and brought it to PezickuiA. PezickuiA brought the skin of this fox to every dance and used it. At a dance he stated that whoever went out to see whether the buffaloes were approaching or carried a message to another camp should take this foxskin with him; he would then be an exceedingly fast runner and would not be fatigued. After killing the buffalo they had a big dance; it lasted throughout the night. At daylight, he asked whether someone wished to put on the foxskin and test it. A young man offered to do so, put the skin over his shoulders, and left. When he returned, he declared it was one of the finest things he had ever worn. He was not tired; he had gone into the very midst of the buffaloes, and they had paid no attention to him. All were much pleased at the man's having made this foxskin.

On another day information was brought that buffaloes had been seen. Next morning, the men went to hunt them. [They always waited until morning, for the buffaloes would then be closer to the camp.] They chased buffaloes the entire day and had a very successful hunt. They killed many of them. That night, after returning, they had a big dance. Between the dances and hunts, four to six days and nights intervened.

Another time, during a dance, PezickuiA announced that a young man should don the foxskin and go out to ascertain whether the buffaloes were in sight. [The young man did so, and] returned with information that a large herd of buffaloes was approaching. Next morning, they all had a big buffalo hunt. That night they held a big dance. On the morning of the fourth day after the dance, PezickuiA announced that warm weather had come, and he wished one of the young men to go out and ascertain whether any buffaloes were near. If he should find some, this would be the last buffalo hunt which he (PezickuiA) would initiate. A young man went out, returned, and stated that he had seen a large herd. Next morning, all hunted and secured an abundance of buffalo.

When they returned, PezickuiA announced that this would be the last buffalo hunt. His

mind seemed to be weakening; he was somewhat foolish. Yet he had instituted this dancing society; afterward, all had turned to him for advice and he had assisted the people to secure many buffaloes. After instituting this dance society, the people secured game after every dance which he held. Once the people nearly starved, but, as they admitted, they could not blame him. On another occasion, the Dakota in another camp nearly lost their horses; but they discovered that the horses were going to be taken, and, thanks to him, they recovered them, and also took several scalps. Another time he had learned that there would be a big storm and had urged the people to lay in a supply of wood which would last until it was over. After seeing these things, they talked about him a great deal. He said this would be his last dance, remained true to his word, and never gave it again.

PezickuiA is said to have been the only man who gave this dance, which (Wahpeton say) the Sisseton acquired from the Chippewa. After his death, a man attempted to reorganize the society. People said they did not know whether this man was a pretender, or actually had the power to continue it. Every time he sang, he failed to learn anything, and people failed to get game. After discovering that he was unsuccessful, people refused to attend his dances, and they were discontinued. The informant had not heard that they had been performed again, and assumed that this was the end. Two women and about 40 men were members of the society. The best singers were chosen for it. No other qualification was known. Members wore decorations similar to those employed in the Young Men's society and painted themselves as fancy dictated.

Two staffs and a drum were the only ceremonial objects. All wore feathers in their hats, as described above. For this purpose some employed merely a bunch of feathers, which they fastened in their hair and which they declared was their headdress. The man who attempted to revive the dance selected two young women and the same number of men as had been chosen by his predecessor. The dress and ceremonial objects were the same as those chosen by PezickuiA, and the man said he would sing PezickuiA's songs. They followed him in two performances; all the members then left, for they feared misfortune would befall them if the

man was a pretender. (PezickuiA had chosen two older women and had directed them to wear a blue cloth over the forehead.)

During the second dance held by the man who pretended to succeed PezickuiA, a member who was not a medicineman but who always had true dreams asked, in the hearing of all the performers, whether this leader had had a dream and knew something about the dance, adding that he himself had seen among the members the spirits of two young women of about 16 or 18 years of age. If they were Dakota, this betokened that before the end of summer they would be among the members of the society; if they were not members, they were Chippewa. Before the end of the summer, there were no indications that Dakota girls would join the society. A party of men went out to fight. Two of them captured two Chippewa girls and brought them to camp, as their respective wives. That is what one of the members of the society foresaw, but it was not ascertained by the leader of the society. PezickuiA had had a dream in which the *wakan* spirits told him to give the dance. As for this second leader, people did not know whether he had been told to make the dance or was merely pretending. When they discovered that he had no power, all the members left the organization. The attempt to revive the dance is said to have occurred about 57 years previously—that is, about 1857. PezickuiA was then alive and was in the same camp, but paid no attention to the attempt to revive the organization. He neither opposed nor supported it.

THE BUFFALO DANCE

The buffalo was the first animal which the Dakota saw on earth. It was the first one they had for food. The other animals came later. A man who was over 20 years of age was directed by the buffalo to do a certain thing, and did not do it. He became sick and nearly died; all the medicinemen treated him and saved his life. A few days after his recovery, his father became sick and almost died. After his father's health had been restored, the young man's young son fell ill. The medicinemen treated him. Finally, one of the medicinemen learned that the man had been told to do a certain thing and had failed to carry through the directions. These illnesses had been visited upon him and his relatives in punishment for this remissness.

Meanwhile, the other medicinemen had not been aware of the real cause of the trouble. The medicineman told the boy's father that he [the medicineman] had learned that the boy had failed to do a specific thing, and that his failure was the cause of these sicknesses.

That night, the father of the young man saw a buffalo in a dream. The buffalo told him to give the Buffalo dance. Next morning, he invited several men to his tipi, announced his dream, said he wished to hold the Buffalo dance, and asked all present to assist him in making a drum. They made the drum. When it was finished, they took it into his tipi. While they were setting up the tipi for the dance, he sang the Buffalo dance song. He did not celebrate the dance as directed, but merely had a performance of an ordinary Buffalo dance. He told the other members of the society that he would give the Buffalo dance, because he wished to see a large herd of buffalo and would use their skulls in the dance. He brought out all of the buffalo skulls which he possessed and gathered all those owned by members of the Buffalo dance society; even so, there were not enough skulls for all [? not a buffalo skull for each], and he postponed the dance. In another dream he saw a large buffalo herd. Next morning, a party of Dakota went to hunt them. They returned with enough buffalo skulls to supply each member of the society.

Although there were now a sufficient number of buffalo skulls, the man again postponed the dance; he said he would fight the Chippewa. Later he dreamed about the future fight. Next morning, he assembled the men, announced his dream, and said they would kill the members of five Chippewa families; the Buffalo had told him to wait at the tipi until a severe thunderstorm came, then go out and kill the Chippewa. The party left. Eight days later they arrived at the Chippewa camp, and in sight of it waited for the predicted thunderstorm. During the storm they rushed to the tipis of the Chippewa and killed all of the occupants. They returned home, the man tied an eagle feather to each buffalo horn, and held the dance which he had been told to celebrate. Several years later he announced that they would move the camp to another place. The people moved. When they arrived at the place designated by the Buffalo when it talked with the man in his dream during the previous night, he was told to fight the

Chippewa again. The Buffalo said the Dakota would kill the members of two Chippewa families.

Next morning, he invited all the men to his tipi, recounted his dream, and bade each man prepare an extra pair of moccasins, and take extra food. They all prepared and left the following morning. They reached the Chippewa camp, in which there were only two families. He killed all the members of these two families, removed their scalps, dried them, and took them home, as he had done with the scalps of the members of the five families killed on a previous expedition. He then held the Buffalo dance. He announced that when he performs the Buffalo dance he does not stop until the Buffaloes order him to stop. He danced every day, sometimes all day, sometimes only in the morning, sometimes only in the afternoon.

A few years later, in another dream, he was told to go out to fight. Next morning, he invited all of the men, announced that he would fight the Chippewa, bade the men get ready, prepare food, moccasins, and bow and arrows, and admonished those with guns to have them in readiness. The following morning they left. For several days they searched for the Chippewa. Suddenly one morning they encountered them. The Chippewa were hunting for the Dakota and the two parties chanced to meet. They fought. The medicineman was shot, but the others urged him to continue to fight. They killed all of the Chippewa, took their scalps, and departed toward home. While the medicineman who had been shot was sitting down, spitting blood, the Buffalo came to him, and told him to smoke. When he had smoked, the Buffalo told him he would reach home safely. When he arrived home, his wife brought him water in which blue earth had been mixed and told him to drink it. The Buffalo had directed her to do this.

After he had drunk the water, the Buffalo told him to smoke from a pipe with a stem which had been charred over a fire, to keep this pipe, and use it afterward, when smoking. He drank the water, smoked, and recovered. The following day he held a Buffalo dance. Whenever he felt pain, his wife prepared some of the water with blue earth for him to drink and filled the pipe for him to smoke. He learned that his wife was a medicinewoman. She told him that he felt this pain because he had not

given the dance promptly after being told to do so. Again he felt the pain, and bade his wife bring him water in which gray earth, instead of blue, had been dissolved, and also some sweetgrass. She was to make a smudge of this sweetgrass and hold a bowl of water over it; he would then drink the water from the bowl. He said this would be the last time he would drink the water. He told her to fill the pipe, hold it over the sweetgrass smudge, and said he would smoke the pipe. She did as he requested. He drank the water, smoked the pipe, and announced that this was the last time he would do these things, for he would now improve. When he had drunk all of the water, he was entirely cured. After his recovery, he celebrated the War dance. Following that, he held the Buffalo dance.

Later he had another dream in which he was told that he must again go out to fight. He organized the party and they set out. They killed all of the Chippewa. All of the Dakota returned alive; only the man who dreamed was wounded. He bade the others return home, assuring them that he was well enough to go home. When they had all departed, he followed. En route to the camp, the Buffalo came to him and told him to cut a small oak stick and carry it home. His son was now old enough to take his place; he was to strip his son, paint his entire body, face, and hands with red earth, mix red earth in a bowl of water, and have the boy drink this. He was to get a pipe with a red stem and smoke it. The Dakota were then holding a big War dance. The man did as he was directed.

Later, in another dream, the Buffalo told him to go out to fight, that this time he would find only one Chippewa family. He announced the dream, and the next morning a war party started. They found only one Chippewa tipi. Only the leader of the war party was wounded. They killed the Chippewa. The leader bade the party return to the camp and assured them that he was able to reach home. They departed; he followed. On the way home, the Buffalo again came to him, told him to get another oak stick, and assured him he would not die, but would recover and would reach home and see his wife and son. He went toward home. When he arrived at his tipi, he told his son that he [the speaker] had almost died, because he had not obeyed the directions promptly. He bade his

son prepare for him a bowl of water in which red earth was dissolved. He drank all of this mixture and was cured. They held another big War dance. He told them it was not he who had fought, although he was the only one who was wounded. The person who ordered him to do these things was responsible for them; as soon as this person told him to stop, he would do so; when he was told to fight, he would obey.

Long afterward, he had another dream. The Buffalo told him he must go out to fight once more and that this would be the last time. He was told that the war party would consist of seven men. They would kill the members of seven families, one for each man in the party. Next morning he assembled the men, related his dream, and bade them prepare, for the following morning they would leave. He warned them to be alert, for they might encounter the Chippewa any time. They met the Chippewa, and as foretold each man killed the members of a family. Only the leader of the Dakota was wounded. He said that it was not the Chippewa who had shot the bullet into him; the *wakan* being who had told him to set out on this party had caused him to be wounded each time he fought. He knew he would not die, however, for this *wakan* being was taking care of him. He told the men to return home and said he would follow them. He started the men toward home and followed them. The Buffalo came to him and told him this would be his last fight. When he arrived home, he was told to have his son again prepare the water for him to drink. This would cure him.

When he arrived home, the others were holding a War dance. He went to his tipi and told his son to dissolve red earth in water for him. He drank this, then smoked, and was cured. He told the others that he was a medicineman and was unwilling that anyone else in a war party under his leadership should be wounded in the fight; he wished to protect the others. Hence, he had done his utmost to save his men while they fought. He recovered without further difficulty, for he carried out the orders of the Buffalo. His son was to take his place.

We do not know any more about this man. His name was Hido'wAi'nAkA, i.e., "Jingling [like bells or rattles] -running." He is believed to have been one of the greatest medicinemen ever born.¹ He was given the name of Jingling-

running, so that the buffaloes could hear him when he moved about and would go to him and help him.

The Buffaloes live far off in the west, with the Thunders. The Thunders travel from the west to the east, to the place where the Dakota get blue earth. The Buffaloes go to the east, to get blue earth, and, while there, they make more blue earth. About the middle of June, the spirits of the Buffaloes travel to the east, to the place where the Thunders go. There all of them assemble. If a person has failed to follow the instructions given by the Buffaloes or those given by the Thunders, the matter is there discussed, and they decide whether the Thunders or the Buffaloes shall kill him. Sometimes they decide that the Buffaloes shall kill him; sometimes they decide that the Thunders shall kill him. At these times, after they return home, the Buffaloes say that they will injure such and such a man, who has failed to do as bidden, as a warning to obey them. When the leaves are turning yellow, about September, they return from this trip to the east. After their return home, when they are grazing, a party of men on horseback will appear among them. In the party is the man who was told to perform a certain thing and did not obey. By some misadventure, his horse stumbles, and the rider is thrown. A Buffalo comes to him and says, "You are the man we wish to see. We now have you in difficulties. You are the man who has been disobedient. We will teach you a lesson that you will not forget and you will not disobey us again." The Buffalo then gores him, pitches him into the air, and leaves him on the ground, unconscious. The men carry home their wounded comrade. While he is unconscious, the Buffalo comes to him and tells him he has done this because he had told the man to hold a Buffalo dance, and the man had not obeyed. This was in the autumn.

The Buffalo told him that the Thunders would kill him if he did not hold the Buffalo dance before spring. The Thunders wished to kill him, but the Buffaloes objected, for they wished to give him a warning and another opportunity. If he then failed to perform it, the Thunders would punish him. The man recovered.

After the Buffalo had talked to him, he told the people who were sitting near him what the

¹ A favorite eulogy.

Buffalo had told him. Throughout the winter he prepared for the dance which he was to celebrate early in the spring. He procured four buffalo heads, removed the hide, cut off the horns, and prepared them for use as head-dresses. In the spring, he gave the dance. About three months after the dance, a Buffalo came to him, told him he had done as bidden, and asked him why he had not obeyed at first; the task was not difficult, yet he had disobeyed. The Buffalo then told the man that he was to do some fighting and the Buffalo would show him what he could do for him.

The man went out on a war party and returned with the scalps of four Chippewa families. After he had brought the scalps home, the Buffalo told him he should hold a dance; he was to use four eagle feathers and put one in each of the four buffalo skulls.

Several years later the Buffalo again went to the man and told him to repeat the first Buffalo dance; when, during the following year, the buffaloes came out of the west, there would be a white buffalo in the herd. He should kill it and use its head with the other four. He killed the white buffalo, prepared its skull, and, the following spring, repeated the Buffalo dance. In the dance he used the skull of the white buffalo.

Next year, the Buffalo again went to the man and told him to kill the four Chippewa in the bush. He killed them and brought the scalps home. He tied an eagle feather to each of the buffalo skulls and celebrated the War dance. The Buffalo did not often come to the man and tell him to perform a ceremony.

Later, after he had finished a Buffalo dance, the Buffalo again came to him in a dream, told him he was to go out to fight, saying he would kill only three Chippewa. He went out on a war party. He killed three, exactly the number of the enemy indicated. The Buffalo told him that on each buffalo horn used by him there must be three feathers. He returned home, celebrated the Buffalo dance, and put three eagle feathers on each horn. That was the largest Buffalo dance which the people ever celebrated. He danced for four months. Sometimes he would begin in the morning and dance until noon, begin next day at noon and dance until night, begin the following day in the morning and continue the dance throughout the day. Thus, for four months, he gave the War dance and the Buffalo dance alternately.

Some Dakota say that a man described in another story had performed greater feats than these here recounted, but when he led the war party, most of its members were killed or wounded, and he himself was wounded. However, this man (the hero of this story), brought back every member of the party and was not wounded. In each expedition the Dakota suffered no casualties and killed all the Chippewa. For this reason, some preferred his leadership to that of any other man; they said it was safe enough to go in his party; all knew that every man would return home alive. He assembled the Dakota and told them that he had not, at first, done as the Buffaloes directed; until he was injured by them, he had not believed in their power. He then learned the futility of his disinclination to obey them, for this meant certain punishment. He said one more thing remained to be performed; after that, all of his troubles would end. He said the Buffalo had told him to fight once more and had promised that this would be the last time. He went out to fight and three days later returned with two scalps. He said this was the last thing he had been told to perform. He then held the dance. This man never again said anything about the Buffalo talking to him.

That finishes this story.

Another man, before he was born, had been told by the Buffaloes that, after he came down to live on the earth, he should do a certain thing. After he was born, had grown, and was about 20 years old, he married. A son was born to him. The Buffalo told him to do a certain thing, but he did not do it. A few months after the birth of his boy, when the Buffalo discovered that he did not intend to do as he had been directed, a large herd of buffaloes came into the camp. The man and his wife had made a swing and had laid their little boy in it. The father and the mother swung the swing from either end. A buffalo charged into the midst of the camp. The parents left the child in the swing and ran into their tipi. The buffalo placed its horns under the child, tossed it into the air, and killed it. Later, while the man was wandering about in the woods, weeping over the death of his child, the Buffalo came to him and asked him why he had not done as he had been told; it said the child was killed because the man had failed to follow directions. He had been

told to make a Buffalo dance at the birth of his first son; the Buffaloes, it said, were angry over his disobedience and had warned him. If he still refused to obey, they would kill him.

After the man had witnessed the death of his child, because he had not obeyed the Buffaloes, and the Buffalo had come to him and told him to have the [Buffalo] dance, and had said the Thunders would kill him if he failed to perform it, he gave the dance. He told the people that he had been told long ago to give this dance, had not obeyed, and in punishment his child had been killed. He announced to the men present the reason why his child had been killed. He said that if he failed to do as he was bidden, he would be killed by the Thunders, and he feared to face the lightning. He did not wish to be killed by the Thunders, and he asked the men to assist him. They all gladly helped to prepare for the dance. The man planned to spend the entire fall and winter in preparation for it. Other men helped him prepare the buffalo skulls.

One day, before he had finished the preparations, he was going through the woods, weeping about his child. The Buffalo came to him and told him to go out to fight. He went out on a war party and killed a Chippewa. The Dakota was shot in the back, but did not die. The Buffalo told him to spit out the blood. He continued to spit out the blood until he was rid of all that had come from the wound. When he arrived home, he told his brother to mix red earth in water; he drank this mixture and was cured. Later, after his recovery, when he had prepared everything for the dance, in a dream the Buffalo told him that an old buffalo, the one that had killed his child, would come to the dance. Buffalo directed that they kill this buffalo and take its head and use it in every subsequent dance, for it wished to be in the dance. He was told to celebrate the dance the next morning.

Next morning, they held the dance. The old Buffalo appeared. They killed it and took its head. Ever afterward they used its skull in the Buffalo dance. All the skulls which they used were decorated with weasel skins, beadwork, and eagle feathers.

After the dance, the Dakota announced that all must travel north, until they found a large herd of buffalo. He said the Buffaloes were coming to see the dance, to ascertain whether

he was conducting it properly. Meanwhile, a band of Indians from another tribe was approaching. He advised all the men to make many arrows, have their guns ready, and be prepared with many bullets. They went north and camped when night overtook them. Some of the men rode off to look for buffaloes. They returned with information that a large herd was approaching over the open prairie. There they met the herd of buffalo. They danced every night. They killed all these buffaloes and ate all of the meat.

The day after they held the dance and killed the buffaloes, they went to hunt. They had been warned that they would meet enemies and have a severe fight. Several men were scouting to warn of the approach of the Chippewa. A mounted scout returned to the camp at full speed and announced that a large party of Chippewa was approaching. They killed all of them. Only a few Dakota were killed. The Buffalo had predicted that this would happen; it happened precisely as the Buffalo had foretold.

The man had another dream. [His dreams came at intervals of from two to five years.] All of the other animals grieved over the death of the child; they said that the Buffaloes should not have killed it; that this was not the proper thing to do; they should have warned the man in a dream, or when he was out hunting, and thus have given him another opportunity to comply. They had not done this, they had killed his child, and had not, at the time, told him this was done because of his disobedience. The man did not know what animal had told him these things in his dreams, for, when it appeared to him, it had the form of a man.

He was told to have another dance. Certain animals would come to see it. All of the buffalo skulls were kept on the bare ground, in a circle, in one *wakan* tipi. A stone was in the middle of the tipi. A constant smudge of sweetgrass was maintained there. No woman might go near this tipi. While the Buffalo dance is celebrated, a woman may not come close, but may witness the dance from a distance.

Later he dreamed that the Chippewa came to steal ponies. Next morning he invited an old man to his tipi and told him the dream. He said he wished everyone to watch his own ponies, and asked this old man to warn all of the people. Riding on a pony, the old man went to the tipis and shouted the information about

the man's dream. A little while after sunset, half of the men were guarding their ponies. Eight Chippewa came crawling toward some of the ponies. Throughout the day the Dakota had been prepared for them, for that morning they had been warned of their approach. They pursued the Chippewa and killed every one of them. Whenever he dreamed that animals or Indians other than Dakota would come to see the dance, it was a sign that the Buffalo dance would attract others, and always those who came were killed. This was the interpretation of the first dream, which foretold the coming of the Chippewa.

In another dream, this man was told to travel north, where he would meet a herd of buffalo that were coming to see him perform the dance. Before he went north, however, he was told, Indians from another tribe, who would have no guns for fighting, would come to see the dance. He invited other men to his tipi, as was his wont when he announced his dreams. While he was recounting this dream, a man went out to fight; he saw smoke rising, went toward it, and discovered a party of Chippewa. The Chippewa were on a war party to attack the Dakota, but did not know they were close to the Dakota camp. The man returned and told the Dakota he had seen the Chippewa preparing their meal. They mounted their ponies and rode toward the Chippewa; half of them went in the direction the Chippewa would take if they ran towards home. It was agreed that when one party was well in advance, two shots would be fired, and the other party would try to capture the guns of the Chippewa. The Dakota surrounded and killed all of the enemy. Later they learned that the man's dream, in which he was told that a party of Indians was coming to witness the dance, referred to these Chippewa.

When one is told that animals, buffaloes, or Indians from another tribe are coming to see a dance, this means that the heads of all of the buffaloes which have been killed, and the scalps of the enemy, should be used in the dance. They danced every evening. It was not necessary to go to fight or to hunt, for the dance brought the enemy and animals to the camp. After the men had completed the dance, a Buffalo came to him in a dream and stated that he had told the man these things, although he had never appeared to him plainly in the guise

of a buffalo. He added that when the camp was moved, a large herd of buffaloes, and also some Chippewa, would come to see the dance; the buffaloes would appear first, and the Chippewa later. When they had moved from that locality and had camped elsewhere, as was his custom he invited to his tipi all the men who were members of the Buffalo dance society. An old man made all the announcements on behalf of this man. He announced that all were ready to hold the dance.

The buffaloes came. Early the next morning a man went out to see that everything was all right. He espied the Chippewa coming out of the bush, crawling on hands and knees. He fired two shots, as a signal that the enemy were approaching.

During the night, all the Dakota had been prepared with bows, arrows, and tomahawks. They pursued the Chippewa, killed all of them, and held another dance. [The Buffalo dance was always held after encounters which had been foretold by the Buffalo.] A few years later he had another dream, and again invited all of the members of the Buffalo dance society, and told them his dream; he said he did not fully understand what it meant. This time, therefore, he did not act upon it. Later, in another dream, the Buffalo came to him, told the man he knew he had not been able to comprehend the meaning of the previous dream, and accordingly had come to explain it. This time, instead of the Chippewa's coming to the dancing place, he must go to hunt them. The Buffalo said that when his man led a war party to attack the Chippewa, only he would be wounded; however, he would not die from his wounds. Accordingly, next day, he went with a party to the camp of the Chippewa and fought them, for nearly an entire day. When they killed the last Chippewa, it was almost sunset. No Dakota, except this man, was wounded. He received a wound in the side. He bade the men go home ahead of him and said the Buffalo wished it so; the fight was now over and he would follow them to the camp. The other men set out for the camp and he followed. He met the Buffalo. When he arrived home, he invited a young man to his tipi and asked him to prepare a bowl of water and mix red earth in it. The man smoked, and, with his brother, drank some of the water and was cured. That night he had another dream.

The next morning he invited all the members of the Buffalo dance society and told them the Buffalo said he might now discontinue the dancing, for he was through with the man; the Buffalo said the man would not be in any more battles or in any more dances; that he would live to be very old; that the Buffalo would transform his spirit into a Buffalo, and he would remain among the Buffaloes.

When he was very old, the man told the people he was ready to die and take up his abode among the Buffaloes. After this, he was sick, and died. No one knows any more about him. Most of the Indians say: "I suppose he was born among the Buffaloes." But they do not know.

That ends the story. It must be an old story, for the name of the man is not known.

In a dream, a medicineman was told to hold the Buffalo dance. He did not do so. While he, with some others, was hunting buffaloes, his horse stepped into a hole, not by accident, but because the Buffaloes caused it to do so. It threw the rider, who fell immediately in front of a Buffalo. The Buffalo said to him, "Why did you not do as I told you to do? I will teach you a lesson that will serve hereafter as a reminder that you should do as you are directed." The Buffalo gored him and split open the urethra, so that his testicles hung out. The other men bandaged the wound. The Buffalo did not kill the man; he wanted merely to teach him to obey. The man thought that no punishment would result from his disobedience. He was, however, punished, as related above. The Buffalo gave him the name Susu'wanitci (Without-testicles) and said: "When I am angry, I can do anything I wish to do. You may have my strength from this time on. Whenever you go to fight, you will kill some of the enemy." The man lived a long time, until he was a very old man, blind and deaf.

THE ELK DANCE

In this dance the men who performed were entirely naked, and were painted to resemble the elk. They danced in the evening, however, when it was too dark for them to be distinctly seen, or at least that was the case in all dances of the kind seen by me.¹

¹ Pond, S. W., 1908, 419.

THE BEAR DANCE

... The Indians were engaged in a ceremony called the *Bear Dance*; a ceremony which they are in the habit of performing when any young man is desirous of bringing himself into particular notice, and is considered a kind of initiation into the state of manhood. I went on to the ground where they had their performances, which were ended sooner than usual on account of our arrival. There was a kind of flag made of fawn skin dressed with the hair on, suspended on a pole. Upon the flesh side of it were drawn certain rude figures indicative of the dream which it is necessary the young man should have dreamed, before he can be considered a proper candidate for this kind of initiation; with this a pipe was suspended by way of sacrifice. Two arrows were stuck up at the foot of the pole, and fragments of painted feathers, etc., were strewed about the ground near to it. These pertained to the religious rites attending the ceremony, which consist in bewailing and self-mortification, that the Good Spirit may be induced to pity them, and succour their undertaking.

At the distance of two or three hundred yards from the flag, is an excavation which they call the bears' hole, prepared for the occasion. It is about two feet deep, and has two ditches, about one foot deep, leading across it at right angles. The young hero of the farce places himself in the hole, to be hunted by the rest of the young men, all of whom on this occasion are dressed in their best attire and painted in their neatest style. The hunters approach the hole in the direction of one of the ditches, and discharge their guns, which were previously loaded for the purpose with blank cartridges, at the one who acts the part of the bear; whereupon he leaps from his den, having a hoop in each hand, and a wooden lance, the hoops serving as forefeet to aid him in characterizing his part, and his lance to defend him from his assailants. Thus accoutered he dances round the place, exhibiting various feats of activity, while the other Indians pursue him and endeavor to trap him as he attempts to return to his den, to effect which he is privileged to use any violence he pleases with impunity against his assailants, and even to taking the life of any of them.

This part of the ceremony is performed three times, that the bear may escape from his den and return to it again through three of the avenues communicating with it. On being hunted from the fourth or last avenue, the bear must make his escape through all his pursuers if possible, and flee to the woods, where he is to remain through the day. This, however, is seldom or never accomplished, as all the young men exert themselves to the utmost in order to trap him. When caught he must retire to a lodge erected for his reception in the field, where he is to be secluded from all society through the day, except

one of his particular friends, whom he is allowed to take with him as an attendant. Here he smokes and performs various other rites which superstition has led the Indians to believe are sacred. After this ceremony is ended the young Indian is considered qualified to act any part as an efficient member of their community. The Indian who has had the good fortune to catch the bear and overcome him when endeavoring to make his escape to the woods, is considered a candidate for preferment, and is on the first occasion appointed the leader of a small war party in order that he may further have an opportunity to test his prowess and perform more essential service in behalf of his nation. If (it) is accordingly expected that he will kill some of their enemies and return with their scalps. I regretted very much that I had missed the opportunity of witnessing this ceremony, which is never performed except when prompted by the particular dreams of one or other of the young men, who is never complimented twice in the same manner on account of his dreams.¹

This performance [Making a Bear], like many other things done by the Dakotas, seemed to partake of the nature both of a diversion and of a religious solemnity. The man who represented the bear constructed his den by digging a hole in the earth about two feet deep, with paths leading out from it toward each of the four cardinal points. The den was inclosed with a slight fence, and the bear stayed by it a day or two, going through a certain formula of ceremonies. To lengthen his arms so that he could walk on all fours, he carried hoops in his hands which he used as paws.

On the last day of the play a number of young men gathered around him, having their guns loaded with powder only. When they drew near the den the Bear rushed out and chased them, trying to catch them by clapping the hoops over their heads. This was repeated until he had been out by three of the paths which led from the hole. The fourth time he was chased by the hunters, who fired very near him till he fell, and the farce was ended.²

THE RAW FISH EATERS DANCE

A man had left the camp. A big thunderstorm was approaching. He traveled rapidly, but the storm traveled faster. As he ran, a lightning bolt struck near him. He staggered along, as if drunk. People asked what ailed him. He told them he had been directed to perform the *osa'kawutapi watci'pi* (Raw Fish Eaters dance), had not obeyed, and the lightning had struck close to him, to frighten him. He bade them celebrate the hunting feast.

All of the people in the camp gathered around him. He told them that he had been directed to perform the dance and would do so on the morrow. He said he had been directed in a dream first to hold the hunting feast and then the Raw Fish Eaters dance. He was to procure a club and take it with him when he went on the warpath. He was now preparing to do these things. Preparations were made for the performance of the Raw Fish Eaters dance. The tipi was erected; within it the members of the society prepared themselves for the dance. First they sang the hunting feast song. The man announced that he wanted a fish; he said any kind would do. It should be procured the following morning. He now sang about the catching of this fish. Early the following morning people went to the river and procured the fish. The dance was begun. All those who had dreamed of his dance and had performed it were together, as were, respectively, those who had dreamed of the bear, the wolf, and the fox. Those who had dreamed of raw fish eating took the lead.

They went around the circular ceremonial ground. The opening was toward the east. When they arrived at the opening, they went out and took a bite of the fish. Those who had dreamed of one of the animals mentioned above followed and circled clockwise while they approached the fish. Each participant bit it and tore off a piece, but did not touch the fish with his hands. Those who had dreamed of the dog, did this after the manner of dogs; they grabbed at the meat as a dog does and pulled it to pieces with their teeth. The man who had dreamed of raw fish now took the lead. He carried a birchbark bowl containing water and gray earth. Each time that he bit off a piece of the raw fish he swallowed the piece, without chewing it, tossed his head back, looked upward, and then took a drink from this bowl. He repeated these actions until the fish was consumed and the bowl had been drained. Sometimes those who had dreamed of other animals would remain outside the ceremonial tipi. Occasionally, they would run out of the tipi, bite off a piece of the fish, run in again and continue this for a long time. Sometimes the bear men or the dog men would attempt to run away with the entire fish. If they succeeded in eluding the Raw Fish Eaters and in getting the fish away from the ceremonial ground, the

¹ Long, 1889, 18-20.

² Pond, S. W., 1908, 419.

latter must terminate the dance. A war party invariably follows the celebration of this dance.

The following account is given by Neill:

Not long since a Dakota chief was sick and the gods signified to him that if he would make a *Raw-fish Feast*, he would live till young cranes' wings are grown. So he must make the feast or die. Fifteen or twenty others, who like himself were inspired by the cormorant, joined with him in the ceremonies of the feast, of which the chief was master.

After one or two days spent in "vapor baths" and "armor feasts," a tent is prepared, opening towards the east; the railing extending from the tent is composed of bushes. Within the enclosure each of those who are to participate in the feast has a bush set, in which is his nest. Early in the morning, on the day of the feast, the master informs two others where the fish are to be taken, and sends them forth to spear and bring them in, designating the kind of fish and the number to be taken. On this occasion two pike, each about one foot in length, were taken, and after having been painted with vermilion and ornamented with red down about the mouth and along the back, were laid on some branches in the enclosure, entire as they were taken from the water. Near the fish were placed birch-bark dishes, filled with sweetened water. Their implements of war were solemnly exhibited in the tent, and the dancers, who were naked except for belt, breech-cloth and moccasins, and fantastically painted, and adorned with down, red and white, being in readiness, the singers, of whom there are four ranks, commenced to sing, each rank in its turn. The singing was accompanied with the drum and rattle.

The cormorant dancers danced to the music, having a little season of rest as each rank of singers ended their chant, until the fourth rank struck the drum and made the welkin ring with their wild notes; then, like starving beasts, they tore off pieces of the fish, scales, bones, entrails and all, with their teeth, and swallowed it, at the same time drinking their sweetened water, till both the pike were consumed except the heads and fins and large bones, the latter of which were deposited in the nests. Thus the feast ended, and the chief will of course live till the young cranes can fly. At the close of the ceremony, whatever of clothing is worn on the occasion is offered in sacrifice to the gods.¹

... Dreams, spells and superstitious fears constitute a large part of the belief of the Dakotahs. But of all their superstitious notions the most curious is the one which occasions the dance called *Ho-saw-kah u-tap-pe*, or *Fish dance*, where the fish is eaten raw.

Some days since, an Indian who lives at Shah-

ce-pee's village² dreamed of seeing a cormorant, a bird which feeds on fish. He was very much alarmed, and directed his friend to go out and catch a fish, and to bring the first one he caught to him.

The Indian did so, and the fish, which was a large pike, was painted with blue clay. Preparations were immediately made to celebrate the *Fish dance*, in order to ward off any danger of which the dream might have been the omen.

A circle was formed of brush, on one side of which the Indians pitched a wigwam. The war implements were then brought inside the ring, and a pole stuck up in the centre, with the raw fish, painted blue, hung upon it.

The men then enter the ring, almost naked; their bodies painted black, excepting the breast and arms, which are varied in color according to the fancy of each individual.

Inside the ring is a bush for each dancer; in each bush a nest, made to resemble a cormorant's nest; and outside the ring is an Indian metamorphosed for the occasion into a wolf—that is, he has the skin of a wolf drawn over him, and hoofs fixed to his hands to enable him to run easier on all fours; and in order to sustain the character which he has assumed, he remains outside, lurking about for food.

All being ready, the medicine men inside the wigwam commence beating a drum and singing. This is the signal for all the cormorants (Indians), inside the ring, to commence quacking and dancing and using their arms in imitation of wings, keeping up a continual flapping. Thus for some time they dance up to and around the fish—when the bravest among them will snap at the fish, and if he have good teeth will probably bite off a piece, if not, he will slip his hold and flap off again.

Another will try his luck at this delicious food, and so they continue, until they have made a beginning in the way of eating the fish. Then each cormorant flaps up and takes a bite, and then flaps off to his nest, in which the piece of fish is concealed, for fear the wolves may get it.

After a while, the wolf is seen emerging from his retreat, painted so hideously as to frighten away the Indian children. The cormorants perceive the approach of the wolf, and a general quacking and flapping takes place, each one rushing to his nest to secure his food.

This food each cormorant seizes and tries to swallow, flapping his wings and stretching out his neck as a young bird will when fed by its mother.

After the most strenuous exertions they succeed in swallowing the raw fish. While this is going on, the Wolf seizes the opportunity to make a snap at the remainder of the fish, seizes it with his teeth, and makes his way out of the ring, as fast as he can, on

¹ Neill, 1872b, 283.

² On the Minnesota River near Minneapolis (W.D.W.).

all fours. The whole of the fish, bones and all, must be swallowed; not the smallest portion of it can be left, and the fish must only be touched by the mouth—never with the hands. This dance is performed by the men alone—their war implements must be sacred from the touch of women.

Such scenes are witnessed every day at the Dakotah villages. The missionary sighs as he sees how determined is their belief in such a religion. . . .

A few years ago every Dacotah woman revered the fish-dance as holy and sacred—even too sacred for her to take a part in it.¹

About the last of May, 1849, the Dahkotahs of the Kaposia band, just below St. Paul, performed one of their peculiar ceremonies. A short distance from their lodges they formed an elliptical enclosure with willow bushes stuck in the ground. In the centre was placed a large buffalo fish on some green fern, and a cat-fish on a bunch of dry grass. A small arbour was placed over the fish. At one end of the enclosure was a *tēēpēē*, in which were men singing Hah-yay, Hah-yay, Hoh, Hoh, Hoh, Hoh-ah. Soon six men and three boys issued with bent bodies and long, dishevelled hair, who moved around the enclosure, keeping their faces as much as possible in the direction of the fishes. Then a tall man, of threescore years, painted entirely black, appeared with a small hoop in each hand, walking "on all fours," and howling like a bear. Entering the enclosure of willow branches, he moved around as if scenting something. While thus occupied, two more made their appearance smeared all over with white clay, one representing a grizzly bear, the other, with a tail suspended from his breech cloth, and body bent, represented a wolf. The other Indians danced and sang for two or three hours, while these men as beasts prowled around the fishes, pawing, snuffing at them, and then retreating. At last one of the bears crept up to one of the fish, and, after much growling, bit off a piece, and went round the ellipse chewing. The other bear then bit the remaining fish. These signals caused all the dancers to follow, and flesh, fins, bones, and entrails were all devoured without being touched by the hands. The sacred men also prayed to the spirits of the fish, and the object of the feast, was supposed to be, to induce a change of weather.²

This feast [the Feast of Raw Fish] if it could be so named, was celebrated only when it was revealed to some one that it was absolutely necessary, which was not very often, for the Dakotas were not fond of raw fish nor raw flesh of any kind. It required some time to prepare for this ceremony. The chief actors, those who devoured the fish, represented beasts and birds of prey. Some personated wolves, bears, foxes,

etc.; and others hawks, cormorants, and other rapacious birds. Those who represented quadrupeds, finding their arms too short for legs, lengthened them by holding short sticks in their hands. Each assumed the appearance and imitated the manner, as well as he could, of the beast, or bird which he represented. They also attempted to imitate their voices, and in this some of them succeeded very well; for it is a part of their craft, as hunters and warriors, to learn to mimic the voices of birds and beasts. Those who assumed the character of birds used pipes or whistles, made for the occasion.

At the only performance of this kind witnessed by the writer, they had two pike, weighing three or four pounds apiece, painted blue, and lying on the ground, inclosed by a slight fence. The beasts and birds walked about the pen, often approaching it as though anxious to get the fish, and as often starting back in alarm, until at last, a signal being given, they all pounced upon the fish. As beasts and birds have no hands, they devoured them without touching them with anything but their mouths. Their teeth were sharp and their jaws strong, and the fish soon disappeared, bones and all. There was less danger in swallowing the bones than there would have been had the fish been cooked, for the flesh adhered to them firmly and they were swallowed with it.

Any one, after reading this account, will be ready to conclude that the tastes of the Dakotas were brutish, and that their stomachs would revolt at nothing; but it was as beasts, not as men, that they ate the raw fish. They did it as a religious duty, to secure a benediction or avert a calamity; or perhaps some shared in the ceremony to show that they could do what others could do. Not one of the performers on that occasion could have been induced to swallow a raw oyster, or probably not even one that was cooked. I suppose they did not relish the dish set before them, for one of them slyly showed me a bitter herb which he put in his mouth just before the attack on the fish commenced. The Dakotas were not eaters of raw flesh, and if some of them did sometimes swallow bits of the flesh of their enemies, as was reported, it was done in a spirit of bravado, or in the madness of excitement. I have seen a Frenchman, when very hungry, eat the raw flesh of a muskrat; but he was sharply rebuked for it by a Dakota, and probably few of them would have done it except in case of absolute necessity.³

THE RAW DOG EATERS

In a fight a man was wounded severely. The survivors of the party went to him, intending to carry him home; but marking the gravity of his condition and believing him nearly dead, they decided to watch over him until he died.

¹ Eastman, 1849, 77-79.

² Neill, 1882, 501-502.

³ Pond, S. W., 1908, 415-416.

Later they abandoned him [for dead ?] and returned to the camp. During the night a bear came to the man. The bear took hold of him and repeatedly turned him over on his back and on his face, until he revived. The bear breathed into his mouth and told him he was now alive. The bear held him and alternately forced him to sit erect and lie on his back, until he was able to sit erect. The bear then gave him similar treatment, to enable him to stand, and continued until the man could stand. It then tried to make the man walk. He fell over; the bear picked him up, and this continued until the man could walk. The bear asked the man why he had not announced his dream and said that if he had wished the man to die, he would not now be caring for him, but would have allowed him to die.

A man in the camp sat up, summoned the wounded man's little girl, and told her that her father was coming home. The girl went to meet him. All his friends were weeping and mourning for him. The man arrived home, told them what the bear had done, and narrated all that had happened. He said that when the bear was turning him over and over, he thought the Chippewa were taking his scalp. Later he learned that it was the bear. He told them how the bear made him sit up and then walk and declared the bear had restored him to life. The bear told the man that when he reached home and had recovered, as soon as he was able to do so he should kill a dog and eat it raw. The man killed his dog and ate it raw. He killed it by tightening a thong about its neck until he choked it. When the dog was dead, he placed it on the ground which he had smoothed with a stone. The man said he would eat the dog as a bear would eat it. He approached it growling, like a bear. He stuck his fingers into its flesh every time he bit off a mouthful, as a bear inserts its claws. Soon he had eaten the dog's flesh, leaving only the bones; these were as clean as if they had been scraped. He then strangled another dog, left its body on the ground, saying that he gave this to the bear. When the man had finished eating the raw dog, he said his name would be Shot-in-the-ribs (Tcu'iopi).

DOG LIVER EATERS DANCE

A man built a tipi some distance from the others. People asked one another how he would

use this tipi. Someone was heard to declare that it was the tipi of the Dog Liver Eaters. When preparations were made, they killed a large dog. All of the young men who had had no sexual intercourse during the preceding four days were invited to join them. A large number participated.

The Dog Liver Eaters were stripped naked, their entire bodies, faces, and limbs were covered with black earth, and a red stripe was drawn around the mouth and over the sternum. When the leader began the dance, he announced that a big thunderstorm was approaching. Some of the participants, upon hearing this, were frightened, as were even some of the singers. The leader, to reassure them, bade them have no fear, for the Thunders were coming to see him perform the dance; and, unless he danced outside the shelter, they would kill him.

He bade them have no uneasiness about the rain, for it would pass around, and none would fall on them. The dance was held. Not a drop of water fell on the performers; the storm passed to one side. They danced for two days, and, from time to time, shifted the ceremonial ground until they had encircled the entire camp. At one place, and later at another, a man would kill a dog, remove the liver, and place this at the end of a stick which was set up in the ground. The leader of the dance blew a medicine which he held in his mouth over the liver, so that the participants would find its taste agreeable. At the end of the two days, when the dance was over, the leader announced that he had performed it because he intended to take a party of men out to hunt.

In the autumn they went out to hunt. The first one to kill a deer had been a participant in the dance. He brought the deer to the camp, painted it red, and left it on the ground for the dogs and the thunderbirds to eat. He then went away. When, later, he returned, so many dogs and thunderbirds surrounded it that he could not see the deer. After this, he procured plenty of game every time he hunted.

The Dog dance, Neill says, is seldom performed.

... A dog being thrown into the midst of the crowd of dancers, is speedily "tomahawked" by one of the sacred men. The liver is then extracted and cut into slices, after which it is hung upon a pole. Now the dancers hop around, their mouths apparently water-

ing with the desire for a bite. After a time some one dances up to the pole and takes a mouthful of the raw liver. He is then succeeded by others, until the whole is devoured. If another dog is thrown into the circle, the same process is repeated.¹

The "dog dance" is held by the Sioux in great reverence, . . .

The Chippeways, with their chief, "Hole in the Day," were down on a visit, and the prairie outside the fort [Fort Snelling] was covered with Indians of both tribes. The Chippeways sat on the grass at a little distance, watching the Sioux as they danced, "to show how brave they were, and how they could eat the hearts of their enemies." . . .

The Sioux warriors formed a circle; in the center was a pole fastened in the ground. One of the Indians killed a dog, and, taking out the heart and liver, held them for a few moments in a bucket of cold water, and then hung them to the pole. After awhile, one of the warriors advanced towards it, barking. His attitude was irresistibly droll; he tried to make himself look as much as possible like a dog, and I thought he succeeded to admiration. He retreated, and another warrior advanced with a different sort of bark; more joined in, until there was a chorus of barking. Next, one becomes very courageous, jumps and barks towards the pole, biting off a piece of the flesh; another follows and does the same feat. One after another they all bark and bite. "Let dogs delight" would have been an appropriate melody for the occasion. They had to hold their heads back to swallow the morçeau—it was evidently hard work. Several dogs were killed in succession, when seeing some of the warriors looking pale and deadly sick, Captain E. determined to try how many of their enemies' hearts they could dispose of. He went down among the Indians and purchased another dog. They could not refuse to eat the heart. It made even the bravest men sick to swallow the last mouthful—they were pale as death. I saw the last of it, and although John Gilpin's ride might be a desirable sight, yet when the Sioux celebrate another dog feast, "may I not be there to see."²

WAKAN A TCI'PI (HOLY DANCE)

The *wakan a tci'pi* is one of the most honorable societies. The man or woman who is taken into its membership is exhorted not to drink whisky, not to fight or abuse anyone in any way, and not to slam the door of any house. He is given a wooden plate and is told to take care of it and of his medicines. He is told that if this injunction is disregarded, he will have a short

life; he will become ill and will die, or an accident will result in his death; and the dwellers in the Dakota land of the dead will not allow his spirit to enter their realm. If he obeys the injunction, and heeds all the instructions, he will have a long life, will be strong always, and will live to old age. This is the full content of the *wakan a tci'pi* instructions.

The membership is large. At a meeting there are four groups which sing in rotation. A fighting expedition is not sent out after a meeting of this society and participants do not strip naked, as in other dances. Frequently, the old men compare these meetings to church services: as many whites do not join the church, so many Dakota, lest they deceive Wakantaka, to whom they pray, do not join the *wakan a tci'pi*. If they join and fail in their higher duties, they thereby make fools of themselves and will soon die.

The average number of songs which belong to each group is stated to be about 12. This is certainly an underestimate, for one group, it is said, has more than 100 songs, and other groups have more than 40 each. The members of one group may possibly know the songs of another group, but may not sing them, unless requested to do so by the group to which the songs belong. Each group has both men and women members. The maker of the feast chooses four old men, each to lead the respective groups in the singing. These four men in turn select from their respective groups individuals to assist in the singing; they also determine the order in which the groups will sing. There seems to be no constant number of groups. A member may not shift from one group to another.

A member who has been excluded from a meeting may, nevertheless, attend the dance. Some say a member cannot be permanently expelled from the society. If he has left his plate, his medicine bundle, or his rattle lying about carelessly, he may be excluded from the next meeting; or if he has quarreled or has fought with someone, the offender will be removed by the marshal, who goes to him and ushers him out. If this is to be done, the leader instructs the marshal to that effect; the leader must have the damaging information. The offender is compelled to stand near the pole; the marshal goes to him, informs him why he is expelled from the meeting, and announces to those assembled that whoever is

¹ Neill, 1872b, 282.

² Eastman, 1849, xiii-xiv.

guilty of a similar offence will be treated similarly. Before his withdrawal, the offender is warned and admonished; he is asked whether he remembers the instructions given by the leader when he joined and is told that he may attend the next meeting. He is then expelled forthwith, in the presence of members and onlookers, to make him ashamed, so that he will not repeat the offence. The clothing worn for the dance is removed and handed to the offender, with the remark that he is not worthy to attend the meeting; he is then removed. This severity of treatment is supposed to prevent a repetition of the offence.

The meeting may be held either during the day or at night. Dancing starts when the group begins to sing and lasts until the four groups have sung their songs. If this is at night, they will then stop, return to their homes, and resume the dance at sunrise, next morning, while facing east. The drum used is smaller than that used in the War dance.

When the earth was made, and the Dakota had come to it, Wakantaka told them to hold this dance. It is performed now exactly as it was performed then. There is considerable insistence that this performance is the Dakota way of making people virtuous, "Just as the white man baptizes with water to make people good"; and some associate it with prayers to Wakantaka. The most loyal church members among the Canadian Dakota are, as later also discovered, the most ardent members of this organization and its most zealous supporters against interference or even information about it.

A man who had made the *wakan a tci'pi* gave the following account of it:

"I was alone about 2 miles south of the river, cutting hay. I sat down, filled my pipe, and smoked. Before I had finished it, I felt tired and sleepy, went over into the shade, lay down, and slept. Someone came to me, roused me, and said I was invited to a certain place. I awoke and looked around to see who had been speaking, but could see no one. After this occurrence, I became frightened and nervous. I unhitched the horses and started home. On the way home, I felt sleepy and tired, as I had felt while I was in the field. I was given a meal, but I was not hungry, merely sleepy and drowsy. People came to the house and asked me how I had progressed with the hay-making.

"I paid no attention to them, for I constantly wanted to lie down and sleep. Their questions merely annoyed me. After I had come home and gone to sleep, my wife knew something was wrong with me, and went to secure the services of a medicineman. The medicineman came, sang songs over me, and asked me whether I had fallen asleep while I was cutting hay. I told him I had done so. He bade me kill a dog, paint blue spots on it, and place its body by the river. I became no worse, but from that day on I was sick throughout the fall, winter, spring, and summer. About a year after this first sickness I invited the medicineman who had previously told me of my failure to perform the Sun dance. Only one thing would bring about my recovery, he said; I must make the *wakan a tci'pi*. If I should do this, I would recover. When I was about to perform this ceremony, a man came to me in a dream and said I had been told to perform the *wakan a tci'pi*, immediately after performing the Sun dance, but I had not done so. I had had no dream and no one had told me about it; consequently, I did not know that I was expected to perform it. This person said I need have no fear of dying; all of the powers had sent him to tell me to get 12 pots, kill a cow, cut it up, and cook it in these 12 pots. That was all this person told me in the dream. I went to town and traded one of my horses for a cow. After I had brought it home, the ground was prepared, the cow was skinned, butchered, and cooked in 12 pots. We ate the flesh during the night while we danced. I told the people I had been instructed to perform the ceremony earlier, but had not understood this, and my sickness was the result of my non-performance. After performing the *wakan a tci'pi*, I would improve. I believed this, because a man had come to me in a dream, had told me to cook meat in 12 pots, and had said that if I should do this, I would get well. I announced this to all of the people in the *wakan a tci'pi*. A few weeks afterward, I improved, and since that time I have not been sick.

"Young men who served as marshals prepared the meat, brought the wood, started the fire for cooking it, and two women who were not members of the society served as cooks. I announced that there were 12 pots and that the meat in four of them should be eaten during the dance; the meat in four should be divided among all the members of the society, and the

contents of the remaining four pots should be given to the marshals. I placed one pot close to the drum and left the other three over the fire. When the drum was moved to another group, I took another pot to it, and repeated, until a pot had been carried to each of the four groups of singers. The contents of the other four pots were divided among the group that did not sing. The group to which I belonged received no pot. The four groups that sang sat in the big tipi."

Twelve marshals are present at every meeting of the *wakan a tci'pi*. They preserve order and see that proper attention is given the proceedings. They announce to the assemblage the names of those who have been guilty of a breach of any rule of the society since the last meeting. They say, for example, that such a one has caused trouble, or has quarreled, and is not a proper person to be in the society. Those whose names are then announced are expelled from that meeting, in the presence of the people.

They also take from the offenders the medicine bundles and all the *wakan a tci'pi* regalia, that is to say, anything given them at the first meeting which they attended; these articles remain in the custody of the head marshal. If an offender wishes to be reinstated, he must re-purchase these regalia by a payment of blankets, horses, and so on, and promise to conduct himself properly during the remainder of his life. A person who has been twice removed may not be reinstated.

According to a Chippewa story, the *Ow-wah-see-chee* (no doubt the *wakan a tci'pi*) originated with them after a band of this tribe had been encountered and exterminated by the Dakota. They were directed to build a dance house in which the Remembrance of Religion dance was to be performed by strong young men who had no physical blemish, men who had practised, prayed, and denied themselves all pleasures for 80 days.

This dance was to continue four, seven, or twenty-one days, to the accompaniment of the drum and songs of praise to the manitou, while all the people feasted and made offerings of the smoke of tobacco and the steam of cooked food, beginning with the offering of a white dog.¹

The dance then spread to the Pottawatomies (so the story goes), the Kickapoos, the Osage, Sacs and Foxes, Iowa and Oto.²

In 1914, the *wakan a tci'pi* at Portage La Prairie had a membership of seven men and six women. No young person may be a member of this society. Four days after initiation, the new member gives a feast to all the members. At this feast the initiate is taught the prayers to the sun, trees, water, stone, grass, and other powers, and is instructed in the use of the various medicines. They are told that they may not steal, quarrel, or fight; that they must learn all of the songs belonging to this society.

The instruction regarding prayer to the powers and knowledge of medicines is imparted by the oldest four men. At the death of a member, his or her brother, or, in lieu of him, any member who volunteers, holds a feast at which he distributes the property of the deceased. This is given to various members, but the nearest relatives receive the larger share. A feast is given when a new member enters to take a place left vacant by death, that is, about one year after the decease. This feast lasts four nights. On such occasions the society meets in a long tipi, at both ends of which sacred oak poles are erected. Opposite the entrance sit the drummers; behind them, in the rear of the tipi, are the closest relatives of the deceased. The remainder are in four groups, two groups on each side of the tipi. The drum is handed to each of these groups in turn, and the members of the respective groups encircle the two poles four successive times. Early during the first evening of the dance, while the policemen are arranging the tipi, the members meet to decide the order in which the respective groups will sing; the group representing the relatives of the deceased always sings first. This meeting is summoned by an announcement from the proper relative or friend of the deceased stating that he will hold the feast and the dance. There is no leader or other officer; when occasion demands, any member may call a meeting by announcing the date to the other members. Before the feast, the feast maker presents an article that was owned by the dead member—for example, a blanket, clothes, or moccasins—to a non-member, and asks him to act as guard during the dance and to procure

¹ Owen, 1908, 323.

² Owen, 1904, 41-50.

assistants. This person and his assistants arrange the large tipi for the dance and, a short distance from it and immediately in front of the entrance, erect a small circular tipi. It is their duty to see that no outsider interferes or trespasses. Outsiders may view the dance, but may not enter the ground enclosed by the tipi. The policemen erect the two poles, made of young oaks 3 or 4 inches in diameter. The person who gives the feast procures them and takes them to the ground where they are to be used. When the tipi is taken down, they are left standing. Members and relatives take positions as indicated below:

R	Members		
e			
l			
a			
t	Pole	Pole	Tipi of policemen
i			
v			
e			
s	Members		

In one house the writer was shown a flat board 2 feet long by 6 to 7 inches wide, on which were incised a number of figures, representing a song of the *wakan a tci'pi*. It belonged to the society and was kept by one of the women members, in whose absence it was shown me. There were some 15 to 20 of these figures on each side of the board. They included a deer, a reindeer, a porcupine (?), lightning, an otter (?), several etchings of men and women, a cross of zigzag lines, indicating, I was told, the four cardinal points, and referring also to the winds; and many others of which my hasty clandestine scrutiny left me no clear remembrance. Neither of the two young men present with me at that time were members of the society. The songs are kept secret and I learned no details about them. Probably we were observed at this time, or in a later examination of regalia which belonged to the War dance society, for, almost immediately after leaving the house and the settlement, I was adjured by an angry Indian to return home—I was a bad man. He summoned two others who were working nearby, one of them the president of the War dance society, and held a brief animated discussion with them, accompanying it with much gesticulation and pointing toward myself and the house which I had left. These men, after asking me the time, and saying they always stopped

work about 15 minutes before 6 o'clock, went toward the settlement. Previously I had been told that some people in the settlement did not take kindly to my presence there, resented my interest in Dakota affairs, and declared that ill would come of it.

At another time I was shown a beaded collar and tie, in the style of European clothes, worn about the neck by a member of the Medicine or Holy society. It was evidently comparatively new. It contained the usual floral designs in color.

... the Wakan society or "medicine lodge" is not common to all the Dakotas. The eastern Dakotas may have received it from their neighbors, the Ojibways, Winnebagoes, Sacs, or Foxes, all of whom had it. It is a sacred society, the free masonry of the Indians, and, as the writer was never initiated into its mysteries, he will not pretend to reveal its secrets.

In justice to the members of the society, it is perhaps proper to say that they, like members of other secret societies, affirmed that all that was done among them in secret was very good. Those who were received into this society paid liberal fees for admission, and received bags made of the entire skin of small animals or birds, containing some little things which they were taught to consider of great value. Besides the wakan-bag and its contents, they received instruction and advice, which was said to be very good, but probably the most that they learned was the proper manner of performing the ceremonies and maintaining the credit of the society. New bags were not always provided for the candidates, but such as had belonged to deceased members of the lodge were given to their descendants or others. Some who applied for admission were rejected, but for what reason I cannot tell, as the lodge was composed of all sorts of persons, comprising in its membership some of the worst and some of the best.

The ceremonies attending the wakan-dance were in part the most imposing and in part the most absurd of any witnessed among the Dakotas. This dance was not held very often, but generally as often as two or three times each year at each village. There seems to have been no rule requiring it to be celebrated always when it was, for I have heard Dakotas complain at times that it was held too often.

Much food was first collected as a preliminary, without which nothing could be done. In the winter I have known them to contribute the breasts of deer to one who gave notice that he intended to hold a dance in the spring.

A smooth, dry place was selected and inclosed by setting stakes around it four or five feet in height,

and tents were then hung on the poles or stakes. The inclosure was eight or ten rods long and twenty or thirty feet wide, and the fence so low that the spectators could look over it. At one end of the inclosed space a large shelter was constructed by putting several tents together, so arranged that the side toward the dancing-ground was always open during the dance. This tent was headquarters of the principal men and women, for the lodge was composed of both sexes in about equal numbers. It was occupied a day or two before the dance commenced, for the purpose of receiving candidates and performing such other occult services as were necessary.

When the day for the dance arrived, a number of large kettles, filled with choice food, were hung over a fire at the end of the enclosure, opposite the tent, and persons were appointed to attend to them during the day.

Before the dance began, most of the dancers arranged themselves in two rows or lines, one on each side of the inclosed area, with their backs to the fence, and holding their wakan-bags in their hands. They were without their blankets but arrayed in their best apparel, except the newly initiated, who, if they were males, were painted black and wore only their breech-cloths. Not a smile was to be seen on their faces, nor was a light word spoken by them during the performance.

The time was measured by a drum and vocal music, and in the intervals of the dance short speeches or invocations were made by some of the leaders. The ball was opened by a few, who passed down from the tent in front of one of the lines, crossed over near the kettles, and returned in front of the other line. They trotted rather than danced, taking short, quick steps, and bending forward. They held the wakan-bag or medicine-sack before them, grasping the neck in front with the right hand, the other end being held in the left hand close to the side of the performer, so that the head of the skin was held pointing forward. At every step each one uttered a sort of grunt, and their whole appearance while dancing formed a mixture of the hideous and ludicrous which might have been amusing if it had not been disgusting.

After the persons who led off the dance had passed up and down the lines a few times, they suddenly turned, one after another, and each touched on the breast, with the head of the bag, one of those who stood in the lines. The one who was touched, uttering a groan or shriek, fell suddenly on his or her face headlong on the ground, and, after lying apparently lifeless a minute or so, began slowly to recover, raised himself or herself a little on the hands, and succeeded, after several convulsive efforts, in coughing up a little shell or bean.

This person then arose, and after trotting around the circle a while, touched one who fell and did as he

had done. Whenever one had shot down another, he took his place in line and stood still till he was shot again. The process of touching with the sack they termed "shooting."

In this way the dance could be kept up a great while, for when one was weary he had only to call out another and take his place among those who were resting. It was left to the option of each one to touch whom he pleased, and, as no one knew when his turn would come, all had to be ready to fall at any time. Some dropped as though they had been shot, but others, especially the older ones, were more careful of themselves in falling. It seemed strange that persons who had so keen a sense of the ludicrous, and such a dread of appearing ridiculous, could have been persuaded to make such an exhibition. Theirs, however, were not the only worshipping assemblies in which the solemn and ridiculous have been mingled together.

But the ludicrous part of the wakan-dance was not the worst of it. It was a deception or an attempt to deceive, for they would have the bystanders believe that, when the bag touched them, the shell, or whatever it was, passed through their breasts into their bodies and was afterwards coughed up. They claimed that they did not fall voluntarily, but were shot down. Doubtless many of the spectators found it difficult to believe such palpable absurdities, but there was nothing to be gained by publishing their skeptical thoughts, for it was not a light thing to incur the displeasure of some of the wakan-men. If their incantations were harmless, their poisons were not, though they threatened to do more harm than they really did. Probably many of the dancers did not expect that what was said about the shell would be universally received as true, for when I ventured to banter some of them about it, their only answer was a good-natured laugh. As with the pagan nations of ancient times, so with them, superstitions and recreations were so mingled that it was difficult to separate them, and to tell when they were serious and when in sport.

The dance, with short intervals of rest, was kept up from morning till near night, and then came the feast. The food was of the best they could procure, the dancers were hungry, and doubtless the feast was as acceptable to them as a royal banquet to those who fare sumptuously every day. The spectators looked on with wishful eyes, and perhaps the sight of the feast, from which they were excluded, induced some of them to become members of the Wakan society for the sake of the good cheer.

These festivals were great occasions, often drawing together nearly all the population of two or three villages. The dancing-ground was always surrounded by a host of spectators, who, aware of the solemnity of the occasion, observed the strictest decorum. In a later period whiskey was sometimes drunk at

wakan-dances, but the practice was severely repressed by many of the Dakotas, although perhaps it was not more incongruous and unseemly than the Christmas carousals which some of them had opportunities of observing among their white neighbors.¹

Less ceremonious wakan-feasts [that is, less ceremonious than those accompanying the Wakan dance] were very common, and might be made by anyone at any time. If food was plentiful, several feasts of this kind might be in progress at the same time in a camp or village. When a man prepared to make a wakan-feast, the women and children left the tent and stayed in some neighboring tent till it was over. The food was divided as equally as possible into a number of portions, corresponding to the number of guests to be invited. Each of these portions was usually as large as one could conveniently eat at one time. Several men were sent for to assist in the ceremonies, and while the food was being cooked two or more were engaged in praying, or rather wailing in loud recitative tones. They called it praying, but the word to pray is derived from the word weep, and in these feasts they wept rather than prayed. The devotional exercises were continued most of the time while the food was being prepared.

When the feast was ready, a messenger went around and invited each of the guests in a low tone of voice. The one who was invited carried his own dish with him to the feast, where, after some preliminary ceremonies, such as fumigating the hands and knives with the smoke of cedar leaves, the master of the feast gave to each one a portion which he must eat up there and then or otherwise pay a forfeit. Generally the present given to the master of the feast by those who failed to devour the portion set before them was some such thing as a pair of leggings or cloth for a shirt. None of the food might be carried away, and the bones were carefully collected and thrown into the water. If the portions of food given at these feasts were unreasonably large, the guests complained of the imposition.

After the feast was ended, as the guests withdrew, each one, when he reached the door, turned and saluted all who were left in the tent, addressing each individually, and, if a relative, by the title indicating the relationship, as "my cousin," "my brother-in-law," etc. This parting salutation was a trying ordeal for some, and I have seen young and bashful women very much embarrassed on such occasions.

As already remarked, these feasts were very frequent. When they were killing deer in abundance many ate little except at wakan-feasts. The hunters, returning hungry from hunting, often abstained a while from eating, lest, after taking supper, they should be called to a feast and be unable to eat what

was set before them. When hungry they were glad to be invited, but, when not hungry, I have known them to go very reluctantly and not without valid reason for their reluctance, because they must gorge themselves like boa constrictors or give some present which perhaps they could not well spare, as these were debts which they felt themselves under religious obligation to pay.

Food that was needed in the family was often lavishly expended in these feasts, sometimes when the owner would gladly have saved it for his own use if he could have done so without injury to his reputation, but he wished to be as generous as his neighbors and was ashamed to eat of their food while they never tasted of his. He wanted to make as good a show of ability as others, and, prompted by generosity or vanity, incurred greater expense often than his means would justify.

I once heard a discussion between a Dakota and his wife, concerning the expediency of making a feast. The man was in favor of it, but the woman demurred on the ground that they could not afford it. This the husband admitted, was true, but said that they had made no feast that winter, and had feasted with others without inviting them in return till he was ashamed to do it any longer. The mother-in-law voted for the feast, and it was made. Are such consultations ever heard except in the tents of the Dakotas?

They thought their success in hunting was greatest when they made wakan-feasts most frequently, which was probably true, but they may have mistaken the cause for the effect. It seems probable that they first made use of these supplications in times of great scarcity of provisions, and if their wants seemed to be supplied in answer to their prayers they would be likely to renew their supplications in all times of extremity, till they finally came to regard their frequent repetitions as essential to their welfare. The prayers of the wakan-feast were addressed to Unkteri, the mammoth, whose worship was noted on a preceding page.²

The onktehi, immediately after the production of the earth and men, to promote his own worship among them, gave to the Indians the medicine sack, and instituted the medicine dance. He ordained that the sack should consist of the skin of the otter, the raccoon, the weazel, the squirrel, the loon, one variety of fish, and of serpents. It was also ordained that the sack should contain four species of medicines, of wakan qualities, which should represent fowls, medicinal herbs, medicinal trees, and quadrupeds. The down of the female swan represents the first and may be seen at the time of the dance, inserted in the nose of the sack. Grass roots represent the second, bark from the root of trees the third, and

¹ Pond, S. W., 1908, 409-412.

² Pond, S. W., 1908, 412-414.

hair from the back or head of a buffalo, the fourth. These are carefully preserved in the sack.

From this combination proceeds a wakan influence so powerful, that no human being, unassisted, can resist it.

At the institution of the dance, the god prepared a tent, four square, opening towards the east, with an extended court in front, and selecting four men for initiation, proceeded to instruct and prepare them for the reception of the mysteries. The rules of conduct which he gave them, were that "they should honor and revere the medicine sack, honor all who should belong to the dance, make frequent medicine feasts, refrain from theft, not listen to birds (slander), and female members should not have a plurality of husbands." The sum of the good promised to the faithful, was "honor from members of the institution, frequent invitations to the feast, abundance of food, with supernatural assistance to consume it, and long life here, with a red dish and spoon in the life to come."

The evils threatened against the unfaithful were as follows: "If unfaithful you cannot escape detection and punishment. If you enter the forest to hide yourself, the black owl is there, if you descend into the earth serpents are there; if you flee into the air the eagle will pursue you and if you go into the water there I am."

The candidates thus instructed and charged were placed in the center of the tent to receive the tonwan of the sack, discharged at them by the god himself. It is said that they perished under the operation.

After consulting with his goddess, the god holding up his left hand, and patterning on the back of it with the other, produced myriads of little shells, whose virtue is to restore life to those who have been slain by the tonwan of the sack. [Each of the members of the medicine dance is thought to have one of these shells in his body.] After taking this precaution, the god selected four other candidates and repeated the experiment of initiation with success, following the discharge from the sack immediately with the shell cast into the vital parts, at the same time chanting the following words:

Najin wo, Najin wo,
Mitonwan skatapi do.
Najin wo, najin wo,
Chorus: Haya haya
Haya haya

TRANSLATION

Rise on your feet, rise on your feet,
My tonwan is for sport
Rise on your feet, rise on your feet.

Such, it is believed, was the origin of the medicine dance.

There are no officers, or superiority of rank, except that of age and experience, known in this pagan institution. The dance is celebrated; first, on account of the death of one of its members whose sack is given to a near relative of the deceased; second, when a new sack is to be conferred on one who desires to become a member and who has proved himself worthy of the honor by making medicine feasts, and rendering due honor to the members, and third, in the performance of a vow.

It is required of a candidate for admission that he go through the ceremony of the "vapor bath" once each day, four days in succession. In the meantime some of the aged members instruct him in the mysteries of the institution, in imitation of the course of its author as already related. Besides, he is provided with a dish and spoon, both of wood. On the side of the dish is often carved the head of some voracious animal, in which resides the spirit of Iya—the god of gluttony. The dish will contain eight to ten quarts, or more, and is always carried by its owner to the medicine feast, and he is bound to eat all that is put in it, or pay a fine to the maker of the feast. A woman came to the writer on one occasion and asked for calico to make a short gown. She said she had lately had seven new ones, but had lost them all at medicine feasts, where she was unable to empty her dish. Grey Iron, of the Black Dog band, used to possess a dish on which was carved a bear entire, indicating that he could eat as much as a bear. The candidate is also instructed in the manner of painting his body for the dance. This paint is nearly all the covering he wears for the occasion. He must always paint in the same manner for the ceremony of the dance. There is said to be wakan virtue in this paint, and the manner of its application, and those who have not been furnished with a better, by a war prophet, wear it into battle.

The candidate being thus prepared, and having made the requisite offerings for the benefit of the institution, on the evening of the day which precedes the dance, is taken in charge by ten or more of the more substantial brothers, who pass the night in devotional exercises, such as chanting, dancing, exhorting, eating, and smoking. Early in the morning, the tent, in form like that which the god first erected for the purposes, is thrown open for the dance. The members assemble, painted and ornamented, each bringing his medicine sack.¹

Neill says that those who wish to become medicinemen must be initiated through the Medicine dance. This dance owes its institution to "Oanktayhee, the patron of Medicine men." He quotes from the newspaper, *The Dakota Friend*, the following description of it:

¹ Pond, G. H., 1889, 222-226.

When a member is received into this Society, it is his duty to take the hot bath four days in succession. In the mean time, some of the *elders* of the society instruct him in the mysteries of the medicine, and Wahmnoo-hah—shell in the throat. He is also provided with a dish (*wojute*) and spoon. On the side of the dish is sometimes carved the head of some voracious animal, in which resides the spirit of Eeyah (glutton god). This dish is always carried by its owner to the Medicine Feast, and it is his duty, ordinarily, to eat all which is served up in it. Grey Iron has a dish which was given him at the time of his initiation, on the bottom of which is carved a bear complete. The candidate is also instructed with what paints and in what manner he shall paint himself, which must always be the same when he appears in the dance. There is supernatural virtue in this paint and the manner in which it is applied, and those who have not been furnished with a better by the regular war prophets, wear it into battle as a life preserver. The bag contains besides, the claws of animals from the toanwan of which they can, it is believed, inflict painful diseases and death on whomsoever and whenever they desire.

The candidate being thus duly prepared for initiation, and having made the necessary offerings for the benefit of the institution, on the evening of the day previous to the dance, a lodge is prepared, and from ten to twenty of the more substantial members pass the night in singing, dancing, and feasting. In the morning, the tent is opened for the dance. After a few appropriate ceremonies preliminary to the grand operation, the candidate takes his place on a pile of blankets which he has contributed for the mysterious operation naked except the breech-cloth and moccasins, duly painted and prepared for the mysterious operation. An elder having been stationed in the rear of the novice, the master of the ceremonies, with his knee and hip joints bent to an angle of about forty-five degrees, advances with an unsteady, unnatural step, with his bag in his *hand*, uttering "*Heen, heen, heen,*" with great energy, and raising the bag near a painted spot on the breast of the candidate, gives the discharge, the person stationed in the rear gives him a push forward at the same instant, and as he falls headlong, throws the blankets over him. Then while the dancers gather around him and chant, the master throws off the covering, and chewing a piece of the bone of the Oanktayhee, spurs it over him, and he revives and resumes a sitting posture. All then return to their seats except the master; he approaches and making indescribable noises, pats upon the breast of the novice, till the latter, in agonizing throes, heaves up the Wahmnoo-hah or shell, which falls from his mouth upon the bag which had been previously spread before him for that purpose. Life being now completely restored, and with the mysterious shell in his open hand, the new

made member passes around and exhibits it to all the members and to the wondering bystanders, and the ceremonies of initiation are closed. The dance continues, interspersed with shooting each other, rests, smoking and taking refreshments, till they have jumped to the music of four sets of singers. Besides vocal music, they make use of the drum and the gourd-shell rattle. The following chants which are used in the dance, will best exhibit the character of this mysterious institution of the Oanktayhee:

Waduta ohna micage
Waduta ohna micage
Miniyata ite wakan de maqu,
Tunkanixdan.

TRANSLATION

He created it for me inclosed in red down,
He created it for me inclosed in red down
He in the water with a mysterious visage gave me this,
My grandfather.

Tunkanixdan pejihuta wakan micage,
He wicake,
Miniyata oicage wakan kin maqu ye,
Tunkanixdan ite kin yuwinta wo,
Wahutopa yuha ite yuwinta wo.

TRANSLATION

My grandfather created for me mysterious medicine,
That is true.

The mysterious being in the water gave it to me.
Stretch out your hand before the face of my grandfather,
Having a quadruped, stretch out your hand before him.¹

... I afterwards went to a dance [in 1805], the performance of which was attended with many curious manoeuvres. Men and women danced indiscriminately. They were all dressed in the gayest manner; each had in their hand a small skin of some description, and would frequently run up, point their skin and give a puff with their breath, when the person blown at, whether man or woman, would fall, and appear to be almost lifeless, or in great agony; but would slowly recover, rise, and join in the dance. This they called their great medicine, or as I understood the word, dance of religion. The Indians believing that they actually puffed something into each other's bodies, which occasioned the falling, &c. It is not every person who is admitted, persons wishing to join them, must first make valuable presents to the Society, to the amount of forty or fifty dollars, give a feast, and then are admitted with great ceremony. Mr. Frazer informed me that

¹ Neill, 1872b, 269-271.

he was once in the lodge with some young men, who did not belong to the club: when one of the dancers came in, they immediately threw their blankets over him, and forced him out of the lodge, he laughed, and the young Indians called him a fool, and said "he did not know what the dancers might blow into his body."¹

The medicine men or women, who are initiated into the secrets of their wonderful medicines, (which secret is as sacred with them as free-masonry is to its members), give the feast which they call the medicine feast.

¹ Eastman, 1849, 74.

Their medicine men, who profess to administer to the affairs of the soul and body are nothing more than jugglers, and are the worst men of the tribe; yet from fear alone they claim the entire respect of the community.

There are numerous clans among the Dahcotahs each using a different medicine, and no one knows what this medicine is but those who are initiated into the mysteries of the medicine dance, whose celebration is attended with the utmost ceremony.

A Dahcotah would die before he would divulge the secret of his clan. All the different clans unite at the great medicine feast.²

² Pike, 1872, 372.

MEDICINEMEN AND MEDICINEWOMEN

RECENT FEATS OF MEDICINE PEOPLE

THE MOST REMARKABLE INSTANCES of the unusual power of medicinemen and medicinewomen are to be found in accounts of the Clown society and the Sun dance. Nearly every extraordinary adventure is that of a medicineman or a medicinewoman. Other illustrative material will be found in the war adventures and in the accounts of dance and ceremonial organizations.

1. Medicinemen and medicinewomen are able, by singing their songs, to locate lost or stolen property.

A medicine bundle had been stolen. The owner, after a fruitless search, secured the services of a medicinewoman. She sang, then told the loser to accompany her. She led him directly to a certain tipi. They entered and removed the stolen medicine from the medicine bundle of the occupant. He, of course, could make no remonstrance.

An old woman had lost a sum of money. A medicinewoman sang; when she had finished, she told the loser that the money had not been stolen. She said the dollar bills were lying, face up, under a large elm tree, covered by a broken limb. The woman went to the place indicated and found the money, as described. She had lost it there while she was picking strawberries.

A man's horse was stolen. The medicinewoman, after singing, said it would be found about 40 miles to the south. She described the house in which the thief lived, and said he was lame in one leg and had a broken arm. The barn was described as unpainted and other details were given: the door would be fastened with a padlock, and, if this was the place indicated, the horse would neigh when they approached it. "We drove about 40 miles south, saw a house like that described, went to it, and found a man lame in one leg and with a broken arm. We asked him whether he had any horses to sell. He said, 'No.' We said that if he had any to sell, we should like to see them. He again said he had none to sell. We walked toward the barn. It was as the woman had described it. The door was fastened with a padlock. When we were close to it, the horse, inside, neighed. We employed a

detective, who next day went to the place and secured the horse."

During my stay at the settlement at which these things happened the woman referred to above lost another sum of money. She believed it had been taken by a certain woman whom she knew. She went to a medicineman to obtain information about it. The following morning he told her (by what channels the information had come to him he did not say) that it had not been stolen, but had been found by a young boy, who had burned the purse and kept the notes. He had seen the father of this boy (both of whom were away from the settlement), some 5 miles away, surrounded by the faces of white people. These white people were the faces on the paper notes which the man's son had. Neither the father nor the mother of the boy knew that he had those notes. When they and the boy returned, they would, the medicineman said, be asked to refund the money.

2. A medicineman announced that four days later he would hold a performance. On the fourth day he requested them to set up a tipi for him, apart from the other tipis. They prepared the tipi. He told them the Thunders had instructed him to eat a fish raw. When the tipi was prepared, he went into it, and on the fourth night he made a big drum there. He cut down a tree, hollowed out a section, and covered the hollowed end with a piece of hide. The drum, when finished, was about 3 feet high and about 2 feet in diameter. While he was singing to the accompaniment of this drum, he requested the people to bring him a jack fish (*tä'mäkä*). He had them make a grass tipi and said he wished a young man to shoot him with bow and arrow. A young man proffered his services. He entered the grass tipi. The fish lay in the center. A small birchbark bowl, filled with water, was near the fish; near the bowl was a stone. Medicinemen were dancing outside the larger long tipi. The man stripped; he painted a red spot over his heart. When the time came to shoot the arrow, he emerged, went to the grass tipi, and walked around it. The marksman, using an arrowshaft, half of which was painted red, shot the arrow into the red spot on the man's body. The medicineman attempted to pull it out. The

shaft came out, but the arrowhead remained embedded in his side. He went into the tipi. He dug with his hand into the ground, and took up a handful of earth, which he put into his mouth, where it turned blue. He rubbed this over the wound. He drank some water from the bowl near the stone, replaced the bowl, knelt, and leaned over it. He sang, slapped both sides smartly, and spat out all of the blood that normally would have come from his side, as well as the arrowhead that had been embedded in his flesh. This medicineman predicted that he would be shot by the Chippewa many times, but no bullet would kill him. He went with a war party to fight the Chippewa. A bullet passed through his body, but did not kill him, or even injure him. The medicineman said his name would be Tcui'io'pi, "Shot-through-the-side." He was thereafter known by that name.

In the old days, some of the young men did not believe in the things which the medicinemen could do, until these sceptics witnessed them; then they believed. This man thought he would not be shot by the Chippewa, and that, if he should be shot, he would not die. Everything that the old medicinemen predicted invariably materialized in every detail. Sometimes they foretold events two years before their occurrence.

3. A medicineman remarked to some men that he felt disposed to smoke. He had nothing to smoke. He went into the bush, procured a certain kind of leaves, and dried them. When they were dry, he rubbed them between his hands. Now and then he smelled them and tasted them, while he sang. While he was doing this, there lay beside him a certain stone, which he had asked to aid him in transforming the leaves into tobacco. He continually tasted and smelled the leaves. Finally, they tasted like tobacco, and, indeed, became tobacco. He then procured some red willow bark, dried this, and mixed it with the tobacco, filled his pipe, offered it to the stone, and asked the stone to assist him in making tobacco, so that he would never be without it. In this way he procured his tobacco.

4. A certain medicineman mocked one of the dances. Later he was a participant in the dance. Another medicineman announced that a certain man who had made fun of that dance was now

attending it. He said he would demonstrate the power of its members to the offender. He sang, as he held the longest claw of an eagle in his hand. Suddenly he threw the claw down, or seemed to do so, although no one could tell where it had disappeared. When the medicineman hurled the claw to earth, the offender, who was several feet distant, fell to the ground on his face. He could not rise. Three medicinemen gathered about him, singing; soon the man could sit up. He then leaned over and spat out the eagle claw. The other medicineman was not strong enough to kill him.

5. On July 30, 1914, a medicineman at Portage La Prairie told the Dakota that the previous night he had dreamed that he had seen something floating down the river. He could not distinguish precisely what it was. People were crowding ahead of him, looking at it, and prevented his clearly distinguishing the object and identifying it. He said that within four days everyone would know whether the dream was true or a false prognostication. Meanwhile, inasmuch as this was taken to signify a drowning in the Assiniboine River [which flows by the settlement], he warned the people not to go in swimming for four days, that is, until the end of the period of fulfilment of the dream, lest the dream prove to be true. On August 2 the body of a boy who had been drowned up the river on the previous day was washed down and lodged on a sand bar opposite some Dakota houses, where it was discovered by the Indians, who brought it up on shore. This, said the old medicineman, was the fulfilment of the dream. Because the drowned person was a white man, the dreamer had not been able, in his dream, to identify the object floating in the river. If the dream had forecast the drowning of a Dakota, he would have clearly distinguished the form of a person, and perhaps would have identified the victim.

6. On August 16, 1914, a woman who had been sick since the preceding spring went to a medicineman at Portage La Prairie and implored him to try to discover what was wrong with her. He invited five of the older men to his house, placed before them two stones from his medicine bundle, and sang. When he began the song, the spirits of both these stones were absent. Soon one of them returned. Only the

owner heard the spirit speak, but all in the room heard a rushing whistling sound, like the onrush of wind. The two younger men who were present confessed that they were nervous and fearful. The medicineman asked the returned spirit of the stone why this woman was sick. It replied that in the spring she had been told to give a Sun dance, when a certain grass was ripe, but had not done so; that the designated time had passed, the Thunders were angry, would come four times, and the fourth time would kill her, if she had then not carried out their behest. If, however, on their third visit, they found that she had performed it, they would not come the fourth time. The man then asked the spirit of the stone where its brother was. When he asked this, the spirit of the other stone came, said it had been away in the east, where the sun rises, in company with three other brothers, and added that there were a great many men there, and that they were having a great deal of fun. The medicineman then asked whether any of those present had sold hunting and fighting stones. [The writer had purchased three from those who were present at this seance.] Those who had sold them were reluctant to admit that they had done so. The medicineman, however, assured them that it was useless to try to hide the fact, for the stone had told him all about it. Three of the men then admitted that they had sold their hunting and fighting stones to the writer. He said this was all right, that it was dangerous to have these stones about when one did not know how to use them, that now they were in a place in which fighting was in progress. That is what the spirit meant when it said that they were among a great many people who were having much fun. This was soon repeated through the settlement. [Hitherto the Dakota had been somewhat fearful of the outcome of the struggle in the European conflict; their fears were now allayed. They said that these stones now in the museum (National Museum, Ottawa) were helping the English, and that the English, thanks to this assistance, would win. All seemed to share this view, and considered the outcome assured by this information from the stone.] The medicineman then told the woman what the spirit of the stone had said about her. It seems she had previously intended to perform the Sun dance, in company with others, but that officials of the Indian Depart-

ment heard of their plans and forbade its performance. She had, therefore, not participated. Not only had she been sick since that time, but meanwhile two of her children had died. The medicineman accordingly admonished her to hurry home and perform the Sun dance, lest the Thunders come and kill her. [It was afternoon and she had about 15 miles to drive.] That night an unusually violent thunderstorm, accompanied by hail and a heavy downpour of rain, passed over. In less than an hour it was followed by another equally heavy storm, with long trailing clouds that gyrated like dust in a whirlwind and were clearly displayed in the flashes of lightning. Most of the storm, while passing eastward, moved to the south, then circled toward the north, then back to the west, passing north of the settlement, turned, moved east, again passed over the settlement, and, indeed, constituted a third severe storm. The Dakota considered these manifestations very strange. It did, indeed, seem to the writer to be nothing less, although he had not observed the alleged gyrations of the clouds.

7. During the latter part of my stay at Portage La Prairie, a medicineman at that settlement warned me [W. D. W.] through a messenger that a misadventure would befall me if I should go to the Griswold reservation that summer (1914). [There had been a great deal of opposition to me at Griswold, in advance of my coming. I was supposed to be planning to send back to the States, for punishment, certain of the old men who had been active in the massacre in Minnesota prior to the withdrawal of the Dakota across the Canadian border.¹] After the first dream he had not been certain of its meaning and had waited for confirmation. [As is always the practice if the first dream does not inspire sufficient confidence in the truth of its representations.] In a second dream, however, he saw my spirit in travail and distress at Griswold and much disturbance among the Dakota there. I might laugh at it, he instructed the messenger to tell me; yet, if I did not believe it, I might go to Griswold and would then discover the truth. He could not clearly discern the precise nature of the trouble, though he had no doubt of its

¹ Thereby hangs a much longer story and a more abbreviated ethnography than might otherwise have been the case.

seriousness and reality. This was the man who, a week previously, had successfully foretold a drowning in the river near the Portage La Prairie settlement. His prophetic assurances, it seems, were accepted by all the Indians at that settlement.

MEDICINEMEN

A medicineman is known as *witca' stawakan'* (*wakan* man). Nearly all medicinemen were with the Thunders, so they themselves said, before they came to earth and were born here. While they were with the Thunders, they traveled about with every thunderstorm, hunting a place to be born, either among Indians or whites. While they were scouting a choice place for nativity [and what white man does not envy them?], some said they were assigned to birth among whites, but they refused, because they preferred to be born among Indians, so that they might have Dakota customs and dress. Some said that before birth they were warned that if they should be born among whites and not follow the instructions of the Thunders, the vengeful Thunders would kill them. Therefore, all medicinemen chose to be born among Indians, where they might do as commanded by the Thunders (*waki' A*). Some said the Thunders told them Wakan'taka (Most *Wakan*) had admonished the Thunders to inform the medicinemen that they were to do as they were bidden by the Thunders. [The Thunders, though plural, are conceived collectively, not distributively, as a unity—"all the same," "only one thunder."] They are the messengers of Wakan'taka. When a man begins his career as a medicineman, he must announce to all the people the message given him before birth by the Thunders. He must also make clear that he was bidden by the Thunders to announce that they had ordered him to deliver this message. Prior to birth, medicinemen know everything that will happen to them, not only in what family they will be born, but every event of their future life. In this, said the informant, the testimonies of all concur. They must participate in every dance, except the *waka'atcipi*. Before birth the Thunders promise to send them a sign regarding the time when they are to begin their careers as medicinemen.

The man (or woman) who is beginning this career must be over 20 years old, that is, old enough to comprehend and remember anything

told him. When he has reached this stage of mental development, he prepares himself to receive the promised sign. It comes in a dream in which the Thunders announce to him that he is to begin his career. Medicinemen have power to do anything they wish. They cannot do this of themselves, but must pray to each power—sun, trees, stones, rivers, lakes, grass, and so on—and ask whether it will be proper to do the contemplated thing.

Old man Pashee saw a medicineman, whose power had been discredited, put a large pot over the fire and boil meat in it. He removed the pot, reached down about 3 feet into the boiling water, and pulled out the piece of meat at the bottom of the vessel, without suffering a scald or the least discomfiture.

Another medicineman was informed by other Indians that they wished to hold the War dance (*iwa' ktc'i watci'pi*). During the night he went away and took two men with him. He cleared a place on the ground large enough to sit on and sat there. He carried a stick to which two deer hooves were attached, as rattles. He sang and kept time with this. The Chippewa were about 100 miles away, but he could see them as plainly as though they were no more than 10 feet away. Next morning they started toward the Chippewa. The trip occupied five or six days. Each night, in order to learn the enemies' whereabouts and whether they had moved from their previous encampment, he repeated the performance above described. On the last night each of the various powers of nature told him he would meet the Chippewa on the following day, and that the sun would indicate by a sign the time at which he would encounter them. At its setting on the last night, the Sun man would give him this information. During the night he could see the sun as plainly as other people see it in the daytime. Possibly on the very last night the medicineman will be warned that the war party should go no farther, lest all be killed; or he may be told that all is well, and be urged to press forward and vanquish the enemy. Old man Pashee once heard a medicineman tell some people that he could swallow a knife. They said they did not believe it. He thrust a large one, about the size of a butcher's knife, blade first, down his throat. The people stood around watching, and a little later they saw him pull it out of his anus.

Wakan'taka admonished the Thunders to tell the medicinemen that when they came to earth they were to help sick people [sick people are designated "poor" people], by administering medicine for their health. In some instances they know that the patient will recover, and in others they foresee his death. Even in the latter instance, however, they do their utmost to restore health and strength. A request for such assistance comes from parents or other relatives and is never refused. The medicineman, while he treats a patient, shuts his eyes and sings songs which were given him for this purpose. He then knows the nature of the affliction; he sees the afflicted portion of the anatomy as plainly as though it were removed from the victim and laid before his eyes. If he sees that the patient will die, he says that Wakan'taka will take the sick one home, and that he [the medicineman] cannot cure him. If the affliction is in the liver, the heart, or the lung, he can see the very spot at which the trouble is centered and endeavors to suck all of the blood from that portion. If he cannot extract all of the bad blood, he announces that the man will die; there is no hope for him. When the afflicted part has been successfully treated, he gives the patient a potion to drink. A special root is used for the heart; there is a specific for the stomach and for the liver. The medicineman has no cure for diseased lungs.

Wakan'taka told the Thunders to teach the medicinemen the specifics to use for each part of the body and never to use any others. A large stone, powdery and white within but sparkling on the outside, is considered a powerful medicine. Wakan'taka made only a few such stones and it is difficult to find them. He did not wish them to be used wantonly. Wakan'taka instructed the Thunders to tell the medicinemen to use this when all other medicines failed. It is good for any ailment. Some Indians keep it now. It is too *wakan* to use publicly.

The medicineman, before he departs on a war party, announces the number of Chippewa the party will encounter and how many scalps it will bring home. Invariably the outcome will be as he predicted.

If a medicineman displeases you, you should make no remark to that effect, but merely turn your back on him and walk away. If you quarrel with him, he may say: "You anger me! In such and such a season [usually about a year hence]

you will die." This is certain to come true. When you fall sick, other medicinemen may come to cure you, but if your affliction is the result of the magic of another medicineman, they are never successful. With his magic a medicineman can kill an enemy, no matter how distant. Even while he is asleep, he knows and sees everything; you cannot go near him without being perceived. All medicines and all medicine bundles are the result of dreams.

About nine years ago three medicinemen, brothers of the informant's grandfather, all died within three weeks. Within a few weeks, nine children and five women died. The sickness had come suddenly. Another medicineman, by virtue of his power, learned that one of the stricken medicinemen had not complied with the directions which had been given him in a dream. The medicineman at fault admitted his shortcomings, and, while sick, tried to comply. It was then too late, however; he was too weak to act in accordance with the directions of the dream and his fate was past recall.

About three years ago a woman was struck by lightning because she had failed to follow directions given her in a dream. The other women prevailed upon her to do as bidden; her husband, apprised of her omission, added his voice to their admonitions. To no purpose, however. She was a young woman, about 30 years old. She said she was too young to launch a career as a medicinewoman. In the autumn, a few weeks after the dream, there were three days of violent thunder, lightning, and rain. The storm broke at about the same time each afternoon. On the fourth day it came again. While the woman was sitting in her tipi with her husband, she was struck by lightning and was killed instantly. Her husband, although he was in the same tipi, was not injured. The Thunder was angry with her because of her disobedience. The first three storms were an expression of their anger and of their threat. If she had then started to follow the directions given in the dream and had uttered prayers of repentance to the Thunder, the Thunder *might not* have killed her. As to this, no one can offer more than conjecture. The punishment visited upon the men referred to above was sent because they had insulted the *wakan* resident in trees, stones, and everything. *Wakan*, in its indiscriminate anger, punished the innocent as well as the guilty.

A medicineman, before birth, was told by the Buffalo to do as follows: He procured the hide, head, and horns of a buffalo, and wore these. He painted a red spot on each side of the hide, in a place corresponding to the position of the heart. Another medicineman, who had extracted the meat from the boiling water, procured a rifle. The man in the buffalo hide was in a tipi preparing for the ordeal. A pole with an eagle feather at the top was erected less than 100 yards from this tipi. He went to it, and walked around it in sunwise direction [clockwise].

He then walked to the tipi which he had just left. The other medicineman shot him through one of the red spots. The bullet went through his body. He fell down and for a few seconds did not move. Two other medicinemen transformed themselves into wolves and ran rapidly around him. The Buffalo-man rose and spat out all of the blood instead of emitting it from the wound. Not a drop of blood came from the wound. He ran his horns into the ground, as a goaded bull does, and pawed the earth furiously. The wolves and the other medicinemen were then afraid to move. He rose to his feet, took earth, and, after having spat out all the blood from the wounds, rubbed the earth into each wound. He went into his tipi; the others also went in, to see his wounds. They could not find even a sign of a wound; there was no evidence that he had been shot. This man lived a long time. He used to go into the very midst of a herd of wild buffaloes; none of them paid even the slightest attention to him. If he had not done as he did, the buffaloes would have killed him at the very first opportunity. All this they [? the Thunders] had taught him prior to his birth. When a medicineman is about to perform a miracle like the above, he must have a tipi separate from the others. It was not painted and was not decorated either outside or inside.

Another man, when over 21 years old, said the Thunders had told him to do a certain thing, and had declared they would kill him if he did not obey. Accordingly, he painted a large red spot on the right-hand side of his chest. Before he began his performance, he procured a small birchbark bowl, put some water in it, and mixed it with blue earth. He caused a pole to be erected about 100 yards from his tipi. He walked around the pole and then walked toward the tipi. While he was

walking toward it, a man with a bow and arrow shot an arrow into the red spot painted on his chest. The arrow went halfway through the medicineman's body. He felt no pain and paid no attention to it. When he was about to enter the tipi, the man who had shot the arrow, finding that he could not kill the medicineman, went to him and pulled out the arrowshaft, leaving the arrowhead in his vitals. The wounded medicineman went into his tipi and walked around his bow. He was making a tremendous noise, much like thunder. He drank some of the water which he had prepared. Meanwhile, the noise did not abate. He spat out all of the blood that came from the wound. With the blood came the arrowhead. All went in to observe his condition. There he was, sitting up unconcernedly as though nothing had happened, and stronger than before. While he was making the noise like thunder, all of the Thunders sent him assistance.

Another man announced that he had been told to do certain things. He directed the people to erect a tipi for him away from the others. They did so. He told them to paint a stone black and put it in the exact center of the tipi. He pulled out the longest feathers from the tip of an eagle wing and placed them near the stone. After showing the people the feathers, he sang. While he was singing, he picked up a feather and using it like a spear thrust it through the stone. He had caused the feather to turn into a knife, with which he pierced the stone. When he pulled it out, warm blood came from the hole which it left. He then exhibited the feather, which was as limber and as soft as any other feather, and allowed them to test it with their hands.

When a medicineman is about to perform such feats as the above, he has as many witnesses as possible. If he should perform before only a few people, someone of those present might discountenance his claims; whereas if all have observed his exploits, too many witnesses would confute the one who denied his achievements.

Three years ago my interpreter's father summoned a medicineman, now living, to cure his sick son. The medicineman built a small tipi within a larger one, and in the latter heated a stone to white heat. He sang, picked up the stone with his bare hands, and carried it into the smaller tipi. He then went into the smaller

tipi and asked the stone to cure the sick child. The child recovered.

MEDICINE POWERS ACQUIRED BY A PERSON WHO WAS LOST

A man went out to hunt, was lost in the bush, and wandered about until he met a stranger who declared himself another creature who had assumed the form of a man, because he wished to converse with the hunter. He had caused the hunter to lose his way. He told the hunter that a son would be born to him. When this oldest son grew old enough to learn to do things, the father was to give him a bow and arrows. When the lad killed his first game or bird, the father was to perform a certain ceremony. If the father postponed the performance too long, the stranger declared he would kill him and take him to his [the stranger's] tipi. The stranger admonished him to remember these instructions and when his oldest boy was grown, to make a bow and arrows for him. The father was to make a Bear feast and present [the Bears?] with a dog. After that, he was to make a feast for the Thunders and eat a fish raw during the feast. When the boy had grown larger, had killed game with his gun, and had eaten of the game, he was to make a *heyo' ka wa gApi* (Clown feast); after the Clown feast, another man would go out on a war party which he was to join. They would kill a Chippewa. When this conversation was held, the lost hunter was not married, yet the stranger foretold all that would befall him. The stranger declared he would tell the hunter nothing more at that time. When the lost hunter returned to camp, his friends asked him where he had been. He did not tell them what he had seen and heard, but said he had been visiting.

A few years later he married; a few years after his marriage a son was born to him. When he recalled all that the stranger had told him, he felt badly. One night, when the boy had grown to some size, the father made him a bow and arrows. After this, the lad shot birds. One night in a dream the stranger appeared to the father and told him to postpone his performances no longer.

He invited all the men, killed the dog, announced his dream, and asked how many men among those present had dreamed of the Bear and had made a Bear feast. Only a few qualified; he dismissed the others. Those who had

dreamed of the Bear remained. They stripped naked, painted themselves, and all ate the dog, raw. He finished this feast.

A few years later in another dream he heard a voice saying that the speaker had been sent by the person who had spoken to the man several years before and that this person wished him to eat the fish raw now; it would be wise for him to postpone it no longer; that person was anxious for him to perform it. Next morning he assembled the men, announced his dream, and bade them erect a tipi. He went into it and sang. The next morning before sunrise he requested some young men to procure a fish for him. They brought a fish to him. He assembled all the men, saying that those who had eaten a fish raw, those who had made the Bear feast, and those who had eaten a dog raw were to come into the tipi which had been erected for this feast. Only a few men had taken part in any of these feasts; those who had done so announced the feast which they had given. He told them to prepare themselves and come into the tipi. They went to their respective tipis, where each painted himself in the peculiar manner specified by the *wakan* beings who had told him to give one of these feasts, and then went into the tipi where the feast was to be celebrated.

After this feast the man had another dream about the person who had told him to make the Clown feast. The following day he requested that all who were acquainted with the Clown feast [i.e., had participated in it] help him. All who had taken part in the Clown feast came to his tipi. He told them he would celebrate the feast the following day. He said he wished several young men to go with his son, for the lad could not carry the bow all the time. He thought the boy would kill a deer; also, the others would not have to hunt, but would merely carry the deer home for the lad. When they were ready, they hunted a deer, killed one, and cooked it in four large pots over a big fire. They invited all the men to come and sit in a large circle around it, with the women standing a short distance behind them. All who had previously given this feast painted themselves and prepared to celebrate it. The man told his little boy to paint himself and take part in the feast. In his tipi, he sang four songs; all of the Clowns then came out, walking backward. In the center of the circle of people was a large fire over which pots containing meat were boiling. Each pot con-

tained a piece of meat which a Clown was to take out. When the leader had finished the songs, he rolled up his sleeves, walked to the pot of boiling water, and leisurely picked out a piece of meat from the bottom of the vessel. The piece this Clown was to take out was marked, but he did not know in which pot it was, and must hunt until he found it. He took out his piece, walked away with it, and, when some distance from the onlookers, threw it to one of them. It was so hot that the man to whom he threw it could not hold it. The leader was followed by the other Clowns in turn, until all had gotten their respective pieces. The leader's boy was the last to extract his piece. Each Clown secured his piece of meat without being burned. When the man had finished this feast, he told his son there were certain things which he wished him to do—he was to follow the example of his father. The lad promised to do so.

A few years later, in another dream, the Thunders told the man he must go on a war party against the Chippewa. Next morning he invited all of the men and announced that some person had told him to do these things. If he should fail to do them, that person would kill him; he did not wish to die, and had carried out the orders. Now he had been told to go out to fight; the person who had formerly spoken to him was not the one who had now addressed him. It was the Thunders who now wished him to perform a certain thing. Before going to fight he was to perform the *yumi' ni watci'pi*. He assembled the men and announced his dream. They set limbs of trees up in a large circle. In the center they placed a stone painted red, a bowl of water into which red earth had been stirred, and a large pipe filled with tobacco, the stem pointing toward the stone. When this had been done, he told them to collect sedge grass, make it into a sheaf, and tie this sheaf close to the top. Two feathers from the wing of an eagle, arranged as if they were horns, were tied to his headdress. He procured a warclub. The ground in front of the stone and the pipe was smoothed and the outline of a fish drawn in it. White feathers were laid along the outline and a warclub was placed close by. When the leader had finished the songs, he announced that the lad should strike the outline of the fish with the warclub which was lying near by, drink the water in the bowl, and light the pipe. When all the preparations were completed, the man,

carrying the drum, walked out of his tipi, and invited all who had been in the *yumi' ni watci'pi* tipi to participate. All who were thus qualified entered the tipi and danced about the leader. When the song was finished, the boy struck the fish with the warclub, drank some of the water, lighted the pipe, and smoked it. The pipe was then passed to the others. After the ceremony the leader told the participants that in four days they would go out to fight. On the fourth day he announced that they would kill two families of the enemy.

They traveled all day and camped for the night. The leader arose before the sun was up, woke the men, and told them that at sunrise they would encounter the Chippewa. All arose and prepared themselves, ate, and went forward. After traveling a short distance, they saw two Chippewa tipis. They killed all the members of the two families and brought back the scalps. Not a Dakota was killed or wounded. They held a War dance.

A few years later, in another dream, the Thunders told this man to go out on another war party. Next morning he announced that it was not he who was doing these things; it was the *wakan* beings who told him to do them. He could not do otherwise, but must obey all their instructions, for he wished to live. He said he must go to fight whenever he was told to do so. He directed the men to procure enough food and moccasins to last them until their return, and then explained the dream of the previous night. They made ready and next day departed. When night came they camped. Early next morning he woke them and said he had seen two Chippewa families and that before midday they would kill all the members of both families. The man's son was in the war party. After they had killed the men in the Chippewa camp, they surrounded a small boy and allowed him to fight with the Dakota leader's son. The Dakota lad struck the Chippewa boy on the head with a warclub and killed him. They returned with the scalps which they had taken. The boy brought back the scalp which he had taken. The leader had wished his son to kill a Chippewa and thus earn an eagle feather. When the man had his son strike the drawing of the fish with the warclub, he meant this to be a token that the lad would kill a Chippewa.

A long time afterward, the lad requested that his father go on another war party. His

father replied that he went out to fight only when told to do so. A few days later, in another dream, he was told to lead a war party. The next morning he bade the boy invite all the men. He announced to them that his boy wished to go on a war party and he desired all of them to accompany the boy. The following day they started. When they arrived at a certain place, the leader announced that they would meet a wolf, and all were to pray to it. The wolf was hungry, wished to eat all the Chippewa they killed, and was coming to ask them to leave the dead Chippewa there, for it wished to eat them. They traveled on and saw a wolf. The wolf came up and sat down close to the path. As each man arrived where the wolf sat, he offered it tobacco, or tobacco mixed with red willow, or a filled pipe, told it they wished to kill a Chippewa, and asked it to help them. The wolf then signaled them to stand in line and announced that it had come there to ask them to give him the bodies of the Chippewa as food. All agreed that the wolf should have the bodies. The wolf told them that if they should hear his voice about midday on the following day, they should go in the direction whence it came; the Chippewa would then be between them and the wolf. About the middle of the following day, they heard the wolf's voice. All stopped and prepared their guns, bows, and arrows; then they proceeded and soon saw three Chippewa families. They killed all of these Chippewa and took their scalps. The leader's son took a scalp. The wolf came to them. The leader told the wolf they would leave the Chippewa in his charge, to do with as he pleased. The wolf said he would eat all of them. They left the bodies of the Chippewa where they fell and returned home.

In another dream the man was told to go out to fight—for the last time. The party would kill only one Chippewa. Though the Chippewa's family would be only a short distance away, they were not to injure anyone else. Next morning he related the dream to his son, bade him invite the young men, and added that the boy would go with them. The boy invited all the young men. They assembled at the father's tipi. He related his dream and asked them to be ready to join his son four days hence. On the fourth day all the young men assembled, ready to go. The man told them to set out. The boy was frightened and asked his father to accom-

pany them, and said that, without him, they would not kill any Chippewa. The father replied that the boy was always anxious to go out to fight and that he might go under his own leadership, but if he was afraid to do so, he would go with him. The father announced that they would kill a Chippewa, but would not kill the family. They started. On the fourth day they encountered a Chippewa who was hunting and killed him. The old man allowed his son to take the scalp and bring it to the camp.

This story has come down to us as I have told it. Most of the Dakota say that this man learned a great many things when he was lost, and by being lost became one of the ablest medicinemen—at least, he is supposed to have been one of the ablest medicinemen. That ends the story.

The following tales indicate the importance, in Canadian Dakota belief, of powers granted to the individual before birth. Powers granted by the Thunders remain the shaman's possession throughout life. In addition, powers are acquired during a man's lifetime by encounters with specific *wakan* beings, such as Stone, Spider, Buffalo, Gull, Dog, Turtle, Clown, and others. These powers are not lifelong, but are granted for specific occasions.

SUPERNATURAL POWER BESTOWED BY THE TWO-WOMEN

This story is about a man who was always getting lost. After being born and growing up to late boyhood (he was 16), he went out to hunt and was lost. A few days later he returned to his home. His parents asked him where he had been. He said he had been hunting, but he did not confess that he had been lost. He went hunting again and again was lost. He went in the direction which he thought led to his tipi and not finding the camp tried another direction. Several days later he strayed into the camp, without any premonition that he was close to it. His parents now knew that he had been lost; they asked him why this had happened. He said that while he was in the bush, hunting, he was all right, but as soon as he started home, something queer possessed him, causing him always to lose the trail and wander first in one direction and then in another. He did not know what caused him to do this. Later, when he was again preparing to go out to hunt, his parents told him to watch the sun, notice its

direction, and observe the trees which he passed and the objects in the woods. These would be his guide posts. He said he habitually did these things; nevertheless, he got lost. He went out to hunt and continually observed the various things which he passed. When he changed direction, he peeled the bark from a small tree at the place where he turned. In his wanderings he returned to this tree. He wondered how he had gotten back to it, for all the time he thought that he was going straight ahead. He stood near it and examined it carefully, to make sure that it was the tree from which he had peeled the bark. He found that it was the same tree. He left, intending to go in another direction, but returned there again, in less time than before. He was now irritated with himself, for he had seen no game.

He left that place a fourth time. This time he shot a deer. On the way home about sunset he again found himself at the selfsame tree. He had intended to return home that evening; now, thinking that in the darkness he might get lost, he decided to spend the night there. He made a fire and cooked some of the meat on spits. When darkness came, he listened intently; he thought that perhaps some of his relatives, when they learned that he had not returned home, would fire a gun. He heard nothing. He had finished his meal and it was now dark. Beyond the circle of the firelight all was darkness. A person entered the circle of the firelight, but was afraid to come into it. He said that the surrounding region was his home and that he was always desirous of hunting there; moreover, he could not stay away from the place and wished to talk with the hunter. He asked him to smother the fire a bit for it was too bright. The man was afraid to smother the fire; instead, he added dry sticks to it. The person said that if the hunter would smother the fire a bit, he would come closer and tell him why he always got lost. Every time this person addressed him the man threw sticks on the fire. The person declared that the man had a weak mind and had forgotten that the *wakan* beings had told him to do certain things. He was continually getting lost because the *wakan* beings were angry; he intended, without their knowledge, to tell the man. The person who addressed the hunter was a *wahna'gi*, the spirit of a dead person.

The *wahna'gi* told him that before he [the man] was born, he had been told to do certain

things; after he was born, he had received instructions in dreams; but as soon as he awoke he had forgotten them. All of the *wakan* beings had wished to remind him; they were not angry with him and had decided not to tell him for a while, but would punish him by causing him to get lost every time he went out to hunt. The *wahna'gi* had decided to tell him and thus render him a service. The *wahna'gi* asked him whether he remembered that a spirit had talked to him before birth. The man made no reply. Before the man was born the spirit had told him that if, after birth, he followed the pre-natal instructions, he would have the power of invisibility; the man, however, had forgotten. The spirit said to the hunter, "I will wrestle with you; if you win, I will tell you all I know. If I win, I shall tell you nothing." The spirit approached the hunter and told him to rise to his feet. He stood up. They clutched each other. The spirit attempted to drag the man into the dark and the man tried to draw the spirit into the light. Whenever possible, the man kicked the sticks in the fire to brighten it. At last he drew the spirit into the full light and threw it down near the fire. When the spirit struck the earth, it crashed like a clap of thunder. The spirit told the hunter that he had thrown his opponent as a man would fell a deer on its back.¹ Again the man grasped the spirit and they wrestled. When the man was about to fell the spirit, the fire was almost out. Each time the man kicked the sticks to make the fire brighter, the spirit nearly succeeded in throwing him. Again the man threw the spirit to the ground close to the fire. He lay there, then rose, made a noise like thunder, and declared that he had been thrown as a man throws a bear to the ground on its back. He told the hunter he had won twice and that they would wrestle again. Again they wrestled, and again the man threw the spirit. The spirit lay where it fell, then rose, and, making a noise like thunder, said this was like throwing a moose to the ground on its back. They wrestled a fourth time. The man was now exerting himself to the utmost, for the spirit sometimes almost succeeded in getting him into the dark, where it could throw him easily. Again the man drew the spirit into the light and

¹ The hunter showed the superhuman strength of one who could throw a deer. Each successful bout constituted a promise that he would obtain the animal mentioned by the spirit.

threw it. The spirit lay on the ground and said the man had won; that he had fallen to the ground like a person who had been shot. The spirit confessed that the man had beaten him and now told him the truth. The spirit had instructed the man, before he was born, but he had forgotten. If he should now perform the required act, he could take things unseen by others and could travel invisibly. The instructions were that for some days the man was to visit the homes of the respective powers. They would teach him what he had been told to perform after he was born and would tell him why they had continually caused him to get lost. The spirit directed the man to go home and not reveal this information. Next morning, when the man returned to camp, his brother, mother, and father asked him why he had been away all night. He told them he had been tracking a deer; when he killed it, it was dark, and he decided to spend the night at that place, inasmuch as there was no danger. He said nothing about the incidents of the previous night.

A few days later he went for wood with his older brother and told him why he had been out in the bush over night. The older brother said that the revelations of the spirit might come to pass and that he should not conceal them. He said he would follow his younger brother the next time he went to hunt, for he might kill one of the animals promised by the spirit. Next morning, the older brother insisted that the younger go out to hunt, saying that he wished to follow him. The younger brother went ahead, came to a bear's den, shot the bear, killed it, and brought it home. On the following day, the younger brother led again and killed a deer. The older brother, who had kept some distance in the rear, approached while the younger brother was skinning the deer. He [? the killer] removed the intestines, threw them away, halved the elk, and the two carried it home. The following morning, the older brother again wished the younger to hunt. He killed a moose and they brought it home.

Next day the hunter again went out, but did not return home. He was lost. As it was getting dark, he heard the hoot of an owl behind him. He was frightened, turned, looked in the direction from which the sound came, and again departed for the camp. Suddenly he heard the owl hooting in front of him. He went on. When he was close to the place where the owl had hooted,

he heard it again, ahead of him. When he came within sight of the owl, he found a tipi-like structure. The owl told the hunter that since a person in the tipi wished to see him, it had gone to meet him and had guided him to the place. It directed him to walk in immediately. When the hunter was about to enter the tipi, he heard someone within laughing. He did not enter, but waited outside. Someone inside the tipi then invited him to enter at once. He entered. It was *wiasu pa pka tipi*, "Two-Women tipi," occupied by two handsome women¹ and males of every creature, including mankind. The males, who were servants of the women, were in one of the two sections into which the tipi was divided. The women told the hunter to go into the part of the tipi where the males stayed. The two women walked up to him. The head woman scolded him; she said he had forgotten about entering that tipi before he was born and about being told to return at a certain time. Thereafter, he was to remember everything that they said to him. She said they would now show him certain things that they could do. She told the moose to stand on its feet and come before them. The women removed its antlers and when they replaced them put one on backward, and the other, on its forehead, upside down. While they were doing this, they laughed. They went to the moose, put the horns on properly and told the moose to be seated.

Then they chose a buffalo bull, transformed it into a female, laughed at it, and said they could do anything they wished. They asked the buffalo whether it enjoyed being a female. It did not like it; they changed it back to its previous form. They seized a raven, each grasping a wing, and threw the bird into the center of the tipi. When it fell to the ground, it became a boy. There seemed to be nothing funny in these performances, yet the women laughed at everything they did. They could do anything. They threw the boy into the middle of the tipi; he became a raven. They laughed at the transformation. They transformed a great many animals, making sport of each creature and handled all of them roughly. They stood in the middle of the tipi and looked about them to see which one to take next.

Bear sat in one corner, regretting his entrance into the tipi, and wondering what they would

¹ The Two-Women are supernaturals. Their functions include giving warnings and supernatural instructions to men.

do to him. The women ran to the bear, dragged it into the middle of the tipi, and told it to stand on its feet. They caused it to become a man in the upper portion of its body, while it remained untransformed in the lower half, placed it in the middle of the tipi, laughed at it, and asked it whether it would like to go about in that form. The bear felt humiliated. They told the bear they were merely having fun with it, would not make it unhappy for the remainder of its life, and changed it into its original form.

Then they put the man in the center and told him to look at the men who were sitting about. The women said that all those men were born many years ago; before they were born, they had been told to do certain things, but had not done them. "We told them, in a dream, that they must do these things, and we sent other creatures to tell them to do them; even then they did not do them." The women had the men in that tipi and would keep them there forever; never again would they see the world. They asked the young man if he had understood every word they had spoken to him. He said, "Yes." They said they would give him another opportunity, for he was very young and was merely forgetful.

They told him that he would marry and would have four children. He was warned not to forget anything they had told him after he had returned home. His four children would be boys. If he did all that they had told him, all his children would grow to be strong and healthy and he would have command of all the creatures he had seen in the male section of the tipi. He was not to forget that these women could do anything they wished and would punish him if he did not obey them. While he was going out, the Two-Women seized him and transformed him into a young girl. They looked at him and laughed. They summoned him back, changed him into his previous form, and sent him home. When he arrived home, the older brother asked him where he had spent the night. He answered that he had gone to the tipi of the Two-Women and that they had warned him about many things. He related to his brother what he had seen while he was in the tipi. His brother advised him not to mention the matter to anyone.

A few days later the man told this older brother he would go out to hunt. His brother advised him to go. Before he had gone far, he

killed a deer. When he returned to the camp, his brother told him he was old enough to marry. The young man said he wished to remain single for a while. In the course of a year or two, he married. A few years later his wife gave birth to a child. All the women who attended her declared it was a girl. The man was in another tipi, recalling the words of the Two-Women, to the effect that he would have four children, and all of them would be boys. He believed they had deceived him. When, however, his wife bathed the child, she found the girl had become a boy. Several days later, when the child was stronger, the man told his brother he would go to hunt bear and would have a feast of bear meat. Several years afterward another son was born. He grew, and soon was running about, carrying bow and arrows. Some years later, another son was born. There were now three sons; the man was pleased. A fourth son was born. The women who attended the mother were frightened, for they found a little fox instead of a boy.

The father, who was sitting in another tipi, heard them exclaim; he told them not to be afraid, but to treat the fox as though it were a child. They washed it and cared for it, as they had done with the other children. When later the mother prepared to wash the little one, it was a boy.

The man told his brother he would go out to hunt four times, for he now had four sons. He would kill a bear for each of his boys; they should eat some of the flesh and give some of the meat to the old men. The first day he killed a bear and brought it home. The following day his brother accompanied him, and he brought back another bear. The next day he hunted and brought home a third bear. The fourth day he brought home a fourth bear.

A few days later he was lost again. He left a certain spot, returned, went in another direction, returned, and could not get away from that place. Finally, while he was attempting to find the way home, he decided that he was going toward the camp, but found himself back at the same place. A voice said, "I have caused you to lose your way in order that I may speak to you." The speaker directed the man to come to the place where he was sitting. The man followed the voice and saw a bear lying in the bush. Bear told the man he had seen him before he was born and had told him to make a Bear feast. He

had failed to do this, and for that reason Bear had called to him to tell him again. He was to make a Bear feast. He would be in a fight, and if he did not make the Bear feast he would be killed. If he made the feast, even if he were wounded in the fight, he would not die but would recover. Bear warned the man to remember what he had then been told, and dismissed him. When the man arrived at his tipi, his brother asked him what had happened. He replied that he had spent the night at Bear's tipi. On the way home he had shot a deer. One night Bear came to him in a dream and told him the appointed time had arrived. The following morning he told his brother what he had dreamed. His brother urged him to obey the bear. The man selected a few young men to go with him into the bush, where they made a Bear feast. After finishing this feast, the man returned home. A few days later he heard someone remark that in a day or two a party would go out to fight the Chippewa. The man told his brother he would go with them. They had a big fight with the Chippewa. This man took the lead throughout and killed most of the Chippewa. Toward the end of the fight, he was wounded by a shot in the side.

He hunted several times. One day he lost his way. He had been thinking that perhaps he had been lost for the last time. He tried to find the way home, but now, every time he attempted to reach the camp, he returned to the same place. When he had returned a fourth time, an arrow fell from above and stuck in the ground. He walked up to it. A voice from above said the arrow belonged to the speaker, and that the man should see what it had killed. He went there to see what the arrow had killed and found a bear. The voice told him not to take it and added that the speaker would later tell him to perform the *heyo'ka wAzA' pi* [the Clown feast]. After giving the feast, there would be a fight in the west, from which he would return alive. He should go north; there he would find a bear which he must kill; to the south he would find a deer; to the east, a moose. When he had killed a deer, he was to use it in making the Clown feast. On the way home he killed a deer, as the voice had predicted.

Two nights later, in a dream, in the midst of a violent thunderstorm, a voice from above told him to make the Clown feast at once. On the following morning, the man told his brother

what the Clown had said to him while he was lost and what he had seen. His brother urged him to do as he was bidden. The following morning, he invited four young men and told them to cut up the deer and cook it. They erected a tipi in an open space in the bush and he procured other men to assist in the singing.

When these men had learned the four songs which were given him in the dream and could sing them correctly, he invited all who had previously taken part in a Clown feast to participate in this one. All the Clowns got ready. They painted themselves, some with brown, some with yellow, some with black, some with red, some with blue, some with gray. They placed four pots over the fire. When the soup had begun to boil, they rolled up their sleeves, reached into the water, took out pieces of meat, placed these on their bare backs, walked to the onlookers, and handed the pieces to them. All the Clowns drank the boiling broth as though it were cold water and with as little injury to themselves.

All his sons were now grown. The youngest son asked his father to make bows and arrows for them, as they wished to hunt. He made a bow and arrows for each of them. They went to hunt. The youngest boy shot a deer; the others killed nothing. Every time the father went to hunt with the boys, the youngest secured game.

His father asked him why he always killed something when he went to hunt and whether he had dreams, or had prenatal instructions. The boy told his father that before birth the Two-Women had transformed him from a fox back to a boy. He said he was a fox and that the Two-Women had told him that every time he went to hunt he would procure game. The boy, however, did not know that his father had been taken before the Two-Women.

A party was preparing to fight the Chippewa. All these boys wished to join it. Their father told them they were too young to do so, that they should remain home and hunt, while he went with the war party. This man was the only one who killed a Chippewa, as the Clown had previously predicted.

A few days later all prepared to go on another war party. During the fight this man killed several Chippewa. One Chippewa, a fast runner, escaped, and none of the Dakota could overtake him. But this man ran after him and overtook him. After their return to the camp,

the Clown told the man in a dream that the Chippewa was the deer which he was to kill in the south. The man had believed all the time that it was actually a deer which he was to kill. [A Clown does not give information in the ordinary way.] After returning to the camp, he did nothing but hunt with his boys. The older ones were poor hunters, but the youngest boy always got game.

A few days later another war party was organized. The man told his brother he would go to hunt and would take his boys with him. When they returned from the hunt, most of the warriors were preparing to go to the fight. His boys wished to join the party. He told them to stay home and hunt for the benefit of their mother, grandmother, and grandfather. The party left. They had a difficult encounter. The Chippewa whom the man killed in the third fight was the "moose" which the Clown had promised. Again everyone was talking of preparations for a war party and making ready. The man decided to join. There was a big fight. He killed the best of the Chippewa fighters. All of the Dakota returned home. The Clown had told the man he would kill a bear; he had referred to this Chippewa. This was the last thing the Clown had told the man to do.

The man went to hunt and returned to the camp. In a few days he wished to go again. His youngest son urged him to remain at the camp, for when out in the bush he was continually being lost. All his sons said they did not like their father to be lost every time he went out to hunt. One day, when the boys went to hunt, the youngest one failed to return with the others. He was lost. When, the following day, the lad returned, his father inquired where he had been all this time. The boy said he had been lost—not lost, he later explained, for a person had guided him home. This person was Fox; he had spent the night with Fox. His father asked what Fox had said. The boy replied that Fox had said he was now mature enough to join a war party, but that he would spare him this experience for a while. In a dream Fox appeared to the boy and told him that his father had been lost in the bush for the last time and would not fight again; his father should remain home, and he [the son] would go in his place. The boy said he would go to hunt, and would take his father's place in hunting also. The father agreed to this. He invited the men and announced the boy's

dream. The war party left, and found the camp of the Chippewa. The boy told the men to sit there and he would go forward and find out how many Chippewa there were. He encircled the Chippewa camp four times and caused all of the enemy to sleep soundly. He bade the party approach. They killed the Chippewa and returned to their own camp. All the people were happy to see them return and to hear that they had killed the Chippewa. They held a big War dance.

The father had been lost for the last time; he remained at home and allowed his son to take his place. Here the story about the father ends. It is now time for the boy to proceed on his own responsibility and initiative since he had taken his father's place in the latter's last fight.

The boy performed a few feats. [I have known very few men whose father or mother were medicine people and who themselves became medicinemen.] He told his father that before birth he had been taken about to see where he would be born. They went to every tipi and the boy chose the tipi of his father. He was told that he would be born in it; so it had happened. He had seen his mother performing certain rites and he was anxious to perform them. He told his father he would assist him in every way that he could and would show him some feats which the latter could not achieve. The father was pleased by his son's words and declared he would gladly see these performances; whatever they might be, he would always take pleasure in watching the boy. The boy remarked to his father that, no doubt, people had not forgotten the manner in which he was born. The person who had sent him down to earth had given him that form in order to show all the people that this child was different from others; he had then transformed the Fox child into a boy.

This person who had sent him down to earth had directed him in a dream to perform certain feats which would demonstrate to the people something they had never seen. The lad had related these experiences to his father, who later invited an old man, set food before him, and presented him with a blanket and tobacco. He asked the old man to pass around the camp and announce that the boy would go about in sight of the entire camp, and that everyone from the youngest to the eldest should come out and see him and that none was to remain in his tipi; even the youngest babies were to come out to see him. The old man made this announcement

to all the people, who came out of their tipis and sat in front of the entrances.

The boy stepped out of his father's tipi and shot an arrow straight up into the air; it fell and stuck in the ground in front of the entrance of his father's tipi. As it penetrated the ground, the boy changed into a fox up to his shoulders, and carrying his bow and arrows walked off. He circled the entire camp, returned to his father's tipi, took the arrow from the ground, and entered the tipi. He told his father where and when the latter was born, and said he had thought he would go to that tipi. The boy said that he had been told that after being born he should spend most of his time hunting. This is what the Two-Women had told him, and he had been anxious to hunt. They told him to sing certain songs, before he went to hunt, and not to hunt unless he had sung them. He told his father he wished to hunt but would first sing the Two-Women's songs. His father again invited the old man and told him that his son would sing before he went out to hunt. He asked all the men who wished to take part in the hunt to come into the tipi where the boy would sing and the following morning each of them would obtain game.

That night several young men came in to listen to the boy's songs. When he had finished singing, he told them that all kinds of animals were arriving, and that this was a definite sign that they would get plenty of game the following morning. Next morning they hunted and returned with game. That night the boy had another dream in which the Two-Women told him to perform a certain feat; when he had done it, in his dream, the Two-Women laughed at him. The following morning he told his father about his dream, saying that if he did as he was told, everybody would laugh at him, but even if they laughed he must do it. His father invited the old man, who went around and told the people that the boy would perform a certain deed; that they should again paint their faces red [as they had been told to do before the previous performance], and that they should all sit outside their tipis and observe him. He told his father to get his youngest cousin [i.e., his father's brother's youngest son] and have his entire body painted with yellow earth. When the young cousin was thus prepared, he was brought to the tipi of the performer's father. The boy [performer] stepped out and shot an

arrow into the air. When it fell to the ground, the painted lad changed into a raven. The performer grasped the raven's neck, led the bird in front of the tipis, raised the bird, and threw it to the ground; whereupon it was transformed into a boy. The performer took the boy by the hands, led him about, lifted him, and threw him to the ground, and he became a raven.

The youth returned to his father's tipi and everybody talked about his wonderful powers. They declared he was too young to perform such things; they said he could do things which no grown medicineman could do. His father told the boy what the people were saying. The boy said he could not perform these things unless he was given power to do so; that he could not do them in his own power. He knew all the things the Two-Women had told his father to do, what they showed him, and the instructions which they subsequently gave. The boy told his father he would do other things to demonstrate his powers to people. These he performed. One or two performances remained. The father told the boy that he had thought he was the only one who could perform wonderful feats; but admitted that the lad had outclassed him; the boy had performed these feats when much younger than his father was at the time of his own performances. All this time, however, the father continued to be a medicineman; when the boy dreamed, his father knew about the dream and knew what his son was told to do. The lad performed no more *wakan* feats, but went hunting all the time. He and his father were the best hunters among the Dakota; they had been told by the Two-Women that they would become good hunters, and that every time they hunted, they would get whatever game they desired.

The boy had another dream. The following morning he told his father he would do something that would make the people happy. Again his father invited an old man and asked him to go around the camp and announce the lad's intended performance. The old man announced this. All came out to witness the boy's performance. He went into his tipi, stepped out, and shot an arrow into the air. When it fell to the ground, he became a deer from his shoulders up. Some of the people laughed at him; some enjoyed these performances; some were afraid [? awed] and thought he was performing wonderful exploits which no other could perform.

He went around the camp until he arrived at

his tipi. As he entered it, he picked up the arrow. The boy always told his father about these things; he said the Two-Women had given his father power to do them, but inasmuch as he had not performed them, it fell to the son's lot to do so. The father replied that he knew this, that now the boy had been chosen to perform them, and he would not have this arrangement changed; he wished the boy to perform all of them, and not to desist.

Subsequently, he told his father he had another feat to perform, that he wished everyone to witness it, and asked him to invite the old man. The father invited the old man, who went about and announced to all the people that the boy would again perform a feat which he wished everyone to witness. The boy told his father that the exploit he was about to perform was one which his father had been told to attempt. However, since the father had failed to perform it, the boy must do it in his stead. Moreover, the boy told his father he intended to perform all such feats, from the first to the last. His father was pleased and said he liked to see his boy perform all of these things. The boy stepped out of the tipi. All had painted themselves red. He looked around the entire camp, then shot an arrow into the air. When it fell to earth, he changed up to his shoulders into a bear, in which form he went around the entire camp. During his circuit of the camp, as previously, he carried his bows and arrows.

He returned to his father's tipi and as he entered it picked up the arrow. When he had finished this performance, he went to hunt. After returning from the hunt, the boy told his father that the latter did not remember seeing him before he was born, but he remembered seeing his father before the latter was born. He had asked all the *wakan* beings what had befallen his father. They replied that they had sent him to earth, to be born there. "When I heard this, I wished to be born, and followed your footprints to every tipi." He knew all that had been told his father both before and after birth. The lad added that he supposed his father knew all that he had been told to do, for the father must have had the same dreams. His father made no reply. The boy told his father that he [the boy] would perform another feat. [His father was always present at these performances, but assisted him only in the preparations.] The boy shot an arrow into the air.

When it fell to the ground, he changed into a buffalo above the shoulders. He went around the camp. The people, all of whom had painted themselves, sat about the camp. Most of them were afraid of the boy, for he was tearing up the earth with his horns, as a wild buffalo does. The children were afraid to look at him. He went around the entire camp, returned to his tipi, and entered it.

A few days later the boy told his father he would perform another exploit, which would be the last. His father assented. The boy asked his father to invite the old man to his tipi and have him announce to the people that he would perform a certain feat which he wished them to witness, and to tell them that this would be the last one. The old man made this announcement, all painted their faces, and the boy stepped out of the tipi. He shot an arrow into the air. When it fell to the ground, he became a woman. He was a real woman. He shot another arrow into the air. When it fell to earth, he made motions as though he was picking up something, but no one saw what he picked up. He picked up an owl, one of the kind which lives in the ground. He shot another arrow. When it fell to the ground, the owl changed into a small baby, which he carried around the camp. When he had gone some distance, it changed alternately twice into an owl and into a baby, until he was near his tipi. He shot an arrow towards the other three arrows. All had fallen close to the same spot. When it fell among them, the owl resumed the form of a boy. He shot another arrow. It fell at the same spot and the baby was transformed into an owl. No one knew what happened to the owl when this arrow fell among the others; they merely saw the man stoop to the ground.

The boy told his father he would perform another deed, which would be the last, and asked him to invite all the old men. His father invited them. When they had arrived, the father told them that his son wished to go out to fight; that there was a large camp of Chippewa, and he wished to kill every Chippewa in it. He asked them to exhort the young men to get ready, for he wished them to join the boy; even the larger boys, not full-grown, who were about the size of his son, were to go. All made ready. On the following morning, they departed.

When they saw the Chippewa camp in the distance the boy leader told the others to re-

main there and he would reconnoiter. He went close to it, stopped, and remained there until night. He shot an arrow into the air. When it fell to the ground, the Chippewa espied him, but were helpless. If they had gotten into action before this, they might have killed some of the Dakota, but they had waited too long. When the arrow fell to the ground, he picked up something—an owl—and transformed himself into a woman.

The owl changed into a baby, and he, in the form of a woman, went around the entire camp carrying the baby and singing a lullaby. As he passed each tipi, its occupants fell asleep. He passed around the entire camp and caused all the occupants to fall into a sound slumber. He returned to his party and told the men to kill the Chippewa in whatever manner they pleased; the enemy were sleeping soundly and would not know what was happening. Accordingly, the Dakota scattered among the tipis, killed all the occupants, and took their scalps. After killing every Chippewa, old and young, in the camp, they returned home. They held a big War dance, one of the largest ever celebrated. It lasted several days. I do not know when they stopped dancing. That was the last of the boy's performances.

That ends the story.

A MEDICINEMAN'S CAREER

Wakata'ka gave certain things, stones, trees, and others, power to converse with the Dakota. He caused some of the Dakota to be medicine-men, so that they could converse with these *wakan* things and then tell one another what these powers had said.

A man told this story about himself: He said he was born as a dog. He went into the bush with a hunter and was lost. Unable to find its way home, the dog went about howling in the bush, night and day. Hu'ia, Thunderbird, found the dog, went to him, and asked what he was doing in the bush. The dog replied that he was lost and wished to find the way home. Hu'ia said he would take charge of the dog. He took hold of him, killed, and ate him. When Hu'ia had eaten the dog, he told its spirit that he would take it to a certain place and cause it to be transformed into a man, so that it would attain a happy life, and would not be compelled to undergo such hardships as it had been enduring. When he had said this, he flew east, to

a man who was sitting in a tipi. Hu'ia placed the spirit of the dog in front of the man and said to him, "This dog has wandered over the entire earth, howling, in his hard lot, in the bush, and has no home to go to." Hu'ia said he had brought its spirit to the man to ascertain what the latter could do for it. The man said he would see him later; that he should go to the man in the south and ascertain what assistance he could give.

This man in the east is the leader; everything that moves in this world [i.e., this spirit world] goes to him to obtain information. The man said he wished to say some things, but that the man in the east insisted on his taking the spirit to the south to ascertain what the man there would say. If no one could assist him, Hu'ia was to bring the spirit back and he would determine what he could do for him. While Hu'ia was gone, the man in the east would think the matter over. Hu'ia took the spirit to the man in the south, to whom he explained the hard lot of the dog wandering in the bush, saying he wished him to have a good life, to become a man, and be happy as long as he should live. The man in the south said he liked to do everything he was asked to do, but would not consider this. He told Hu'ia to take the spirit to the north, where dwelt a man who would know what to do about it. If that man could not assist him, he was to return with the spirit, and he would then tell Hu'ia what he could do for it. Hu'ia took the spirit to the man in the north, explained everything, told him the hard life the dog was having, wandering about in the bush, howling in his misery, and asked the man to give the dog a new life, so that he could dwell among men.

The man in the north said he was willing to assist anyone who was in need, after birth, but would not help those who had not been born. After the spirit was born, Hu'ia might return with it and he would then see what he could do to assist. He told Hu'ia to take the spirit to the west,¹ for all the leading men lived there. He had power to assist only those who had been born, not those who were still unborn; after its birth, Hu'ia should, without fail, bring him back; he might then have whatever he wished.

Hu'ia traveled to the west with the spirit and stopped only when he arrived at a large tipi, in which all the Thunders lived. Hu'ia took the

¹ Counterclockwise direction.

spirit to the leader, who invited all the others; they came and sat in the tipi in a circle. The head man told Hu'ia to stand in the center and explain all his desires. Hu'ia told them the dog had been wandering about in the bush, howling, as though it had no home, and was having many difficulties. He asked the Thunders to give the dog another life so that he might always be happy. They consulted one another about the course of action. All agreed that he might be born as a man. The head man of the Thunders told Hu'ia that the world was a circle [as represented by the horizon] and that he would be born in its very center. He said that all his children would be born among the people who lived in the center of the world. [The Thunders always refer to people as their children.] Hu'ia had eaten the dog; however, it had not passed through his body; the morsels were in his stomach. The head man of the Thunders asked him whether he had any portion of the dog, in addition to its spirit. "Yes," said Hu'ia. He vomited various portions of its body and laid these before the head man of the Thunders. He asked all the Thunders to assist in putting the dog together. They accomplished this; then they transformed him into a Thunder, who was to remain among them. Before he went down to earth, they would instruct him in all that he was to do. Accordingly for a time he remained among them as a Thunder.

When they had transformed him into a Thunder, the head man told the others to take him to the man in the east and tell him that this one was to be born among men in the very center of the world. He announced that all should direct this man in the east, that if he had any instructions to give, to tell the spirit what to do after he had been born as a human being. The Thunders then went toward the east. There was a heavy thunderstorm. While they traveled to the east, they went about and observed all the people, to find a suitable birthplace for him. They brought him to the man in the east. The latter said he was pleased to see him, telling him he would be born a medicineman. "All the small children on earth [i.e., the people] will depend on you. If misfortune befalls them, help them as much as you can; if they are in trouble, assist them as best you can; if some of these children become sick, look after them and see that they are well cared for. You are to walk on the earth; you may not kill any of the birds, for they are

the same as children on earth. Be kind to every creature on earth; never be cruel to them. You will succeed; what you ask to be done, will be done; your requests will be granted. But you must go to the south and ascertain what the man there thinks of the venture."

The man in the east reminded the Thunder that he did not mean that he would transform him into a man, but merely wished to assure him that he would be born on earth as a medicineman. He told him to go to the south to see the man who lived there; he too would fulfill his desires and advise him. Hu'ia was his constant attendant on these trips. They went to the south. Hu'ia took the spirit to the man who lives there, informing him that this was the same spirit he had previously brought to him. Hu'ia also told him that all the head men had said the spirit would be born as a man among the "children"; that they had given him directions and advice as to his actions after he was born on earth; that if he, too, wished to give advice, he should offer it forthwith. The man in the south said that after the spirit had been born on earth, all the "children" would depend on him. "The man in the west has given you power to do everything and the man in the east has assured you a career as a medicineman after you shall have been born on earth. Everybody will depend on you. You must do immediately everything we direct you to do. You must always be ready. At any time we may give you instructions. Keep your ears open; we may speak to you at any time. Be kind to all the birds that fly in the air and to all other animals on earth. Every living thing on earth will depend on you." He said he could do nothing more for him then. He told him to visit the man in the north and ascertain what he had to say.

They went to the north. Hu'ia brought the spirit to the man in the north and said he had again brought the spirit to him. The three other men had told him what to do when he came to the earth and had added that if he had any advice to give the spirit, he should offer it them. The man in the north told the spirit it would be born on earth among the "children," who would all depend on him; to be kind to them and to everything on earth, to all the birds and beasts, and not subject them to any cruel treatment. He said, "All of us, too, will depend on you. After you have been born, be always ready; at any time we may give you instructions. What-

ever we bid you do, do at once, without delay."

He instructed the spirit to return to the west, whence he had come, and tell the people there that all had agreed to his birth as a human being and a medicineman. The men in the west were the head men; they would tell him what to do on earth after being born. Hu'ia again took the spirit to the west. All the Thunders assembled to learn the results of the adventure. Hu'ia told them all had agreed that the spirit would be born on earth among the people. The head man of the Thunders said he was pleased to hear this; that after being born on earth, he would be a medicineman; that he should be kind to all people, to all the birds of the air and to all the animals on earth. "Every creature will depend on you; we, too, will depend on you. Whatever we ask you to do, you must do without delay. No matter what task we ask you to undertake, if you undertake it properly, we will help you whenever you need our assistance." The head man of the Thunders told the spirit that he had no further instructions. He said he would leave him in care of Hu'ia, who would look after him. "He will protect you and see that you do all we have directed. We will give Hu'ia the power to guard you, and he shall be the Thunders' servant." If the spirit failed to do as directed, Hu'ia was to inform the Thunders. The Thunders told Hu'ia to give the man whatever advice he wished to give him. The Thunders were present all the time to hear this advice.

Hu'ia placed the spirit in the center of the Thunders, told it he had wished it to be born among men, so that it might have a better life and a home and would know where to go when he returned from hunting, and would have a place in which to sleep at night. Consequently, he had taken the spirit to all the places where the head men were; he had procured for him the things which he had desired; that, after being born on earth, he should obey all the instructions of the Thunders and of Hu'ia. He was to be born a medicineman. If, when he treated the sick, he was not able to cure them and wished further help, he was to inform the head man of the Thunders. They would hear his voice and would send a hailstorm. If he should feed a hailstone to the patient, he would improve. If he failed to accomplish any undertaking, he was to call upon the head man of the Thunders who had power to do all things. He was the head of

everything above and on the earth; he had made this man one of his servants and he must obey all of their commands. If he obeyed all their instructions, he would have a long, happy life. In conclusion, Hu'ia said that this was all he had to tell him; that he had conducted him to all except one of the head men whom he was to visit; he would now take him to that man; and thereafter they would return to the Thunders.

They flew through the air, to the very center of the earth [i.e., to the center of the earth's surface], where there was a stone. Hu'ia flew down and took the spirit to this stone. The stone at each of the cardinal points, which he had visited, were spoken of collectively as "men." Before birth, all the medicinemen born on earth are given directions at the stones in the north, east, and south. The stone in the center is the leader of everything on earth. The other four—three stones and the Thunders—are the leaders of everything above the earth. The medicinemen get their instructions from them before they come to earth. After they are born on earth, they get all the instructions from the stone in the center.

Hu'ia explained everything to Stone and told him that if he had a message, he should entrust it to this spirit. Stone warned the spirit that after being born on earth he must obey all his instructions and to forget none of them; if he should forget, he would make difficulties for himself; that, on earth, he would be a medicineman; that everybody, all the birds in the air, all the animals, and all the people on earth, would depend on him; that he should assist them to the limit of his ability; that Stone was the leader of everything on earth and would protect him when he had come down to earth. Stone told him that there was a man on earth who would help him when he was in difficulty and that Stone would invite that man to come to see him, for he wished this person to make his acquaintance. He invited the man. A bear came into the tipi and sat down. Stone told Bear that this was the man who would be born as a medicineman on earth and asked Bear to assist him in his undertakings after he went down to earth. Stone promised Bear power to help the man. If the medicineman thought he would lose a patient, he was to supplicate Bear. Stone would give Bear power to assist the medicineman to do his utmost. He gave Bear a small wooden

bowl, told him to put water and red earth in it and give this to the man, who would have the patient drink the water and the dissolved earth. Saying that was all he wished to tell Bear, he dismissed him.

He invited another man, Fox. Fox came in. Stone told Fox that this spirit would be born on earth as a medicineman. All the others had given him advice; he had invited Fox to tell him these things; and said that when he was treating a patient, Fox was to assist with his voice, so that the man would never tire of singing. He gave Fox a small bowl containing water and gray earth and sent him away with that. He invited another man.

Wild Turkey came. Stone told Wild Turkey this spirit was to be born on earth; he was to give him all the assistance he could bestow, whatever the nature of his need. He gave Wild Turkey a small bowl, into which he put water and black earth; he then sent Wild Turkey away with this bowl. He invited another man.

Turtle came. He told Turtle this spirit was to be born on earth as a medicineman and that all the people, animals, and birds would depend on him. He told Turtle that when this spirit was born on earth, Turtle was to help him as much as possible; he added that Turtle had strong paws and was always healthy, and that was why he had summoned him. He told Turtle that he had nothing more to say; he merely wished to tell him that this man would be born on earth and that other men had given him advice. He gave Turtle a bowl containing water in which blue earth had been mixed and dismissed him.

After interviewing these four, Stone told the spirit he would now test it. He summoned the smallest Thunder he could find, caused him to be sick, covered him with a red blanket, and told the medicineman to treat him. As the medicineman sang, Bear came and gave some of the red water to the little Thunder. The medicineman cured the Thunder, who went home. Stone then brought a fish, put a gray blanket over it, and the medicineman sang. Fox came, gave the fish some of the contents of his bowl of water, cured him, and he went to his home in the river. A sick deer was brought in. Stone covered the deer with a dark blanket and the medicineman sang. Turkey brought the black water and gave it to the deer to drink. The deer recovered and returned to his home. Buffalo was the last pa-

tient. The man sang. While he sang, Turtle brought the bowl of blue water. Buffalo pretended sickness and the man treated him. Turtle gave Buffalo some of the water to drink and sprinkled some of it over his body. Stone then sent Turtle to his home. This was the last of the tests given the spirit before it was born. Stone told the spirit that he had merely been tested and that he seemed to possess all of the requisite power.

Hu'ia took the spirit to the Thunders and told him to remain there a while. Later he flew around with Hu'ia and inspected the various Indian tribes. Hu'ia asked him where he wished to be born. The spirit expressed a desire to be born among the Dakota. "All right," said Hu'ia, who then took him to the Thunders and told them the spirit wished to be born among the Dakota. Hu'ia flew over the Dakota camp, to ascertain in which tipi he should be born. The Thunders told him to remain with them until Hu'ia returned. Hu'ia found a tipi in which the husband was a medicineman and the wife a medicinewoman. He knew their tipi would be a good place in which to be born. In a dream, Hu'ia informed them that a son would be born to them; that they must care for him and not make fun of him; that they must treat him well and never be cruel to him; furthermore, that they must maintain secrecy and tell no one of their fortune. Hu'ia returned to the Thunders and stated that he had found a good birthplace for the spirit with medicine people among whom it seemed very proper for it to be born.

When they learned where the spirit was to be born, all the Thunders came; not one was absent. In order to point out the tipi Hu'ia took the lead. They did not send the spirit down immediately, but in a dream told the woman that they had brought her a boy; they told the husband that they had now brought what had been promised him. About 10 [lunar] months later, the boy was born. When he had grown large enough to run about, the father remarked to his wife that their little boy was acting somewhat differently from other boys. About this time, his father made him a bow and arrows and taught him how to use them. When he had learned how to use the bow and arrow, he shot little birds [with blunt arrowheads], but never killed them. He asked his father to make him arrows with sharp arrowheads. The father made him arrows with sharp arrowheads. One

day the little fellow went to shoot birds. He shot an arrow through a bird, brought it home to his father and told him he had killed a bird. His father was pleased. He told his wife that when their boy grew up, he would be a medicineman; no small boy could shoot a bird as he had done.

While the boy was going about shooting birds, he lost all his arrows. He returned home and asked his father to make more for him, for he was constantly shooting birds, and had returned to procure more arrows. His father made four good arrows. The boy took his bow and these arrows, went away, and did not return that night. He came home on the following afternoon and told his father he had killed a bear. His father was glad to hear this and asked the boy to show him the bear. He guided his father to the den; there they found the dead bear, with all the arrows sticking in him. They brought the bear home, apportioning the meat among the people. Again the boy hunted and killed a bear. When he returned home, he informed his father about this one. His father and other men went to get the bear.

Again the boy went out to hunt. Previously his parents had looked after him anxiously; now, however, he was old enough to take care of himself, and they allowed him to go where he chose. He killed a bear, returned, and so informed his father. The boy had made no declaration to his parents, but without notifying anyone of his determination, he had resolved to kill four bears. When he had killed the fourth bear, his father warned all the people that they should under no pretext tease the boy or make fun of him because the boy's adventures were certain indications that he would be a medicineman. He declared that when the people were sick, they would need him; they would depend on him for everything. The boy told his father that before he was born he had resolved to kill four bears after he had been born on earth and had learned the use of a bow and arrow. Accordingly, his father had made him a bow and arrows and had taught him how to use them. At that time he had secretly resolved that he would kill four bears. He had now fulfilled that resolution. The boy killed these bears while he was still very small.

He was now growing to manhood; he was about 14 years old. All the people were on the verge of starvation. All who hunted returned empty-handed. The boy had his first dream. He

told his father that every day something hovered over them and for this reason they could kill no game. This thing was frightening the game; consequently all the game were afraid to approach.

His father wished him to find out what it was and tell him. That night the boy, about to fall asleep, attempted to learn what this thing was. It was the bird Ka'hi [Raven?]. The boy promised to think about [i.e., try to ascertain] what kind of bird it was. That night he learned that it was Ka'hi. In a dream, Ka'hi told the boy that someone had sent him there to hover over all the people, so that they could get no game.

The following morning he told his father that he had learned why they could not kill any game. While out hunting, a man unable to kill any game had promised Stone that if he would send him game to kill, he would offer Stone tobacco and would, in addition, perform a specified deed [or ceremony]. The man had failed to fulfil his promise and in retaliation Stone had sent this bird down, so that the people would be unable to kill any game. After explaining this incident to his father, he told him to invite all the men before the people starved. The father invited all the men in the camp, related his son's dream, saying that whoever had made the promise to Stone must fulfil it at once. A man rose and confessed that he had broken the promise. While he was hunting and was nearly starved, he had promised Stone that if he were permitted to kill a moose, he would make certain offerings to Stone, and he had not fulfilled the promise. A few days later the man fulfilled his promise. The boy told his father to invite all the men and make him a drum; that he did not want to see all the people starve, and would perform a certain feat, so that the people would be able to get food. The boy's father was much pleased at this request, made the drum, and invited all the men. The boy sang songs to the man in the east, whom he had visited first, before being born. He now made the Hunting Song ceremony (*wo' taaci wo' pi*).

When he had finished singing, and when they had consumed nearly all the food he had cooked for them, he said that game came from every direction—from the east, south, north, and west—while he was singing these songs. He directed that the next morning all must set out to hunt and promised that they should kill as much game as they desired.

While the boy was having these dreams, killing bears, and singing medicine songs, he was testing his power. When all of his enterprises had succeeded, he was assured of his gift. His father's cousin was very sick and the medicinemen could not cure him. The patient's wife, children, and the boy's father grieved over him. All the medicinemen said he must die; there was no hope for his recovery. The lad, thinking about his father's grief, determined to treat his father's cousin, if only to ascertain what he could accomplish. He told his father that he was sorry to see him grieving so much and would treat the cousin. The father was much pleased by his son's words. He recounted his prenatal instructions to his parent and said he would now test them. On the following morning the father took the boy to his [the father's] cousin's tipi and told the sick man that the lad would treat him. The patient was surprised to hear of the boy's intention to treat him, for the old medicinemen had given no hope for recovery. That morning the lad treated the patient and told him that he would treat him again in the evening. He went to the man's tipi in the evening, gave him another treatment and said he would later treat him again. On the following morning he treated the patient again and repeated it in the evening. He said that during the night, after the fourth treatment, there would be a thunderstorm, accompanied with hail. "If hail falls, you are to eat some of the hailstones." That evening, while he was treating the patient—this being the fourth treatment—a thunderstorm came.

As he finished the treatment, hail began to fall. He filled a bowl with hailstones, gave them to the sick man, and told him to eat all of them. The boy assured him that if he felt better after eating all of them, he would recover. After eating all the hailstones, the man no longer felt sick. The boy said that he had been instructed to do this before he was born; that everything he had been taught came true. This was his first patient. He had followed the directions given him by the man in the east and the promises had been fulfilled.

After treating this man, the boy decided to perform no other feat until after he was married and his first child had been born. Until he was a full-grown man and had married, he made no claims to power. A few years after his marriage a son was born to him. After the birth of his son

he told his father that he wished to sing again, for he wanted to induce his own son to take food. He asked his father to invite the men so that he could meet all of them. His father assembled all the men. The man then sang. When he had finished singing, they feasted. He told them that bears were coming from the north and south and that everyone would obtain plenty of bear meat. On the following morning he sang again, for on the previous day he had not been told where he would find the bears. He now learned where they were and imparted this information to all the men. He told the men assembled that he would sing on six successive nights and that they would get no game except bears. When, on the third night, he had finished singing, he told the men he had been singing only to the north and the south and had asked merely for bears; for he wanted his little boy, as well as the others, to have plenty of bear meat. He said he would sing three more times. After he had sung the fourth time, all had plenty of bear meat and bear fat. Every time he sang more bears came. After the fifth night of singing, they asked him to sing on 12 successive nights. At that time he had intended to sing on six successive nights and subsequently on another six successive nights. All agreed to this suggestion. He said that if he sang more bears would come. When he was about to sing on the sixth night, he told his father that he wished his little boy and the other people also to have plenty of bear meat; that he had been asked to sing on 12 nights, but would sing on only six nights then, and later would sing another six nights. On this final night of his singing, he told his father that he had been singing only to the south man and the north man; he thought everyone was well supplied with bear meat.

During the next six nights he intended to sing to the east and to the west, for he wanted some other kind of game. When he sang to the east and to the west, he saw many moose, elk, deer, and jumping deer. On the following morning he bade all go out and get as much game as they wished. After he had sung on these first six nights, he was afraid to postpone the other six, because he had been told to do exactly as directed. Therefore, he told his father that he would sing the next six nights without delay, to the man in the east and the man in the west. After he had sung the first of this second series of six nights, game was plentiful. He told the

people they were in no danger of starvation and added that five songs remained to be sung.

While he was singing another song, someone tried to open the flap of the tipi. After a while the person succeeded, and the man's little son entered. The lad went directly to his father and sat beside him. The father asked his son what he wanted. The son replied that he liked to hear his father beat the drum and sing and for that reason he had come to see what was happening in the tipi. The father told his son to sit quietly near him. The boy obeyed. When the man had finished, he announced that all the people would obtain a plentiful supply of meat as long as he continued to sing in that manner; that he wished all of them to be amply supplied with meat. When he had sung another song, he remarked to those present that every time he beat the drum and sang, moose, elk, deer, and every kind of game approached. He wanted the men to get as much game as possible before he finished the 12 nights' singing.

The following evening, when all had returned from hunting and he was about to sing, his little boy wished to go into the tipi with him. He told his father that he liked to hear him sing and beat the drum. The man sang. When he had finished, he announced that there was still plenty of game. The following evening, when all had returned from hunting, the man told his father that he would sing again; that he was not doing this of his own volition, but by direction of the men who had taught him before he was born on earth. The man said that he wished to live, not die, and, therefore, would do everything they had directed him to do. That evening, when all had returned from the hunt, he told them he would sing again. His little boy wished to enter the tipi and the man permitted him to do so. On the following morning they all went to hunt again. On the last evening he invited all the men he could find. He told them that this would be the last night on which he would sing; that it was not he who was singing, but other persons, and that he had been obeying them as faithfully as possible. He directed that on the following day everyone go out on a final hunt and that each one try to get an abundance of meat—all that he could carry. That night he sang for the last time. When he had finished, he announced that it was not he who sang this, but that after the birth of his son he had been directed to sing on 12 successive nights. "I

wished to obey every direction; I wanted everyone to be well supplied with meat." Therefore, whatever the direction to which he sang and beat the drum, thence came the game he had asked for from that direction. He told the men he was very grateful to them for having assisted him in his undertakings, so that he had finished the singing without difficulty; and added that all the people should be grateful for the abundance of meat. He told his father he had now finished what he had wished to do when he traveled about with Hu'ia. In the east, they had told him what to do and what songs to sing. He had now finished his performance and he was glad to have completed it. He told his father he must sing, beat the drum, and go out to fight; that he wished to sing.

A few years later he told his father that in a dream he had been directed to go out on a fighting expedition and said he wished to do as he was bidden. He made himself ready and sang. That night he saw several men around the tipi. On the following morning he asked his father to invite all the men in the camp to go on a fighting expedition and tell them to get ready. They went the following morning. They saw one family of Chippewa and brought home their scalps.

The man's son was eager to see a War dance. They held a big War dance, in which the man's son was allowed to participate. In another dream the Thunders told the man to go out to fight. The man in the east had said he would become a medicineman. He had tested the career of a medicineman and had found the predictions of the man in the east to be true. When he went to the man in the south and to the man in the north, each promised to help him in his undertakings. He had sung to them and had obtained the game that he wanted. The man in the west told him that though the drum had been given to him by the man in the east, it belonged to all of them [i.e., the cardinal points] as though they were only one man. "Whenever you beat the drum and sing, all will come to you, to ascertain what you want.¹ This is the last time I shall ask you to go out to fight."

On the following morning he went to fight. He brought back the scalps of two Chippewa.

¹ The drum belongs to all, because, presumably, its voice goes equally in all directions, i.e., equally to each of the cardinal points.

They held a big War dance, in which his little son participated. After the dance he told them he had done everything they had asked him to do. The man's little boy told him he had had a dream. The father told the lad to do as directed in the dream. The boy said he wished to see his father beat the drum and that he himself would sing. He wished to sing the next evening. The boy asked his father to invite all the men and omit no one. The father invited all the men, told them his boy wished to sing, and added that he would permit him to do so. The next evening, when the boy had finished singing, he told all the men, including his father, that they would get plenty of game the following morning. The next night the boy wanted to sing again. The father thought his son might accomplish more than he himself had, for the lad was beginning his career at a much earlier stage than his father. When the boy had finished singing, he told his father that the men should go out to hunt; that they would not only get plenty of game but would bring home an eagle. The following morning they all started. They all returned with plenty of game and brought the largest eagle they had ever killed. The father, observing that his son was becoming abler than he had been as a young boy, became troubled about him. He told the lad that he knew he was following directions; yet he was too young to perform such feats and that he should postpone his performances until he was older. The boy told his father that he had wished to surpass him; even so, if the father was not willing to see him do so, he would postpone any other feats. I never heard what other deeds the boy performed, or of further feats performed by his father.

This is the end.

A GIFTED YOUTH

This is a story of a young man, slightly over 30 years old. The story told me [informant] by this same young man begins with the young man asleep on a high hill. He awoke with a heavy substance on his chest and he could scarcely move. He opened his eyes and saw a big snake thrusting its tongue in and out of its mouth toward his face. When he moved, the snake thrust its tongue out and threatened to bite him. He wanted to call, but could not do so; he lay there, staring at the snake, until it moved away. Before it went away, however,

it told him to do a certain thing. He did not tell me exactly what that was. He went home. That night he went to bed and slept.

He arose very early and went outside. The first thing he saw was a small stone, kept by his grandmother who made offerings to it at certain times. He went into the tipi and asked his grandmother why she kept that stone. She replied: "Grandson, I keep the stone and make offerings to it because all of us wish to live. I put my faith in that stone." He asked, "Why do you not make offerings to me instead of to that stone?" She replied, "Grandson, you have asked a difficult question. You are not *wakan* and I should not make offerings to you." He said: "Grandmother, you are making false statements to my discredit. I will perform a feat. Remain quiet and do not run away." He went out, procured some grass, rubbed it between his hands until it was soft, and brought it in. It was a reddish grass called *pe' Aksuda' hu*. He said to his grandmother, "Remain quiet; I shall perform something." He rubbed the grass between his hands and threw it to the floor in front of him. It turned into small snakes. His grandmother was frightened and wept. Another time he told his grandmother that he would perform another feat. He bade her fill two large tin plates with water and place these in front of herself. He covered them with a white cloth, grasped one of the plates, and shook it four times. He told his grandmother to remove the cloth and look at the plate. She removed the cloth, and found two small red fish in the water. Again he shook it twice and bade her look again. Two more fish were in the water. He did this a third time, and again two more fish were in the water, six in all. He repeated, and there were two more fish, eight in all. He then said, "Grandmother, if I continue, there will be a panful."

He told his grandmother he would perform another feat. He told her to bring him two horse collars. When she had done so, he told her to remain outside. He took up the collars, buckled one, and threw it toward the door. When it fell at the door, it became a pig, which grunted and ran about. He threw the other collar, which also became a pig and grunted. He asked his grandmother where the pigs had gone. She said they had run into the stable. He asked her whether they had certainly gone into the stable. She assured him they had. He told her to

go and look at them. When she arrived at the stable, she found both the collars there.

Another time he asked his grandmother to give him her calf hide. She gave it to him. It was well dried and hard, and the legs were hard. He held it up, pulled the legs out straight, and turned it toward the door, whereupon a calf ran out, bellowing, and went toward the stable. He told his grandmother to feed the calf. She went into the stable, but when she arrived there, the calf had turned into a piece of old hard hide.¹

WAKAN FEATS WITH STONES

A man was performing feats [literally, doing *wakan* things]. One of the men in the crowd had lost a horse. The loser of the horse made a feast for him. He summoned spirits to the feast and asked them the whereabouts of the horse. Meanwhile he sang in the back of the tipi, the flap of which was closed. The flap opened and stones rolled in, one after the other, until the tipi was nearly filled. After he had sung, all the stones lay quiet. The spirits came and told him where to find the horse. Next morning the owner went to search for it; he had been told the nature of the country he was to traverse, the location of the horse, and the direction to follow. He traveled, as directed, until he found the horse. When the feast was over, all the stones left, one after the other, some quietly and some noisily, some large and some small. One wonders how some of them could get in and out, for they were larger than the entrance.

There were many rattlesnakes near him. When a rattlesnake had bitten a person, it went to this man and told him it had done so. He got the snake, no matter where it might be, and brought it back. When he had brought it back, he cut it open. In its stomach he would find a small clot of the blood of the person whom it had bitten. He would throw this blood clot away. He then rubbed medicine on the wound. He applied the same treatment to a horse which had been bitten. Although there were many snakes, he could always single out the desired one. He went to the injured person, inquired which direction the snake had taken, and followed its tracks to its den.

He did many such things. Some called them miracles; others attributed them to evil spirits

or the devil. They learned that he had done more than he admitted, accused him of killing a man, and had him arrested and placed in jail for six months. They believed him guilty of many evil deeds, but could not prove that he had committed them. People feared him and wished him placed in jail. The Indian Agent asked them to prove their charges, but they were unable to do so. They told the Agent about the tricks performed by the man when he sang—about the stones that rolled to him, one behind the other. The Indian Agent was skeptical and told the culprit that if he could cause stones to come to him by singing, the Agent would dismiss him. For a long time the accused man did not reply. Finally he agreed to sing. He bade the Agent secure a certain young man, to assist with the singing, and also a drum and a flute. About 10 o'clock in the evening, he began to sing. Many of the people were watching the large stone known as Standing Rock [in North Dakota]. After a while they heard him play the flute. He blew it four times, then beat the drum, sang, and signaled the assistants to join in the singing. They watched this stone closely. No one saw it start from its place, but they all saw it moving on the ground toward the drum; it was then about a quarter of a mile away. It moved slowly, shoving along, to the place where the man was singing. When he stopped singing, the Agent went to him and told him that the stone had not come into the tipi. The man replied that it was ashamed to do so, because it was blind and had no legs on which to walk; but he had done his utmost; the stone was shy because of the people present, and therefore would not go into the tipi. The Agent dismissed the man and placed the stone in his own house; next morning, however, it was back on the hill where it belonged. Afterward they would not allow him to perform any of these feats. He did not wish to be called "the devil." This is a true story.

Smoky-Day informs me [writes the Reverend G. H. Pond, in 1852] that at Lake Traverse, a Dakota once, who was ambitious to be inspired by the gods, caused a hole to be opened in the centre of one of these earth mounds, in doing which quite a number of human bones were thrown up. It is the common practice of the Dakotas, who desire to be *wakan*, or inspired by the supernatural power, to stretch themselves on the ground in some solitary place, and there remain till the gods draw near with

¹ This is said to be a Sisseton Dakota story.

their communications, which I believe generally occurs in the darkness of the night. On the above occasion, the "dreamer," for they call it dreaming, placed himself in the centre of the mound, in the midst of the human bones. When the stillness of night brooded over his dreaming place the spirits, whose bones he had disturbed, hovered around and treated him so rudely, that in his fright he fled for his life, and remained an uninspired man.¹

Neill states, in 1853, that the medicinemen were considered the most powerful and influential in the tribe.

They are looked upon as a species of demi-gods. They assert their origin to be miraculous. At first, they are spiritual existences, encased in a seed of some description of a winged nature, like the thistle. Wafted by the breeze to the dwelling place of the gods, they are received to intimate communion. After being instructed in relation to the mysteries of the spirit world, they go forth to study the character of all tribes. After deciding upon a residence, they enter the body of some one about to become a mother, and are ushered by her into the world. A great majority of the M'dewakantonwans [one of the Dakota bands] are Medicine Men.²

Father Ravoux says that when he was at Mendota, Minnesota, in the winter of 1843-1844, an old Dakota

... much renowned among the men belonging to the *Great Medicine* ... addressed me as follows: "Black Gown, if you will promise to give me three blankets, I will allow you to tie me with ropes as you may think proper. In your presence I will invoke my spirits, they will loose your ropes, and you will see me here as free as I am now ... be assured that my spirits are very powerful and are to be revered by all." ... raising my voice, I addressed them as follows: "Spirits of Totouwakanhdapi come here, come here, we shall fight together." "Stop! Stop!" he exclaimed, "I fear my spirits will strike you." The old man appeared to be much frightened, and to induce me to believe him, he related to me the following anecdote: "Once when invoking my spirits with solemnity, in a tepee prepared for that purpose, they raised me up, and then irritated against me they let me fall down, and I was almost killed." Placing then his right hand on his face, and showing me a large scar he had on one of his cheeks, he told me that that would give me an idea of the wound, and that it was wrong to show any disrespect to the spirits, because they might become very much irritated and cause us great evils. Whether that statement was true or not, I am convinced that some of

the Indians have communication with the evil spirits, and through them may perform wonderful works.³

... Almost every Indian has the image of an animal or bird tattooed on his breast or arm, which can charm away an evil spirit, or prevent his enemy from bringing trouble or death upon him by a secret shot. The power of life rests with mortals, especially with their medicine men; they believe that if an enemy be shooting secretly at them, a spell or charm must be put in requisition to counteract their power.⁴

Ten Dakota were very sick with a contagious disease. The White doctors could not cure them. They were removed from the other people, to be treated elsewhere, but the White man's efforts availed nothing. A medicineman announced that he could cure them. He cured every one of the 10. After doing this, he invited the White doctors into a room and sat down in the center by a stone which he had painted red. When he sang, the stone went in a circle about the room, in front of the White doctors. All of them talked about the feats this man could perform.

Father Ravoux reports the cure of a sick mare by a Dakota medicineman:

The new magician went to the stable, pronounced the words, performed the ceremony, and the mare rose up immediately, left the stable, ran away to graze, and was cured.⁵

The "spiritualists" who deal with the minor, or evil, spirits, have in their war-spear covers, "medicine," so termed, which is eaten or drunk just as they go into a battle, and of which they never otherwise partake. Our lower Sioux, about St. Paul, generally used whisky, and but very little in a small vial, which was drunk on going into the fight, and the vial thrown away. Many such vials have I furnished, with the liquor, to those who had returned from the Chippewa forays; and that is the way I account for the so few drunkards that were among those Indians, compared with other tribes or bands. I have been informed by those who have thus drunk the sacred whisky, on the eve of battle, that the effect was instantaneous, making the drinker frenzied and like a "madman." ...⁶

The theory adopted by the wakan-men was that

¹ Ravoux, 1890, 30-31.

² Eastman, 1849, 74.

³ Ravoux, 1890, 33-34.

⁴ Forbes, 1894, 416.

¹ Pond, G. H., 1872, 146.

² Neill, 1872b, 269.

internal diseases were caused by some malignant supernatural influence, consequently that superhuman aid must be invoked to effect their removal; and in attempting to induce Satan to cast out Satan they make strange work of it. When a person was so sick as to need the aid of one of these doctors, a messenger was sent to him with a present or the promise of one, and if he thought the reward sufficient he immediately waited on the patient. The doctor pretended to know the cause of the disease, and sometimes whether it could be cured. This knowledge he obtained from the invisible world, and he had the advantage in this respect of some of our own impostors, for he did not need to examine anything taken from the body of the patient, not even a lock of hair. The disease was commonly ascribed to some transgression, intentional or accidental, of some one of their superstitious rules.

To prepare for the operations of the conjurer, a tent was pitched or one was vacated, and the sick person was laid on his back in the tent, with his breast bared. The doctor then stood over him, shaking his gourd-seed rattle, and uttering the most horrible sounds of which the human voice is capable. These utterances were accompanied with stamping and violent contortions of his body. From time to time, the conjurer applied his mouth to the body of the patient, and with much ado and a great deal of noise pretended to draw out the disease by suction, spitting frequently into a dish and examining carefully the color of the saliva, which was commonly tinged red or blue. This tinge must have been caused by some coloring substance held in the mouth, but he represented that it was caused by the disease and varied according to the nature of the malady. The sounds emitted by the operator were the most disagreeable that I ever heard, and his whole appearance the most revolting of anything to be seen among the Dakotas. If the patient lived, the physician had the credit of curing him; and if, on the other hand, he died, there were ways enough to account for his death, without ascribing it to the unskillfulness of the doctor.

There were many of these conjurers, some of them women, but much the larger number were men.¹

The manner in which the Dakotas worshipped the Thunder bird, if it can be called worship, seemed rather designed to intimidate than to propitiate this god. Like all other sacred dances of the Dakotas, it was attended with many little whimsical ceremonies, too numerous to be minutely described. An image of the thunder bird was made and fastened to a pole twenty or thirty feet high, around which the worshippers, if they could be so designated, danced. At the close of the ceremonies, they shot at the pole near

the top until they cut it in two with their bullets, when the likeness of the bird fell to the ground.

Occasionally some of the Dakotas were killed by lightning, and it was natural that they should wish to find out a remedy for the evil; but it does not seem reasonable to suppose the thunder bird would be more favorably disposed toward them after being treated thus in effigy.

A wakan-man, however, was wiser than seven men who can render a reason.²

Neill gives the following description of a "dance to Wahkeenyan, the God of Thunder":

On the afternoon of July twelfth [1851] the dance was commenced. The spot selected was nearly a half mile from the river bank. The commissioners and their party, and perhaps 1000 Dakotahs, were present. The dance was performed within a circular enclosure made of the limbs of the aspen stuck in the ground, interwoven with four arched gateways, forming an area like a large circus. A pole was planted in the middle of the area, with an image cut out of bark, designed to represent the Thunder Bird, suspended by a string at the top. At each of the arched gateways stood another pole and image of the same description, but smaller than the one in the centre. Near the foot of the central pole was a little arbour of aspen bushes, in which sat an ugly-looking Indian with his face blackened, and a wig of green grass over his head, who acted as sorcerer, and uttered incantations with fervent unction, and beat the drum, and played on the Indian flute, and sung by turns, to regulate the evolutions of the dance. Before this arbour, at the foot of the central pole were various mystical emblems; the image of a running buffalo cut out of bark, with his legs stuck in the ground, also a pipe and a red stone shaped something like a head, with some coloured down. At a given signal by the conjurer, the young men sprang in through the gateways, and commenced a circular dance in procession around the conjurer, who continued to sing and beat his drum. After fifteen or twenty minutes, the dancers ran out of the ring, returning after a short respite. The third time a few horsemen, in very gay fantastic costume, accompanied the procession of dancers who were within, by riding outside of the enclosure. The last time a multitude of boys and girls joined the band of dancers in the area, and many more horsemen joined the cavalcade that rode around the area, some dressed in blue embroidered blankets, others in white. Suddenly several rifles were discharged at the poles upon which the Thunder Birds were suspended, knocking them down, and the sacred dance ended.³

¹ Pond, S. W., 1908, 476-477.

² Pond, S. W., 1908, 418-419.

³ Neill, 1882, 558-559.

MEDICINEWOMEN

A POWERFUL MEDICINEWOMAN

WakiAsuA' (Thunders-roaring) was married. One night a man went to WakiAsuA's tipi and ran off with his wife. When WakiAsuA' went to the tipi and called for her, he learned that she had departed. He slept alone in the tipi. While he was asleep, he learned where she had gone. Next morning he sang. He went around the tipi four times, changed into a buffalo, and tracked the eloping couple. On the following morning he went into another camp. Here the tracks were so numerous that he could no longer follow them. He went around the camp four times. He then learned that they had not gone into the camp, but instead had made a detour around it. He went past this camp, into the bush, across a valley, and tracked the two up a hill, to a small patch of bushes. He changed himself into a man. Because of the medicine he had used on them, they neither heard nor saw him. He went close to them, shot the man, and cut off his head. He brought his wife home to the large camp and told her father all that she had done. He took her to his tipi. He was a medicineman, but did not know that his wife was destined to become similarly gifted. At their tipi she gave her husband his meal. They argued as to which was the stronger in magic; each claimed to be superior to the other. To decide the issue, both began to sing their *wakan* songs. While sitting there singing, the man died; thus the wife proved her superior power and that women have as much *wakan* as have men.

NO-SCALP

Nearly all of the old stories which detail the prowess of medicine people [quoting the informant] are about men. There is only one story of a woman who was as powerful as any man.

She had been told to do a certain thing. She did not do it. Some Chippewa came to the place where she was living and cut gashes down her back and over her entire body. They took her scalp and went away, leaving her—so they thought—dead. Two days later she revived. All her various *wakan* had helped to restore life in her. A band of Dakota, hearing that the woman had been killed, went to that place. At the same time a band of Chippewa arrived. The two bands happened to meet there. She

killed two Chippewa warriors and a Chippewa woman. She took the latter's scalp and put it on her own head. It fitted so well that no one who later saw it suspected that it had been taken from the head of another—so much did it resemble her own natural scalp and hair. Her name was Pa'cba (No-scalp).

THE STORY OF A MEDICINEWOMAN AND HER SON

A giant gull was flying about and eating anything on the shore. It found an old dead fish, dry and hard. Gull said to the fish, "I suppose you have had a hard fate." Gull turned it over and was about to eat it, but changed its mind, reflecting that this fish must have done some misdeed that brought upon it this miserable death. Gull kept turning the fish over and over. He asked it, "Can you talk?" Fish said that when on earth it had been told to do certain things, but it had done them only indifferently and, therefore, had not retained its *wakan*. The *wakan* beings had changed him into a fish and thrown him into a lake. The other fish in the lake had killed him and thrown him out on the beach, where he had dried up and shriveled. Gull repeated that it must have spent its life ignobly, and offered to ask the *wakan* beings to give Fish a new life and another opportunity [to redeem itself], provided Fish obeyed every direction Gull gave it. Gull took Fish to a place where there was a *wakan* being. (Three *wakan* beings were consulted. Each of them told Gull to go farther west. Finally he arrived at the Thunders.)¹ When Gull was close to the home of the Thunders, everything shone with a glittering light, like the beams reflected from mirrors. Gull warned Fish to give himself a miserable appearance, keep quiet, and make no reply if they questioned him; he, Gull, would do the talking. Gull laid Fish before the head man of the Thunders, who summoned all the other Thunders into his tipi.

When all had assembled, the head man bade Gull deliver his message. Gull told the Thunders that Fish had once been a man on earth; he had been told to do certain things, but had forgotten them and had, in consequence, been sent among the fish. They had killed him and

¹ Sentences in parentheses are abridgements of the original tale.

thrown him out on the beach. Gull pleaded with the Thunders to have pity on Fish and give him a new life. If, after another trial, he did not do what they told him to do, they should then kill him.

The head man told Gull they had given Fish every opportunity to perform the required acts, but he had paid no heed to their warnings; the other *wakan* beings wished him to be killed; and, finally, they had killed him. "If he wishes to live again, he must obey every order we give." The Thunders told Gull that if Fish did anything wrong, Gull would be accountable; and if the man should be killed, Gull also would be killed. The Thunders said this merely to frighten both Fish and Gull; they did not mean it.

They agreed that Fish should be born among the Dakota. They told Gull to take Fish over the entire world and when he found a Dakota camp and a good home there for Fish to be born in, to leave it there and go away. Gull flew everywhere and finally found a Dakota camp. While he was searching for a suitable family, all the Thunders came, in a dream, to the man and wife in the chosen tipi, and told them a son would be born to them. The Thunders took Gull and Fish to their home. The head man of the Thunders said that below, in the ground, were two rattlesnakes that thought they had more power than the Thunders; in the water were two fish that thought they were safe [from attack by the Thunders] because they were far under the water.

The Thunders intended to test Fish by making him kill these four creatures. They gave him a spear and told him that whatever he speared with it would die. They gathered about over the great fish, and struck the ground, to cause it to come to the surface. Fish struck it with his spear and killed it. The water all about was boiling hot and steam rose. He pulled out the spear and the heart of the great fish came with it. All the Thunders gathered around, looked at the heart, and said they would cut it up and eat it.

The Thunders gathered about the place of the dangerous rattlesnake and struck the earth where it was hidden. Fish thrust his spear into the ground and killed the rattlesnake. He pulled the spear out and simultaneously the heart of the snake. All the Thunders congregated and ate the heart.

Gull reminded the Thunders that their head man had said that four things were to be accomplished; it was now time to perform another feat. While the Thunders were passing over a large patch of bush, they said that the second rattlesnake was under a designated tree; they would strike the tree and shatter it; and then Fish could thrust his spear under its roots. The Thunders struck the tree and shattered it into splinters. One Thunder broke off the top, another demolished the remainder as though it had been split into small pieces with an ax. Fish then thrust his spear into its roots. The rattlesnake, hearing the Thunders strike the tree, was about to move from the place, but Fish transfixed its head with the spear, and pulled the rattlesnake out from under the roots of the tree. They traveled on in search of the creature they were to kill next. While they were crossing a lake, far beneath the surface of the water they found a fish and a turtle, saying that the Thunders could not injure them, for they were deep down. No sooner had they said this than a Thunder told Fish to thrust his spear into the water and try to kill them. All the Thunders struck the ground under these creatures. Fish transfixed the turtle with his spear, and the last Thunder to strike killed the fish that was with the turtle. With his spear, Fish pulled the turtle out, removed the heart and ate it. These four acts which Fish was instructed to perform foretold his fighting the Chippewa, after he had been born and was old enough to fight.

The Thunders returned to the man and wife whom they had previously visited in a dream. When the Dakota heard this violent thunderstorm, they were frightened. All the Thunders struck the earth in the middle of the camp; Fish stuck his spear into the flap of the tipi in which he was to be born. All the Thunders gathered about him, told him that was the tipi in which he would be born, and that he should not forget the instructions of their head man. Fish promised to remember. The Thunders left him there and returned to their home in the west. The Thunders had first said Fish would be born a boy; but they changed their minds and Fish was born a girl.

When this girl was a little older, the Thunders came to her in a dream and told her she must do as they directed, and that she must obey her father and mother. She was continually telling stories about occurrences previous to her birth.

Thus her parents learned that she would become a medicinewoman. She asked her father to make her a bow and arrow. She returned with a deer and gave it to her father and mother. She became as good a hunter as any man, and her father and mother were pleased.

She told her father she would make a certain kind of string. She braided the bark of white ash and decorated it with porcupine quills. She told her father he was a poor hunter, but that if he took this object with him, he would be successful. Next day her father hunted and returned with a deer. She told him he would kill a deer and an eagle on the following day.

Meanwhile in dreams the girl was receiving instructions as to her actions. She did not relate these dreams. In one dream Gull told her to relate her dreams, and to do as she had been directed; the Thunders were becoming angry and would not give her many more opportunities. The following morning she told her father that she had been having dreams, but because she was a girl had not told anyone about them. Her father said he was both surprised and pleased to hear it; that she would immediately make known her dreams. She replied that though she was a girl she would do as directed and would give the *yumi'ni watci'pi*.

Her father bade her give the performance unashamedly and declared he would rather have her do it than be killed by the Thunders. Next morning he invited all the young men, told them about his daughter's dream, and said that despite the fact that she was a girl, she had been told to give the *yumi'ni watci'pi*, and that he wished the men to assist her. The men prepared and held the dance. During the dance a voice instructed her to do another designated thing. She did not announce her instructions to the men who were participating, for she was ashamed. When all had gone and she was alone with her father, she told him she must perform a certain feat. She had seen a Chippewa during the dance. She bade her father announce to all the young men that the Chippewa might enter the camp. They were warned to clean their guns and be prepared. Her father announced this to the men, all of whom cleaned and loaded their guns and were fully prepared. A day passed. A little after sunrise the next morning two women who had gone out to gather wood were pursued and killed by three Chippewa. All the men were prepared. They did not go

far before they killed the Chippewa. They returned with the scalps. This was one of the fights that had been foretold before the birth of the girl.

She grew to maturity, married, and several years later gave birth to a child. Her husband was a good hunter. Every time his wife told him to go hunting and designated the kind of game he would procure, he was successful. One day, while this woman was gathering wood, a man approached, bade her have no fear and listen to him carefully. He said that he had known her before she was born and when he heard that she had a child, he was pleased; he was glad the child could now eat solid food. She was instructed to tell her husband to hunt every day and he would be given a bear. He promised her that if she obeyed every direction, she would have the power of invisibility.

The woman put the wood on her back, but the carrying strap broke. It broke again and again, until it was too short. She went to get her mother's pack strap. When she reached home, her father asked her why she was returning without wood. She replied that her strap had broken. She took her mother's strap and returned for the wood. When she reached the load of wood, the spirit stood there, awaiting her. It bade her have no fear and to forget nothing that she had been told. She returned home and advised her husband to go out to hunt. Next morning he killed a bear. When he was about to remove the skin, a person walked up to him, saying that he had given that bear to the hunter's son, and that the man should take it home; that his family should eat it; and that the first piece cooked should be eaten by his little boy and by no one else. After the boy had eaten, this person said he would appear to him in a dream. That night, as usual, they put the boy to bed after he had eaten.

Throughout the night, however, the lad cried. It was while the spirit was appearing to him that he cried out. When he grew up he was one of the ablest Dakota medicinemen. A few days later, in a dream, the woman was told to go out to fight, but she said nothing about it. Gull came to her in a dream and asked her why she disobeyed the Thunders. She was frightened. Next morning she told her father about the dream in which the Thunders had commanded her to go out to fight. She was a woman, she said, and did not wish to go. Her father scolded

her, saying that he had once before told her to reveal her dreams, that it was not necessary for her to carry out the directions herself, but that she could have a man do so for her. Her husband, accordingly, offered to fight in her place and to do everything she had been directed to do.

Next morning she invited the men and told them about the war party. They all prepared to go. The woman made a spear like that given her by the Thunders; she bade her husband take it with him. They were to travel four days and on the fifth day they would encounter the Chippewa. She told them that early on the morning of the fifth day there would be a violent thunderstorm. The party started. On the fifth day there was a severe thunderstorm. All the Chippewa except one escaped; the woman's husband killed a Chippewa with the spear and he returned with the scalp. This was one of the events symbolized before she was born, when, in the midst of the thunderstorm, she had killed the fish with a spear.

Several years later she had another dream. This time she promptly told her father. She said the Thunders had asked her to participate in another fight. She was aware that her husband would take her place; in the dream, the Thunders told her that if he did exactly as she was directed, this would be equivalent to her going. All this time her husband had the powers of a medicineman, but said nothing about it; he did not have dreams, but saw things in his sleep when he was not dreaming.¹ Every time she dreamed of going out to fight, he saw a Chippewa. For him, this was a sign that he should go out to fight. Her father invited the young men and all prepared for the war party. Her husband lingered behind the others. She had told him that he would kill only one Chippewa and that when they met the Chippewa, there would be a terrific thunderstorm. On the fifth day about noon there was a violent thunderstorm. This time also the husband killed a Chippewa with his spear. He took the scalp and brought it home.

This was the second time she had performed this feat. The Thunders had her do this before she was born. It was symbolized by the killing of the rattlesnake. That night, after the return of the war party, she told her father it

¹ The distinction is between being told something by a *wakan* being and merely having dream visions.

was not she herself who did these things, but that it was the *wakan* being who directed her to do them, and who watched over every Dakota who went to fight, and assured the safety of all.

Another thunderstorm came. When it had passed over, she told her father and her husband that the Thunders which had just passed over them had, when directly above her, told her to go on another war party. Her father was pleased to hear this and assured her that if she spoke the truth her husband would take her place. She told them to prepare the party and start. She predicted that on the morning after they had started, when they encountered the Chippewa, there would be a thunderstorm; that they would kill only one Chippewa; and that the Chippewa would inflict no injury on the Dakota. Between these fights she had asked her father whether the people had plenty of food and meat, and said that if they did not, she would secure food for them. Every time the people hunted they returned with game. When they learned that all her predictions were fulfilled, they were surprised, and some were very glad. They wanted her to treat them in every sickness, for she helped all whom she treated. When all the men had assembled and were ready for the war expedition, she told her husband that they would sleep three times on the journey. On the fourth day there would be a thunderstorm and they would kill a Chippewa. The men departed. They traveled three days. On the fourth day there was a thunderstorm. None of the men heeded the storm. They continued on their journey until they met a Chippewa. The woman's husband killed him with the spear which she had given him. This was the third fight; the Chippewa who was killed was symbolized, before she was born, by the killing of the second rattlesnake.

Several days later in a dream the Thunders told her to go on her last war party. Next morning she told her father about the dream. He was pleased to hear it. He invited all the men, who prepared and started. On the third day of their journey, there was a thunderstorm. The woman's husband killed a Chippewa with his spear, and another Dakota shot a Chippewa above the heart. These Chippewa were hunting. Before birth this event was forecast to her through the killing of the turtle and the fish. Before she was born, the Thunders tested her four times. After she was born, she went out

four times to fight, in fulfilment of the signs which had been given her. She had now completed the things which the Thunders had ordered her to do. She told her father that she had had a dream in which it was announced to her that she had now finished all she had been told to do and she was glad to be through with it. Now, for the remainder of her life, she could go about as she pleased. Her father was glad to hear this and to know that she had now finished all her tasks. Her child was now old enough to run about. Her father told her she must disclose any directions she received at once, and must not keep her own counsel.

One night when she was ready to retire, she was restless; she rose, went out, came in, sat down, rose, and again went out. Her father asked what was troubling her. She replied that the last time she had gone out she heard a voice saying that there would be a thunderstorm that night; that she had been told to do a certain thing, but had postponed it too long and, therefore, the Thunders would come that night and kill her. They were preparing then to come to punish her. The first thunderstorm came early in the evening. The Thunder called out to her and said he had told her to perform the Sun dance, but she had refused to do it. He would give her another opportunity, but this was a final warning. This Thunder declared that all his brothers were enraged, that they were behind him, and when they came, would kill her. He meant that she was to perform the Sun dance immediately, even though it was late. She understood the command, but complained to her father that it was then too late in the day and she would perform it early in the morning. They went to bed, not knowing that the greatest misfortune was about to visit them. A terrific thunderclap killed the woman.

The Thunders had several times previously told her to perform the Sun dance. She had been unwilling to perform it because she was a woman; therefore, the Thunders killed her. In the first dream in which she was commanded to do it, the time appointed was when her son was old enough [to run about ?], but she had not complied. The boy grieved for his mother. In the storm that killed her, he heard a voice saying that his mother would be killed and that he must take her place in the Sun dance and that if he failed to do so the Thunders would visit on him the same punishment they had

sent his mother. The lad mourned for his mother and grieved over what the Thunders had told him. He went into the bush and remained there weeping. His father went to him, said that he had cried enough, that he should come home, eat something, and stop his weeping. When he arrived home, his father told him he had cried enough; his mother was dead; it was useless to weep, for weeping would not restore her, but that he would only make himself sick. The boy told his father that in addition to his mother's death, one other thing grieved him: When his mother was killed, he had heard a voice telling him to take his mother's place in the Sun dance; before he was born, he had seen his mother among the Thunders and knew everything that she was told to do; after she was born, she had, for a while, obeyed the Thunders, and, therefore, the Thunders had sent him to his father's tipi. He knew that if his mother had performed the Sun dance, he was to have taken part in it. He was so young, however, that he was unwilling to perform it alone. Before he took his mother's place in the Sun dance, he wished to fight and kill a Chippewa; and upon his return he would perform the dance.

Another time, when he was out in the bush, weeping, his father went to him, bade him cease weeping, return home, and eat something. The boy went home and ate, then told his father to prepare to fight. His father declared his willingness to accompany the boy. He told his father that though his mother had not been killed by a Chippewa, he would make the Chippewa pay for her death; they would kill two families. The party left. That night they came upon two tipis. They killed all the Chippewa, except one woman, who resembled the boy's mother. They brought her home alive. When he had brought her home, he told his father he had done so because she resembled his mother; his father was to live with her as he had done with his mother and be kind to her. His father lived with the woman. A few days later the boy told his father he wanted a drum. When he received the drum, he said he would sing. After he had sung, he declared that all the men, when they hunted, could get game. That night he sang again. Next morning he bade all of the men go to hunt.

Each hunter brought back game. One man killed a bear. The boy had him cook the entire

bear, took his drum to the man's tipi, and sang. While he was singing, a voice told him he must go on a war expedition; but, before doing so, he should sing on four successive nights. When he had sung on these four successive nights, he announced that they would go out to fight; four families were hunting in the bush, and he would bring home all their scalps. The party started. On the fourth day they saw the Chippewa's tipis.

They sat down. He told the party that a thunderstorm would precede the attack and that they would sit there until the storm materialized; when the Thunders were immediately above them, the war party would go and kill all the Chippewa. When the thunderstorm was immediately above them, they went on, and killed all the Chippewa except one woman, whom the boy brought home alive. His father's brother's wife was dead. He took the woman to his uncle's tipi, told him he had brought this woman alive to the camp, because she resembled his deceased aunt, and bade his uncle live with her, and always be kind to her.

After he returned from this fight, he beat the drum and sang. Some of the men went out to hunt. One returned with a bear. He cooked it and invited some of the men to partake of the meat. While singing, the boy heard a voice tell him he was to go on another war party. He bade all the men prepare and said they would leave early the following morning.

Next morning they departed. On the fourth day they would encounter the Chippewa; when they saw the enemy, they should sit at a certain place until a thunderstorm came. The Thunders would help them. They sat until almost evening, and a thunderstorm came. They found the tipis of three families and killed all except one woman. He brought her to the camp and gave her to a man, explaining that she resembled his own mother, for which reason he had brought her to the camp. He bade the man live with her, always be kind to her, treat her well, and do nothing to displease her. Later he said he would sing. He sang a few songs and bade some of the men hunt. All who went to hunt

returned with game. Later he sang again and announced that he would go out to fight; he had killed eight families, and wished to kill two more, to make a total of 10. He said that all should prepare for the war party and they would start in four days.

After four days, they were all ready, and they started. They traveled for a day or two and saw two tipis. The leader bade them sit where they were until a thunderstorm passed over. They then killed the Chippewa and took one woman alive. The leader brought her to the camp, gave her to an unmarried man, and told him to keep the woman as his wife. He had saved her life because she resembled the leader's mother. He cautioned the man to be kind to her and to do nothing to displease her. The boy told the several men who were near him that he had grieved over the killing of his mother by the Thunders and though the Chippewa had not killed her, yet he wished to make them pay for her death, and that he had now killed the members of 10 families. He said he had taken four Chippewa women in the place of his mother. He had given various men these women to live with them, and all four would be his mother; he now had ceased to grieve, for he had four mothers to replace his actual mother whom the Thunders had killed. The various men got along well with their Chippewa wives. He told each of these women that he had carried out his plans. After conducting the four war parties, he had performed the Sun dance. The Thunders had called upon him to complete his mother's unfinished tasks, but had permitted him to carry them out in a slightly different manner. He was glad to have finished it. The Thunders had told him he might spend the remainder of his life any way he chose. He was a great medicineman. We were never told how he lived after this. They always say he became a medicineman after his mother was killed by the Thunders and that none was a better medicineman than he. That is as far as I was told. I do not know what happened to him after this. That is the end.

CLOWNS

MEMBERS OF THE CLOWN DANCE are considered the most powerful medicine people. They perform marvelous feats, and frequently their ludicrous actions provoke much laughter. When several clowns are together, their behavior is unpredictable. They mount a pin on top of a stick and at 25 yards distance hit it with an arrow. They are not afraid of fire and can hold fire, or anything red hot, in their hands until it is cool, without burning themselves.

When they hunt, they wear a hat which has two sharp points. With the slightest effort, they can kill any game they wish. When they kill a moose, an elk, or other animal, and it becomes inflated around the wound, they jump around the animal with a peculiar hop, first on one foot, then on the other, and the swelling subsides. Only those who dream of the supernatural Clown have this power and become members of this society. If a man merely pretends to have had such a dream, the other Clowns soon detect the subterfuge, for the claimant will not be able to do what the other Clowns do.

Once, in a sweatbath, those who had dreamed of the Bear and those who had dreamed of the Clown sat on opposite sides of the tipi. The Bears were too slow to frighten the Clowns, for the latter were aware of all the Bears intended to do. When all were seated and had smoked, the Clowns each sang a different song, and threw water on the hot stone. The Bears growled in imitation of bears in their den, but this did not frighten the Clowns; on the contrary, they frightened all the Bears out of the tipi. In the sweatbath the participants sing, in turn, sprinkling the hot stone from a bunch of any kind of grass which they may happen to select, until all have sung and sprinkled it. On the occasion described, all the Clowns suddenly sprinkled the stone and sang simultaneously, giving the Bears no opportunity to perform. In this way they frightened all the Bears out of the tipi. The Bears tried unsuccessfully to frighten the Clowns.

On another occasion one medicineman dreamed of the Bear and another dreamed of the Clown. They had a lively quarrel; each declared he had the greater power and the other denied this. The medicineman who had

dreamed of the Clown asked the other what he could do. The other replied that he had dreamed of the Bear and his fingers were like this (showing them half bent), "So that if I should catch hold of you, I would tear off your flesh." The man who had dreamed of the Clown bade him try it. The other growled like a bear, gripped him by the shoulders, shook him, and tried to get his fingers into the man's flesh. He failed and the other merely laughed at him. The man attacked ran to the fire, picked up live coals, and caught the Bear man by the shoulders; when the Clown removed his hands, the Bear man's shoulders, but not the hands of the Clown, were burned. The sores on his shoulder became larger and more painful, spread down his side into his body, and soon afterward he died.

This episode demonstrated that no one can injure a Clown. Though other medicinemen seem to have power to do whatever they wish, the powers of the Clowns exceed those of other medicinemen. When Clowns cover their faces with a cloth with very small eye-slits, they can see through these narrow openings as well as through large slits.

In the day visions that make one a Clown, the *wa' pcunAka' tA* (literally, round weed) is seen. This is a tall weed which has a yellow flower.

Two kinds of Clowns are recognized: Heyo'ka proper and Heyo'ka witko'ka, or Foolish Clowns. Few become Clowns as a result of instructions to that effect from the person in the east. The orthodox method is to have a vision when one is in the woods, while gazing at a tree, or a weed, particularly the "fire weed" or "yellow flower." These weeds bloom in the prairie about the middle of July. The person looking at one of these weeds suddenly loses all awareness of his surroundings and sees a plant or a tree clothed in old garments. These are the model for the costume which he is to wear. Suddenly this fantastic clothing disappears and the plant or tree resumes its natural form. After this the seeker of the vision is a Clown. Early observers of Minnesota Dakota confirm the accounts of the Clowns given by Canadian Dakota in 1914. Pond says:

Another feast was instituted in honor of the god

Heyoka, to whom cold was as heat and heat as cold, etc. His votaries stood around a kettle of food, and, taking it out of the boiling water with their hands, ate it without waiting for it to cool. When the hot broth was sprinkled on their naked bodies, they shivered as if it had been cold water. They claimed to be, for the time, proof against the injurious effects of heat, and may have had some method of deadening the sensibilities of the skin; but their performances, as I have seen them, were not very marvelous and did not seem to excite much wonder in the minds of the spectators.

It is true that they snatched the meat from the boiling water, and ate it immediately; but they were quick and cautious in their motions, and snatched the food from each other before it had time to scald them so as to raise a blister, and if they did feel a little pain, they would not be likely to complain. When they sprinkled the broth on each other, they took the precaution to toss it high in the air. During the performance the spectators stood by, enjoying the sport, neither contradicting nor believing what was said by the fire-eaters. It was enough for them that the exhibition furnished amusement for an idle hour.¹

Pond speaks of four varieties of *heyo'ka*.

These objects of superstition are said to be armed with the bow and arrows, and with the deer-hoof rattle, which things are charged with electricity. One of the varieties carries a drum, which is also charged with the same fluid. For a drumstick, he holds a small Wakinyan [Thunder] god by the tail, striking on the drum with the beak of the god. . . .

[One of these] is the gentle whirlwind which is sometimes visible in the delicate waving of the tall grass of the prairie.

By virtue of their medicine and tonwan powers, they render aid to such men as revere them, in the chase, in inflicting and healing diseases, and especially in the gratification of their libidinous passions.

That feast, in the observance of which the worshipers dip their hands into the boiling kettle, and, lifting the water in their hands, throw it over each other's bodies with impunity, belongs to this god.

The nature of the Heyoka is not simply supernatural; it is the opposite of nature.

He expresses joys by sighs and groans, and by assuming a most doleful aspect, and sorrow and pain by opposite sounds and aspects. Heat causes their flesh to shiver, and their teeth to chatter, while cold makes them perspire and pant. It is said of them, that in the coldest weather of the Minnesota winter, when mercury congeals, they seek some prominence on the prairie, where they put up some bushes to

shelter them from the rays of the sun, under which they sit naked and fan themselves as they swelter with heat, and in the oppressive heat of summer they fold around them robe on robe, and lean over a rousing fire, sniveling and shaking with cold like one in a fit of ague.

They feel perfect assurance when beset with dangers, and quake with terror when safe. With them falsehood and truth are reversed; good is their evil and evil their good.

Years ago at Lac qui Parle, the mother of the late, "curly haired chief," Upiyahdeya, was informed that it was required of her to make a feast to the Heyoka. She was so much opposed by some of her friends that she failed to comply with the wakan mandate, but she assured her friends, that as a penalty, they would be mortified by seeing her flesh become black, and her head bald, which came true. By degrees her flesh did become dark, and her head bald, but to an intelligent observer, it was abundantly evident, that instead of being an infliction of the god, it was the result of neglecting to wash, even her face, for several years, and pulling out her hair by little and little.²

Riggs speaks of natural elevations or mounds in the Minnesota valley which the Dakota call *pahas* or *pazhodans*. One near the Mayawakan, or Chippewa River, some 10 miles above its junction with the Minnesota River, is called Heyo'katee or the *house of Heyo'ka*.

Heyo'ka hovers over them in dreams, and informs them how many streaks to employ upon their bodies, and the time they must have them.³

No superstition influences them more than their belief in Haokah, or the Giant. They say this being is possessed of superhuman powers; indeed he is deemed so powerful, as to be able to take the thunder in his hand and cast it to the ground. He dresses in many colors, and wears a forked hat. One side of his face is red, the other blue, his eyes are also of different colors. He always carries a bow and arrow in his hand but never has occasion to use it, as one look will kill the animal he wants.

They sing songs to this giant, and once in a long time dance in honor of him; but so severe is the latter custom, that it is rarely performed.⁴

In the sweatbath in his honor Heyo'ka is represented by a rude image of birchbark.

At a feast made in honor of *Heyoka*, the anti-natural God, they assemble in a lodge with tall conical hats, nearly naked, and painted in strange style.

² Pond, G. H., 1889, 232-233.

³ Riggs, 1872, 149.

⁴ Eastman, 1849, 156; see also, 208-211, 243, 252-257.

¹ Pond, S. W., 1908, 417.

Upon the fire is placed a huge kettle full of meat, and they remain seated around the fire smoking, until the water in the kettle begins to boil, which is the signal for the dance to commence. They dance and sing around it excitedly, plunging their hands into the boiling water, and seizing large pieces of hot meat, which they devour at once. The scalding water is thrown over their backs and legs, at which they never wince, complaining that it is cold. Their skin first deadened, as I am credibly informed, by rubbing with a certain grass; and they do not, in reality, experience any uneasiness from the boiling water—a fact which gives their performances great mystery in the eyes of the uninitiated.¹

If a man merely thinks of giving the Clown feast, he must do so. The moment he thinks about it, the *wakan* Clowns are aware of it. If he fails to fulfil his intention, misfortune will befall him. A medicineman may learn that he had thought of making the Clown feast, but had failed to do so.

A Dakota living near Portage La Prairie and known to the writer was instructed in a dream to give the Clown dance. He did not do so. On a Sunday night in July, 1914, the thunders struck and killed his horse.

In 1911 a man living at Griswold lost his horse and his house because he failed to make the feast after being so directed. A thunderstorm came from the east—such a one is called a “Clown thunderstorm,” probably because it is the reversal of the usual progress—and punished him. It was one of the severest storms remembered. He had been in the habit of making the feast every spring. That is probably why the thunders came from the east. If this had been his first Clown feast, probably the thunders would have come from the west. The wind blew, successively from the east, the south, the west, and the north. [This is the ceremonial sequence.] The storm began about five o'clock in the morning and was over before noon. All forenoon it seemed to hover over the settlement. The lightning killed his best horse and tore his house to pieces. Its roof was carried about a quarter of a mile away. The same storm destroyed all other houses and killed five additional horses. All the houses and horses belonged to the Clowns whom he customarily invited to the feast. That was a lesson to them. Thereafter, they held the Clown feast every spring.

1. One day during the winter, a Clown, saying nothing to his wife or to anyone else in the tipi, made a large pair of moccasins out of thin cloth and put them on. He had no other covering on his feet. He stripped to the skin. He made himself a whistle and carried an eagle wing fan. During one of the worst blizzards of the winter, he went out each day and encircled the entire camp. As he walked toward the tipis, he fanned himself. Sometimes he held the fan to his back, where the snow flakes fell on him, and complained of mosquito bites. Men followed him. Whenever he stopped and danced in front of a tipi, its occupants gave him a present. If the donor moved quickly, he might escape before being struck; if he was slow, he would be kicked or stopped, and the Clown would discard the gift, saying he did not care for it. This indicated that he liked it; it was his way of thanking the donor. The Clown repeated this performance day after day.

He went to another camp 2 miles away and repeated his behavior. Someone in that camp who saw him approach spread the news that he was approaching the camp through the snowdrifts, fanning himself. He danced in front of the first tipi, holding the whistle in his hand. Many people followed him. They suffered from the cold and occasionally went into a tipi to warm themselves. After visiting all the tipis, he went home, still fanning himself and followed by many young men, carrying on their backs large bundles containing the gifts which he had received. He arrived at his camp, still fanning himself, and looking about in every direction. He went into his tipi; he remarked to his wife that never before had he encountered so many mosquitoes—they had nearly consumed him. He mopped his brow, for he was very warm as a result of his attempt to escape the pests. The toes of one of the men who had carried a bundle of his presents were frozen on the journey. The Clown had started out early in the morning, during a big blizzard. He did not seem to suffer from the cold, although all the others complained of the cold, and the toes of one man were frozen. The Clown laughed at the unfortunate man, and asked him where he had gone to get his toes frozen on that warm day when he himself was out with him. He added that this man should have followed him, for he was perspiring.

¹ Lynd, 1889, 158.

2. This story is about a man known as Sao'de. In a dream he had been told that he was to become a Clown and had been directed to give a Clown feast. He thought the dream had little significance and that nothing would happen [that is, no penalty would attach to his failure to comply with its injunctions]. While out playing one day, his small boy stepped on a "fire weed,"¹ which broke and ran into his foot. He pulled the piece out. Blood poison set in. One side of his leg swelled, caused him to become ill, and he died. The boy's father also sickened. The medicineman who attended him told him he must have dreamed of giving a feast, had failed to do so, and that his son's death and his own sickness were the result. The medicineman asked him whether he remembered dreaming about the Clowns. The man said he recollected dreaming about them, but he had thought nothing would happen and had paid little attention to the dream.

The following night the man again dreamed about the Clowns. In the dream a Clown gave him a bow and arrow, telling him he could kill anything he wanted and would become a good hunter. While hunting the next day, he met the Clown he had seen in his dream. The Clown told him he had given him a bow and arrow. It was the bow and arrow which had killed his little boy. He would hit whatever he shot at with it. He admonished him to try to keep them as long as he lived. Having said this, the Clown bade the man heed everything he was told; if he disobeyed, the Thunders would kill him. The Clown warned him to carry out all the instructions; if he did so, the Clowns would grant him long life. All they wished him to do was to give the Clown feast; if he did not know how to make a Clown feast, others would assist him. The Clown declared that the dreamer would have been killed before this, had he not understood the dream; they had taken his son and had spared him. The Clown warned him sufficiently and told him to test the bow and arrows which had been given to him at the feast. The man was told he need not give the regular Clown feast, but merely eat and allow the others to leave as soon as they had finished their portions.

He told the men he would give this simple feast after returning from the war party;

whereas actually he gave it before he went out to fight. He then collected some of the young men and led them out to fight. On the fourth day they encountered the Chippewa, who outnumbered the Dakota. There was a big battle. All the Dakota except the leader, and about one half of the Chippewa were killed. The surviving Chippewa gave chase. They all shot at the leader, but none could kill him. He turned around at every opportunity and shot an arrow into the chest of a Chippewa. The leader pursued the Chippewa until he had killed them all. When he reached the camp, all the Dakota in the war party had been killed.

As he was returning to camp, it grew dark. He heard a voice behind him. He turned to see who was coming and descried the spirits of all the Dakota of his party. He was frightened, for he did not know who they were. When he learned that they were the spirits of the Dakota, his fear vanished. On the way home he killed a buffalo cow, ate some of the flesh, and gave the heart, liver, and tongue to the spirits. That night he slept in the bush. The following morning he continued his journey. The spirits accompanied him, meantime discoursing with him. When he was near the camp, he signaled by setting fire to the prairie, apprising those in the camp of his approach. They went out to locate the fire and to learn how many of the party were returning. When the party on horseback approached him, they asked him the whereabouts of the remainder of the war party. He told them they all had been killed in the fight, that he was the sole survivor, and that the Chippewa had pursued him a long distance, though finally he had killed them all.

When he arrived at the camp, he announced that he wished to give a feast. A Clown had told him to give a simple rather than an elaborate feast, for the Chippewa were coming, and to inform all the other Clowns. He gave a small feast, and, as directed, announced the approach of the Chippewa. When all was ready, they began the feast. The Clowns came. They met in the bush, while the Chippewa approached. The Dakota separated into two parties, each going in a different direction. The leader of the feast wished to go straight ahead, saying that when they heard a gun discharged, all should retreat. They proceeded in this manner. When the leader saw a Chippewa, he ran back, as though afraid, and fired two shots. The

¹ Species not identified.

Chippewa pursued the leader, who fired two more shots. The Dakota closed in behind the Chippewa. They surrounded them and killed all of them. All the Dakota returned home safely.

While hunting, this man saw a large party of Chippewa. He did not recognize them as Chippewa. Their leader must have had power greater than that possessed by the Dakota, for he did not recognize them as enemies. He ran back toward a lake. The Chippewa pursued him. He swam toward the center of the lake, toward a bunch of weeds in which a muskrat had made a house. The Clown who always appeared to him told him that the Chippewa had arrived without the Dakota's knowing about their approach. The Clown bade him be brave and have no fear of being killed, for he would kill as many of the enemy as he wished, would not himself be killed, and that no harm would befall him. "You will do the injury to them." When the man heard this, he no longer feared that the Chippewa would shoot him. He reached the muskrat house and saw many of the Chippewa swimming toward him. He shot one after another with his arrows. Half of the Chippewa swam toward him; the others waited on the shore for their party to return with the Dakota. He killed all who were in the water. Then, when those who were in the bush showed their heads, he shot them one after another. When he had killed three of the Chippewa, the others, frightened, ran away. The Clown then came to the Dakota and bade him cross the lake to the shore. He swam to the shore, then proceeded to the camp, and related the encounter with the Chippewa, and the escape of some of them. The Dakota said they would pursue the enemy, and set out to do so.

When this man camped, he put up a shelter of old sticks.

When the Dakota party discovered the Chippewa, they saw two tipis. The rest of the party ran toward the tipis, but the Clown ran in the opposite direction. They did not know how he reached the tipis, but when they arrived there, the Clown was ahead of them. The Clown told the Dakota to tell the other men to have no fear and to try to kill all the Chippewa; that none of the Dakota should run away, but should hold their ground throughout the fight. They killed all the Chippewa, except one young woman. When they were about to kill her, the

Clown declared he wished to take her to his tipi. When the war party started toward camp, the Clown lingered behind the others. At noon, he stopped to eat, although the other members of the party were far in advance. The Clown told him to carry the woman on his back, with her head down. He carried her so that her feet stuck up above his head. When the others saw him, they laughed. He intended to take the woman to another man in the camp. They all laughed at him. He did not come close, but stopped to eat. About sunset he came into the camp. When they saw him approaching, the people went out to meet him. When he was near the camp, he again placed the woman on his back, with her head down, and her feet sticking up in the air. They all laughed at him. He paid no attention, but took the woman to the tipi of a man who was living alone, whose wife had died some time previously. He placed the woman at the entrance, and told the widower that he was carrying something on his back for him and asked him to come out and take it in. The widower went out and found that the Clown had brought him a woman. He thanked the Clown and took her into his tipi.

A few days later the man went out to hunt. The Clown came to him and asked whether he saw anything ahead. He saw a herd of deer in front of him. He gave chase and killed them all. He placed one on his back, carried it home, and bade the men in the camp fetch the others. When all the deer had been brought in, he selected one and announced that he would give a Clown feast. He did not remove the entrails, but cut the deer up and left the hide on it. As he was cooking the deer, he heard the Clown laughing at him. When everything was ready, he invited the Clowns. They prepared themselves. When the meat was cooked, he came out of his tipi, singing. He did not act like other Clowns; he did not throw the tongue back over his head; and he did not remove the entrails before cooking the deer. When everything was ready, he sang. All the Clowns came out, ran about in every direction and gradually drew nearer to the pot. When they were close to it, they dug and obtained roots, which they chewed and spewed from their mouths into the vessel. Then each of them picked out pieces of meat and poured the soup over one another.

When this was over, he announced that he would hunt. Next day they all went out to

hunt. Each one killed and brought home a bear. Again the man went out to hunt. The Clown came to him and told him he would kill a big moose. He killed a small goat. When the Clown saw it, he told him to shoot it. The Clown then told him that this was the big moose. The following day he hunted and killed a moose.

Another day, when the man had gone out to hunt, the Clown appeared and told him he would kill an eagle. He saw a bird, but did not recognize it. The Clown told him to kill it and declared this was the bird he had referred to as an eagle; if he hunted on the following day, he would kill what the Dakota call an eagle. Next day, he hunted and killed an eagle. Several times after this, he hunted but returned empty-handed. [The Clown whom a Clown sees in a dream follows him, instructing him as to his actions. The *wakan* Clown hears everything, even though he may not be seen by the Clown he accompanies.] When the Clown was returning to camp, the *wakan* Clown told him to say that he had killed four moose. He was unwilling and did not intend to do so. He heard the *wakan* Clown tell him that if he did not follow instructions, misfortune would befall him. Still he was indisposed to say that he had killed four moose. The *wakan* Clown then rubbed his own face, saying that the Clown would be like that, if he did not say it. Thereupon the *wakan* Clown's face was observed to be covered with sores and scars. The man was loath to say it, but the Clown continually reminded him to do so. Finally, he told his wife he had killed four moose. He bade her tell her brother and father that he wished them to go with him early in the morning to get the meat. They received this information with pleasure. They thought of it continually, for they had no meat. They started early in the morning. His wife wished to go; his father and mother accompanied her. They retraced the tracks left by the man the previous evening when he returned to the camp. The man found four large rabbits and asserted they were the moose he had killed on the previous evening. The others laughed. He declared it queer that those four moose had changed into four rabbits. The *wakan* Clown, who had been with them all this time, also laughed, but only the Clown could hear him. The *wakan* Clown told the Clown to go a little farther and he would get four moose. The man then told them to remain there; that he would go on, and, while they were cooking the rabbits,

would ascertain whether there was any game to kill; if he obtained something, he would take it back with him, and would not again leave the game where he had killed it, lest it should be transformed into a rabbit, as had happened before. He traveled on to a small bluff. Here he saw four moose and killed all of them. He had them carried to the camp. He gave a feast for the Clowns with some of the meat.

After giving the feast, he again went hunting and found a bear. The Clown came to him and told him to shoot the bear. He shot and killed it, and ran to it, much pleased. When he came to it, he found a large rabbit. The Clown told him he would get what the Dakota call a bear. The Clowns call a bear a rabbit. He returned to the camp, carrying the rabbit on his back. When he was near his tipi he was seen to be sweating, as though he were carrying a heavy load. [He did not know what had caused him to sweat; the *wakan* Clown was responsible for it.] His wife asked what he was carrying on his back to cause him to sweat profusely. When he came closer, he laughed, and said he was sweating profusely because he was carrying a rabbit on his back; he had killed a bear, but it was too late to bring it home, and he thought he would bring the rabbit home. On the following day he hunted and killed a bear. He brought it home and made a small feast to which he invited all the men who had dreamed of the bear. They came and ate of the bear meat.

A few days later he again went out to hunt. The Clown came to him and told him he would kill a deer; that deer were queer animals and he wanted no one, except a clown, to kill them. [As a matter of fact, Clowns are expected not to kill them unless the guardian Clown specifically tells them to do so.] After killing it, he was to take it home and invite all the Clowns to put it up their rectums.

He killed a deer, took it home, and invited two young men to cut it up and cook it. When it was cooked, he bade them clean the tipi and place blankets for the Clowns to sit on, while he went through the camp to invite them. While the two young men prepared the tipi, he went out to invite the Clowns. He opened the flap at the tipi of each Clown, presented his buttocks, and ran out. After extending an invitation in this manner to all the Clowns, he ran to his tipi, whither all the Clowns were now running. They all entered the tipi backward. When they

were seated and had eaten, the man announced that he wanted his grandson to become a Clown; that the grandson had not dreamed of the Clown and knew nothing about the ways of Clowns; yet he wished him to become a Clown.

The following day he gave another feast, saying he would do this as the Clowns do. He put a little water into a kettle and boiled it over a fire. His wife, seeing the water boiling, told him to put something in it so that they could have some food. Although the vessel contained only a little water, he declared it was too full to put any more in. He arranged the tipi as it had been on the previous day. All the Clowns came in backward and sat down. He began to sing. They all sang, each singing his own song. After they sang, as each one went out, he thanked the man for the food and held his hand over his stomach, as though he had eaten too much. One man sat down and vomited, pretending he had overeaten. Many people watched them, but the Clowns behaved as though they were invisible and paid no attention to the laughter. One man, when he arrived at his tipi, was sick from overeating. His wife asked what they had eaten. He said they had all eaten too much meat; it was too fat, and they had drunk too much of the broth, which was too rich. By bedtime, his nausea had passed off; he went out of the tipi, and when he returned he was quite well.

The next morning the man put up a tipi and held the Clown dance. He caused his grandson to be dressed like himself. When everything was arranged, he sang and then knocked his grandson down. He did this four times. The fourth time all the other Clowns rushed to the lad and kicked him. Finally, he was made a Clown. That night the lad dreamed of the Clown. The man had him made a Clown. Previously, the boy had known nothing about Clowns, but by kicking him the man had made him one. After the Clown feast, the Clown came to the man and bade him make the Clown feast, the *hēyo'ka wAzA'pi*. The man declared he had dreamed of a *hēyo'ka wAzA'pi* and asked all the other Clowns whether they would assist him with it. They agreed to do so.

He asked them all to hunt and bring whatever they saw first; when they had brought it to the camp, he would cook it.

His grandson brought home a deer. The man made him a bow and arrows, like those given him

by the Clown, and bade him keep them. When everything was ready, he put water into the pot, placing it over the fire. He removed the horns and the skin from the head of the deer. The man walked to the pot with the boy and began the singing for him. The boy threw the head of the deer into the pot.

All the Clowns shouted. They gave the war whoop first in the manner of the Clowns, then in the ordinary way. They were pleased because all was going well; they wished the boy to replace his grandfather. The man was getting old and wished the lad to take his place. The boy then took the heart and all the Clowns watched him. The old man sang again; the boy threw the heart back over his head into the pot. All the Clowns shouted. He cut up the remainder of the meat, placed it in the pot, and added fuel to the fire. When the meat had been cooked, the old man sang. The Clowns came from every direction, moved gradually closer to the pot, dug up roots, and secured medicine, which they placed in the boy's mouth. They each kicked him and knocked him down; each time he rose, went to the pot, and spat the medicine into it. The old man told his grandson it was time to pull the head from the pot. He placed his hand in the pot, pulled the head out, and ran with it toward the west, where the spectators stood, and pitched it to a young man who was watching. He ran back, put his arm into the pot, pulled the heart out, ran toward the east with it, and tossed it to another young man who was a bystander.

When he turned back, the other Clowns were picking out the meat and throwing it about to the audience in every direction. They spilled the broth over one another, kicked the pot about; sometimes one would run off with the pot and another would spill the broth over him.

After the feast the boy went out to hunt. He was now a young man. A voice ordered him to stop, for the speaker wished to converse with him. It was the *wakan* Clown who had been with his grandfather. The Clown asked him whether he knew that he had friends over the entire earth. The boy made no reply. The Clown bade him look around. He saw Clowns running about in every direction. The Clown declared he now saw all the Clowns. They had bark bows and arrows of every size. The Clown bade him look west. He did so and saw several Clowns fighting with spears, bows, and arrows. The Clown told the boy that he would have

these experiences during the remainder of his life. The Clown then told him to go home. When the boy arrived home, he narrated his experiences to his grandfather who heard him with joy. The old man told his grandson that this meant that he would go out to fight, and need have no fear. The grandfather then invited another old man to his tipi and repeated the boy's story, adding that he supposed this meant the Chippewa were coming to attack them and that some of their young men should go out to meet the enemy. The other old man said he thought this was what they should do. They sent young men to reconnoiter. The young men returned and reported that they had seen the Chippewa. The remainder of the men left the camp and pursued them. A larger party of Chippewa came and drove the Dakota back. They fought on the open prairie. The boy ran to a large weed and sat down behind it. From this shelter, he shot every Chippewa who approached. All the Chippewa shot at him, but none could strike him. All became afraid of him and ran away. This was the end of the fighting.

The Clowns had made this boy a Clown by asking Clown powers for him, because the old men wished to give him his life. The Clowns, after learning that he had sat behind a weed and had shot a great many Chippewa, now knew that he would be like his grandfather, and they were much pleased. The old man had now stopped his Clown performances; the boy became the leader of the war parties. Although the old man remained a Clown, he no longer performed Clown feats.

One day when the boy was hunting, the Clown came to him and told him he would kill a deer; he was to take it home and use it for a Clown feast. He killed the deer, took it home, cooked it, and invited all the Clowns. When giving the invitation, instead of presenting his face at the entrance to the tipi, he showed his buttocks, and ran out. Finally, all the Clowns had been invited. After the feast the boy went out to hunt and did not return to camp. He heard the Clown tell him to say, when he returned to camp, that he had killed a large buffalo. The boy supposed the Clown was endeavoring to have him lie to his friends at home, and he was not willing to do so. The Clown persistently asked him whether, upon arriving home, he was going to say that he had

killed a large buffalo. The boy made no reply. He saw a large buffalo in front of him and killed it. He went home and told his father that he had killed a large buffalo. His father was much pleased and next morning went to get the buffalo.

When they arrived at the place where the Clown had left it, only a small mouse lay on the ground. The Clown laughed. The boy told his father he had killed a buffalo. The man told his son that the lad's grandfather, when a boy, had had exactly such experiences; he would report that he had killed certain game, and next morning nothing was to be found; later he would procure the game. He bade the boy walk about and try to find the buffalo. He did so and killed a buffalo. A few days later he told his father he had dreamed of giving the Clown feast, but the dream was not very clear. [His grandfather was now very old and the boy was in the habit of consulting his father.] The man told his son he would later understand it.

A few days later, suddenly, when out hunting, he saw a man approach him a few yards away. He did not know whence the man had come. The man walked up to the boy and said that he wished to speak with him. It was the Clown. The Clown told the boy that he [the boy] had many friends on the earth who guarded him constantly, and desired that he carry out all their instructions. The Clown then bade him turn around. Everywhere the boy saw Clowns walking about. They were as thick as flies. Suddenly all of them were carrying spears and arrows. The Clown told the boy that all his friends were excited about something. He returned home. He told his father he had heard the Clown say that many of his friends were around him. When he looked around he had seen Clowns everywhere; the Clown told him to look about; all the Clowns then had arrows and spears. This, said the boy, betokened what would happen to the people. He told his father to summon all the men and bid them be ready with guns, bows, and arrows. His father announced this.

Next day the Chippewa came into the camp. At one end of the camp the news spread that the Chippewa were at the other end; the men from that part rushed to the attack. The boy picked up his bow and arrows and ran off into the bush. He came out of the bush on the other side of the camp, at the place where the Chip-

pewa were killing the Dakota. The Chippewa shot at him, but could not kill him. He killed all of them. This was the second fight in which the Clown had tested him.

One day while he was traveling to another camp he saw a deer. Everyone in the party was excited. They said it was too far away to shoot, yet they wanted it. The boy raised his gun and when the deer was about to disappear into the bush shot at it. Some said he had hit it, others that he had missed it. The party stopped, and some of the men went to the place where the deer had been, to ascertain whether he had killed it. The bullet had gone through its ear into its brain. That was another feat no other man could perform, for no gun had so great a range.

Farther on the boy shot two ravens which were flying so high that they were beyond the range of any gun. He told those who were watching to carry the birds away quickly, meaning that they were to bring them to him. He said that the Clowns were to eat the ravens. Accordingly they had a feast. Next morning one of the men rose early, went out of the camp and saw an eagle circling high in the air. The men gathered about, wishing they could shoot it. There was much excitement in that portion of the camp. The boy came out to ascertain the cause of the excitement. He noticed that all the men were looking up into the air. He asked them whether they were men or women. He declared the eagle was not far away and it was not difficult to kill it; it was useless merely to wish for it. He ran back to his tipi, picked up his gun and shot at the eagle. The next moment they saw it fall. All the men ran toward it. The boy ran away from it, telling them to hurry, pick it up, and bring it to him as soon as it fell to the ground [meaning, they were not to touch it]. He picked up the eagle and took it home. The others wished that they had it.

All the Clowns, as well as the other medicine-men, said they would like to have it. The boy said he would decide who should have it. He placed a small stone in the tipi, prepared a sweatbath and said that those who could endure the heat would obtain some of the feathers; those who could not stand it must leave. After the stone had been heated, he invited them in. The Clowns sat on one side, the other medicine-men opposite them. He placed an eagle feather on the ground, and put the heated stone on the

feather. The feather was not burned. This signified to the others they they would be able to endure the heat. The Clown announced that he would sprinkle water on the stone. When all was arranged, he sang, then sprinkled a little water on the stone. The place became very hot. All the warriors and the medicinemen had to run out, but none of the Clowns on the other side of the tipi were discomfited by the heat.

On another occasion, when there was great excitement in the camp, he went out to ascertain its cause, and found that it had been occasioned by two deer walking into the camp. The people had made so much noise that the deer ran off into the bush. When the boy walked out, they were disappearing into the bush. As they were vanishing from sight, he shot and killed them. When the people went to the animals, they found the bullet had not touched the bodies, but only the antlers. On another occasion he heard excitement in the camp and went out to discover its cause. Everybody was gazing up into the heavens at a bird. Some said it was an eagle, some declared it was a thunderbird. When he arrived at the place where they were gazing at it, he declared that if they could see it it could not be very far away; they should not say it was far away—nothing that they could see was far off. He said it would be worth the trouble of using a gun to test the matter. They all declared the bird was too far away. The boy said he did not consider it far away, if they were able to see it. He went to his tipi, procured his gun and shot at the bird. The bird was higher than the eagle which he had previously shot. All gazed at it. He shot, and a thunderbird fell. A slight breeze carried it to one side, and it fell into a lake. The boy said that whoever swam to it might have it. Some returned, after putting their feet into the water; some swam a little distance, then returned. Finally two young men came up and said they would get it. They swam out to it and each took a wing in his mouth. When they brought it to the shore, they found the man had shot it in the breast.

On another day a man was going to fight; the boy decided that he, too, would go. They started. He had intended to take the fighting medicine which his grandfather had given him, but he forgot to do so. They met the Chippewa and fought them. The boy was badly wounded in the chest. The wound prevented him from

speaking. The others attempted to carry him home, but when he regained consciousness, he told them this was useless. They had no food and should go home and get some; if they remembered him, they might return for him when they had obtained food. They insisted on taking him, but he would not agree to this. They left him and went home.

The Clown came to the boy and asked him what he was doing there. He replied that he was wounded. The Clown asked him where he was wounded. The youth pointed to his chest. The Clown declared it was nothing and bade him rise. The *wakan* Clown looked at the wound, cured it, and told the boy there was no wound. The lad then opened his shirt to exhibit the wound, but there was none. Yet he felt pain. The Clown declared he was not wounded, but was now well; the soreness came entirely from the bones in his chest. He bade the boy go home and when he arrived to kill a dog and make a Clown feast; he added that all would be sorry to see him return. When the young man was about to start, the Clown came behind him and pushed him, again and again, four times in all. After each shove, his pace quickened. Finally his cure was complete and he felt no pain.

He went toward the camp. When the people saw him, all went to meet him. He killed a dog and cooked it for the Clowns. He procured the smallest pup he could find and cooked it in a large vessel. He invited the Clowns, told them the Clown had cured him and had directed him to give this feast. He said he had had a dream the night before in which he was instructed to make the Clown feast, and that he wished to hunt on the following morning. If he should kill game, he would give another feast. He expressed a desire to do as instructed by the Clown, for the Clown had cured him.

He brought a deer home from his hunt. Two of the young men removed the hide, cut up the flesh and put it in pots. When all was ready, the boy sang. His grandfather came out of the tipi with him. The Clowns gathered from every direction. When they were close by, they dug up roots and spewed them into the pots.

The lad extracted the heart from one of the pots, ran to a young man who was sitting close by, watching, and threw it to him. He returned to the pots and did the same with the tongue. The others then took out the meat. [The man to whom the tongue or heart is thrown will kill

a Chippewa. Hence, young men are eager to witness the Clown feast.]

After the feast he announced that it was his own fault that he had been shot; he had forgotten about the medicine which his grandfather had given him. In his absence the children had played with it—some of the people had seen them doing so—and this was the reason he had been shot. He announced that they would soon have one of the hardest fights they had ever had and urged that all be prepared and that as many men as possible participate. One day several people announced that a herd of buffalo was approaching. The buffaloes were so far off they were scarcely distinguishable. The Dakota had, in fact, seen mounted Chippewa. The young men exhorted them to be brave and fight with enthusiasm, for if any of them should run away, the Chippewa would win. All his statements were verified. He said this was the occasion predicted by the Clowns, when the Dakota would revenge themselves for the wounds inflicted by the Chippewa. The Chippewa rushed into the camp, but were swept from their horses. None of their scalps returned to its home. All the Chippewa were killed. That night in a dream the Clown told the young man the leader of the Chippewa was a powerful medicineman, who thought he was in another Dakota camp, and that it had been easy to defeat the Chippewa because of his mistake.

One day after the fight the young man announced that he had been made a Clown by his grandfather and the other Clowns, and not by the *wakan* Clowns. Even so, the *wakan* Clowns had been assisting him, and he was as *wakan* as anyone who had been made a Clown by them. He told his father that, inasmuch as no one seemed disposed to hunt, he himself would hunt. He returned home empty-handed. The Clown told him to declare when he arrived at the camp that he had killed five moose. The Clown repeated this several times. The boy made such a statement to his father.

Next morning, when they arrived at the designated place, they found only five mice. The boy declared he was sure that he had killed five moose. His father bade him not be discouraged; he was sure that he had killed them. Later, when they had proceeded farther, the boy killed five moose. They took them to the camp, providing meat for everyone. Next day the boy hunted and again killed five moose.

Some of the men declared that he was only pretending that he was a Clown and was making these statements without having been told to do so by the Clown.

The Clown heard this and deprived the lad of his good luck. For some time the boy hunted every day but killed nothing. Soon the people were in dire need of meat. For about a year, only rabbits and no moose were killed. The young man kept them plentifully supplied with rabbits. He was loath to ask for game; the others wanted to share it whenever he procured it; they did not believe in his power. While he was hunting, the Clown came to him and said he thought the people had sense enough to cease declaring that he was not a Clown. They needed meat. The Clown told the boy to kill a large moose which he would see on the way home. On his return to camp, he killed a large rabbit. He made the Clown feast.

He had been directed to tell the people why they had not been able to procure game. During the feast he announced that they had not been able to kill game because they had been saying that he was not truly a Clown. It was through no fault of his that the supply of game had been cut off. The *wakan* Clown had done this. From that time on they would be well supplied. After the feast he announced that all the game which the *wakan* Clowns would permit them to have would be difficult to procure. They all returned to their tipis.

In a dream it was revealed to the boy that the people might procure any game they wished, that he would kill a deer the next day, and that they should then give the Clown feast for the other Clowns. They did so. When all had eaten, he declared the feast over and urged them to hunt. The following morning they all hunted. Some procured deer; some killed no game. The Clown directed the man to shoot an arrow into the woods. He did so. When it struck, the arrow made a queer sound. He went to the place to see what it had struck and found it stuck in a tree. He pulled it out and took it to the place from which he had shot it. The Clown came to him and intimated that something unusual would happen. Next day the young man, while out hunting, saw a deer and shot at it. When the deer fell, he heard a noise like that made by the arrow when it struck the tree. He killed the deer. He heard a noise on the other side of the deer. He went to the spot to discover its cause

and there found a man lying on the ground. The arrow had passed through the deer and had killed the man. He heard the Clown laughing at him. The Clown bade him take the man by the shoulders and raise him to a sitting posture. He was then to chew roots, rub them over the wound, and sway him back and forth, four times. The man then recovered consciousness. The Clown told the hunter to chew more roots and put them, first, on the man's chest, then on top of his head, then on the other side of his chest, then on the back of his neck. The wounded man was recovering. The Clown told the hunter that one of the worst things he could do was to tell the wounded man that he would never recover health, but would be an invalid during the remainder of his life. The Clown told the wounded man that all his wounds would remain unhealed and he was glad that he had shot him; that no one could do anything for him; his case was hopeless, and he would die. The Clown told the hunter to chew leaves and earth, mix them in water, and give the decoction to the wounded man. If this treatment did not help him, the victim would die. [When he stated that he was glad he had shot him, he meant that he was sorry; when he said that there was no hope for him, he meant that he would improve; the statement that if the last-mentioned medicine did not cure him he would die, meant that he would live.] He bade the Clown get up and leave the wounded man.

After the Clown had placed medicine on him, the wounded man recovered. The Clown went to him, and told him to rise and go home. The man recovered and returned home. When it was reported that he had been shot, the people did not believe this, for they saw no wounds. He said he had been shot and described the treatment given him by the Clown.

The young man brought the slain deer to the camp. He gave a feast. Next morning he went to hunt. He was not far from the camp. The Clown told him to yell as one does when one kills a bear [i.e., give four whoops]. The men in camp recognized the yells and they all ran to the place. When they were close to it, they met the young man, who was returning. He laughed at them. They asked him whether he had done the yelling. He said, "Yes." When they asked, "Why?" he replied that he merely wished to fool them. Next morning the young man went

to hunt; he thought the Clown would give him a bear. It was nearly evening and he killed nothing. The Clown came up behind him. A tipi was nearby. The Clown told him to shoot an arrow at a designated stump. He shot the arrow into the stump and smoke came from the bottom of the stump. The Clown bade him yell four times. He did so. All the men ran toward him. When they saw that he was close to the camp, they thought he was fooling them again, for bears do not go close to a camp. One of the two young men who was running ahead of the others stopped; his companion, who had heard about the powers of the Clown, continued, arrived first, and was given the largest portion of the bear. The others, when they arrived at the place, were much surprised that the Clown had found a bear so close to the camp. On the previous day the women had gone there to get wood, the children had played there, the men had walked about there, and yet no one had discovered the bear's den. On another occasion, when he was away from the camp, the Clown came to him and told him to give the bear-killing signal. Many people from the camp ran toward him. The Clown laughed at them. When they arrived at the place they asked him whether he had shouted. He asserted that he had. They asked him why he had yelled. He replied that he had done so merely to fool them.

Next day he went to hunt. He saw no game and heard none. Because of his lack of success, he was somewhat depressed. It was about dusk; he was near the camp, and could see the children playing. Near the camp was a pond. The Clown told him to shoot an arrow into a bunch of grass near there. He shot an arrow into the grass. The Clown told him to yell four times. He did as the Clown directed. Nearby were some big boys. As soon as they heard the shouts, they ran and were the first to arrive at the spot. The others did not go, for he had fooled them on previous occasions. They were all very pleased to have bear meat. Next morning he hunted. He killed a deer and carried it on his back toward camp.

As he approached the camp his burden constantly lightened, and when he was about to enter the camp, he looked at it to ascertain whether it was there. Instead of the deer, he found a rabbit. He was about to throw it away, but the Clown told him to put in on his back and carry it home; if he did not do so, misfortune might overtake him. When he approached

the camp he was perspiring profusely and wondered why. The Clown was causing him to perspire as though he were carrying a heavy load on his back. While he walked through the camp, all the people laughed, but he paid no attention to them. When he arrived at his tipi, he dropped the rabbit from his back and bade his wife carry it in and cook it. She went out and found a large deer lying at the door.

He hunted on another day. When he was near camp, the Clown told him to shoot into the base of a certain tree. The arrow entered the tree, smoke emerged, and he heard a bear growling in the tree. He was now close to the camp and shouted four times. He gave the best part of the meat to the man who arrived first. He cut off the "tail," gave it to the man, and told him to keep it; he also cut the flesh from the "back" of the bear, bade the man cook it, and with it make a feast for the Clowns. When he said "tail," he meant the tongue; when he said "back," he meant the breast. The man did as the Clown had intended; he cooked the meat and made a feast. He dispatched two young men to invite the Clowns.

The young man hunted frequently. He fooled the people only when he had been directed by the Clown to do so. On another occasion he hunted and killed a deer. He placed it on his back and started toward camp. As he approached the camp, his burden constantly became lighter. When he was close to the camp, he wished to see what he was carrying, and found it was a rabbit. He threw it away. The Clown came to him and told him to return it to his back; if he did not do so, misfortune would befall him. He returned it to his back for he was frightened. The people in the camp laughed at him. He arrived at his tipi and when he threw the rabbit from his back, it became a deer. He hunted and killed a young deer. He fastened it on his back and the weight suddenly disappeared. He wondered what had caused this and decided to look at his burden. He found a chipmunk. He threw it away, for he did not wish to carry it home on his back. The Clown laughed at him and asked him why he did not want to carry it home on his back. The man made no reply. The Clown told him that if he did not do so, ill luck would befall him. He became frightened, returned the chipmunk to his back, and proceeded toward camp. He walked through the camp; all the people laughed when they saw

him carrying a chipmunk on his back. He threw it down at the entrance of his tipi and it was transformed into a young deer.

He hunted another day; he killed a deer. He placed it on his back and it became very light. He looked to see what he was carrying and found a tiny rabbit, only a few days old. He did not like to carry it to the camp and refused to put it on his back. The Clown showed him some arrows and declared misfortune would befall him if he did not carry the rabbit. The man was frightened and carried the rabbit on his back. When the people in the camp saw him, they laughed at him, because he was sweating profusely. When he arrived at his tipi, he threw the rabbit down, and it became a deer. After this, all the men hunted and procured plenty of game. He hunted another time, and killed nothing. On his return, when he was close to the camp, the Clown told him to announce to the men in the camp that a herd of moose was moving toward it. The men procured their guns and ran out to see the moose. They could find none. He asked why they were running about. They asked him why he had shouted to them. He said he did it merely to please himself.

Next day he hunted. He returned, driving a big herd of moose toward the camp. The Clown told him to announce to the people that the moose were approaching. He did so. They all took their guns and came out. They killed many moose. This was the herd of moose about which they had been fooled the previous day.

Another day when the man was hunting, the Clown came to him and told him he would kill a moose while he was returning to camp. He saw a young goat a few days old. The Clown told him it was the moose he had referred to, that he should kill it, take it to the camp, and cook it for the other Clowns. After the feast he announced that he had seen nothing in the pots, and that the next day, when they went to hunt, they would get nothing. [By this he meant that he had seen the spirits of all the game in the pots, and that when on the following day they went to hunt they would get plenty of game.] On the following day they procured a great deal of game. The Clown came to him and told him to say he had killed five deer. The man was disinclined to say it. The Clown told him that if he did not say it, misfortune would befall him, and showed him a bundle of arrows [meaning, that if he disobeyed, he would be shot by an

arrow]. While the man was returning to the camp, the Clown followed him and told him to say he had killed five deer. When he returned to the camp, he announced that he had killed five deer, but was too tired to carry them to the camp, and had decided to wait until the following day to do so. All the people were pleased to hear of this good fortune. He rose before sunrise the following morning and said he would go ahead and have the deer ready for them to carry. Accordingly he started. They followed. Some declared they did not believe him, but would go, for what he predicted would later be fulfilled.

They heard him fire a gun at no great distance. Soon they heard another gunshot, and another, five in all. When they arrived at the spot, they found he had killed five deer. He declared these were the five deer which, on the previous night, he had announced that he had killed. They were all pleased. Again he hunted. The Clown came to him and bade him look about, for all his friends were anxious to see him. He told him to remember that he was surrounded by many friends who were ready to protect him and willing to help him in any undertaking. The Clown again admonished him to look around and see all his friends. He looked about and saw *wakan* Clowns everywhere.

When he returned to the camp, he announced what he had seen. They agreed that this betokened a fight. The men whom they sent to reconnoiter ran back to camp and announced that a large party of Chippewa were approaching. The man rose, exhorted them to go in full force to meet the Chippewa and prevent the enemy from entering the camp. The men prepared and started. During the battle the Clown came to the man and told him to pretend that he had been killed. A bullet grazed him. He fell. The others thought he was dead. He did not move. They carried him home, thinking him dead. Suddenly he jumped up and asked how the fight was going. He startled all the people in the tipi. He grabbed a bow and arrows and went to the scene of the fight. No sooner had he arrived at the *mêlée* than he was again wounded. The Clowns gathered around him and treated his wound with medicine. They fastened grass around the wound. He recovered.

Some time after this he hunted and killed a deer. The Clown came to him and told him to cook it and invite all his younger sisters and

brothers. He returned, cooked the deer, and invited all of his younger brothers and sisters. Some of his younger brothers could sing the Clown songs. After the feast they went home. He gave the meat that was left to the old men and old women who were present. The Clown told him that because he did this [that is, for making the feast for the old men and the old women], he would have a short life [meaning that he would have a long life, if he took care of himself]. He went to hunt another day. When he had gone into the bush, the Clown came to him and told him to return and say that he had killed a bear. This was said to him when he arrived in the bush, and he was unwilling to return at that time. The Clown showed him some arrows and said that misfortune would befall him if he did not do as he was bidden. The man did not wish to say this, for he had not been gone long enough to kill a bear. The Clown insisted. The man returned and announced that he had killed a bear so large that he could not pull it out of its den. He asked his friends to go with him next morning to get the bear. Early the following morning he went out to hunt and killed a bear. Before the others arrived, the Clown told him to take the bear to the camp and cook it for his young brothers and sisters. [By this he meant that he should cut off the breast and cook it for the young men and women.] When the men arrived, he told them that he had fooled them the previous night when he told them he had killed a bear; this was the bear which he said he had killed. He took it home, and invited the five- or six-year old boys and girls. They came with their fathers and mothers. They feasted.

Later he went hunting. The Clown told him he would kill a large deer for himself and his family. The man was now married. On another occasion he went to hunt and killed a deer. The Clown came to him and told him it was for the other Clowns. He was to cook it and invite them. He took it to his tipi, cooked it, and invited the other Clowns. They ate it.

He asked them whether they knew what would happen in a nearby camp. None of them knew anything about it. He said that in a dream he had seen the *wakan* Clowns running about in various directions. He declared that this forecast a battle between the Chippewa and the Dakota of another camp. No one was apprised of this. The Clown had told him that a man in

another camp was preparing to go on a war party against the Chippewa. This man wished to join the war party, but the Clown would not consent. All the Dakota who participated in this fight—which happened some time later—returned. They had a severe fight, and returned with many scalps. [This man had found out that there was to be a fight at another camp, although none of the other Clowns knew about it.] Again he went out to hunt. Before he had killed anything, the Clown came to him and told him to sit down. He sat down. The Clown sat by him and told him all were pleased that he had done everything they had asked; he was becoming very clever; he could run faster than formerly, and his speed and his cleverness would increase with his years, as long as he lived. He said he wished this man to perform one more feat, after which he should thank all of the men in the west. In gratitude for his long life he was to perform the Clown Extracting feast. He could run fast and was light of foot [meaning that he was becoming old, and that all his fleetness and his Clown ways would leave him]. Throughout the remainder of his life, they would allow him to do as he liked. He returned to the camp and gave a Clown feast at which he announced to all the assembled Clowns what the Clown had told him.

Next morning he asked certain young men to kill a deer and an eagle. They went out to hunt and killed a deer and an eagle. He had the meat cooked in the pots. The Clowns came from every direction. The man had done something so that the other Clowns could not endure the water; they could not put their arms into the pots and pull out the meat. The Clown who extracted the meat without suffering from the heat of the water should have the eagle. Each one attempted to put his hands into the water and then ran away. These were the young and the middle-aged men. A very old man from another camp put his arms in and took the heart from the bottom of the pot. The man then changed the temperature of the water, so that the others could extract the meat. He gave the eagle to the old man. All the men who participated were surprised at what he had done. After the feast, the *wakan* Clowns told him they would now allow him to do as he liked; he was now growing old; he had done as he had been asked; he would be granted a long life. He told the Clowns he was glad to hear that he would be

granted a long life; he was not yet an old man, and was able to hunt and live an active life, but the Clowns had terminated his Clown career; when another made the Clown feast, he might participate, talk in the manner of the Clowns if he so desired, or, if he chose, he would not act as a Clown.

That is the end of the story as far as it is told. I suppose he lived to be a very old man.

3. A Clown is permitted to mock any dance. The people were holding the Raw Fish Eaters dance. Those who had dreamed of the Dog or the Bear dance came to the dance. I was an observer and heard someone say that two Clowns were coming. One was a woman, the other was a man. The woman wore a white gown and over her head a buffalo bladder with small eye slits; there was a slit in the back of the bladder. The two Clowns were not close to each other. The man who was watching the Dance signaled the woman to come to it. She refused to do so. He went to her and showed her a bow and arrows. She shook a tomahawk at him. He struck her on the leg and knocked her down. They were testing each other's power. When the man struck her, his medicine entered her, and she fell to the ground, unconscious. She cast off the medicine, struck him on the leg with the tomahawk and knocked him down. They contested in this manner for some time, the advantage being first with one, then with the other. Finally they gave up the contest for neither one was able to establish superiority over the other. Then they stood some distance away. No one knows how they got into the circle of the Raw Fish Eaters, but suddenly they were seen running off into the bush with the fish in their teeth. The Dog men and the Bear men gave chase, but could not catch them. They did not ascertain the identity of the man or that of the woman. Although the Raw Fish Eaters appear to do things that no one else can do, the Clowns surpass all of them. The Clowns laugh at people who perform this ceremony, and say that for a Clown it is nothing. When this dance had been performed, all the Clowns laughed at the Raw Fish Eaters, and said they could surpass anything done by the Raw Fish Eaters, or by those who had dreamed of the Fox, the Bear, the Wolf, or the Dog.

I shall relate a story of the performances of

the Clowns, to show these people things which they could not do. A man who had dreamed of the Clown said that to show the others what the Clowns could do, he would perform the dance. He prepared a red cloth to cover his face and a hat which had two sharp "ears," or "horns." He placed blue cloth around the back of his head. He made 40 of these and as many whistles. The Clowns, when they dance, do not shout, but blow whistles. They danced two days and two nights.

After the dance they announced that the others would have an opportunity to test their luck in hunting, for always after a Clown dance the people go out to hunt. The others did not procure much game. The Clown said he would put the false faces and the whistles to the test. All the Clowns went out to hunt. He bade them follow him, the first day, for he intended to perform a certain feat. He killed a deer. It began to swell. He jumped over it and back again, then repeated this, until he had jumped over it four times. The swelling disappeared. He bade them do this always after shooting a deer. He bade the Clowns make a sweetgrass smudge, hold the false faces, the whistles, and the hats over it, then hang them up where they would not be knocked down by the children or be touched by the women. They then proceeded with the hunting. Shortly thereafter they heard the report of a gun, as though there was fighting. They remained out, hunting, for one month. When they returned, they brought an abundance of meat. Those at home thought the Clowns had brought back all of the game on earth. None of them had missed his aim, but each, at every shot, had killed an animal.

Heyo'ka, says Neill, incorporates four persons:

The *first* appears like a tall and slender man with two faces, like the Janus of ancient mythology. Apollo-like, he holds a bow in his hand streaked with red lightning, also a rattle of deer claws. The *second* is a little old man with a cocked hat and enormous ears, holding a yellow bow. The *third*, a man with a flute suspended from his neck. The *fourth* is invisible and mysterious, and is the gentle zephyr which moves the grass and causes the ripple of the water.

Heyo'ke is a perfect paradox. He calls bitter sweet, and sweet bitter; he groans when he is full of joy; he laughs when he is in distress; he calls black white, and white black; when he wishes to tell the truth

he speaks a lie, and when he desires to lie he speaks the truth; in winter he goes naked, and in summer he wraps up in buffalo robes. The little hills on the prairies are called Hay-o-kah-tee, or the house of Hay-o-kah. Those whom he inspires can make the winds blow, and the rain fall, the grass to grow and wither.¹

4. It was the custom of a Clown named Wandu'ta to announce after the War dance held by the Dakota who assemble at Brandon, Manitoba, each year during the week of the exposition, the number of spirits that he had seen during the dance. This was a forecast of the number of Dakota to die during the coming year. In 1914 he declined to do this; he said he did not wish to make them feel badly. Some Dakota explained his refusal as owing to the fact that each man and woman would think he or she might be one of those who were destined to die, and a pall would rest over all of them.

This Clown speaks of, and addresses, old women at his reservation as "daughter," and refers to, and addresses, girls and young women as "sisters." When the writer first saw him, it was a very hot afternoon, and the occupants of the tipi were perspiring. I volunteered the conventional greeting of "a hot day," to which he responded that it was "too cold for me."

After a dance at Brandon, a friend of Wandu'ta's, from Devil's Lake, North Dakota, a Dakota Indian, stated formally, in the presence of those assembled, that he was very glad to see this old man and would make him a present of tobacco. He accompanied the words with the presentation to the Clown of a large long roll of tobacco. Wandu'ta grabbed it out of the man's hands, gave him a heavy blow over the head with it, and amid the laughter of the spectators walked off without a suspicion of a smile.

On another occasion, in a settlement, a man was trying to get a horse into a stall by pulling at its bridle. Another man came and pulled from the other side of the bridle. Reinforcements arrived at the rear, until finally two men were pulling and two were pushing, in an attempt to put the horse into the stall, all to no purpose. This Clown, who happened to be present, looked on unconcernedly for a while, then, observing that these four men could not get the horse into the stable, said he would show them

how to do it. Holding the bridle he backed the horse in without difficulty. "That," said he, "is the way I put a horse into the stable."

When Wandu'ta came to visit the old man who was my chief informant, I sought through a friend of his to induce him to give me accounts of his Clown performances. He asked what I wanted. I explained by telling him that if he related stories which I knew, they would not be any good; that if I listened to tales which were of no account, he would have to pay me for my time; that he should not describe any of his own experiences, for I would not like to hear them. I did not see him the following day, whereupon he asked my interpreter "Why that fellow was always around, who told me he did not want me to tell him any stories." On one occasion he was at the Portage la Prairie settlement when a certain Dakota was being treated by a physician. Wandu'ta told the physician he could ascertain whether the patient would recover. The physician [now dead] challenged him. Wandu'ta spread out a cloth, placing a stone in the center. The respective corners of the cloth were oriented toward the southeast, northeast, southwest, and northwest. With earth he made a small dot at each corner, then closed his eyes and sang. He prefaced the song with the statement that he would sing one song for each of the four directions represented by the corners. When he had sung these four songs, the stone rolled to the southeast corner. When Wandu'ta saw this, he began to cry, for it betokened the death of the patient. Had the stone rolled toward the northwest, the man's recovery would have been indicated; for the spirits come from the north and, at death, go toward the east. Within a fortnight, the patient died. Wandu'ta related the following:

In the winter I was in a big camp. When the men hunt buffaloes, the man who sees them returns to camp and tells the people. Whenever he tells the people, the buffaloes go away, none are left, and they get no game. They camped where they saw buffaloes, but could get none and had no food. The people made an offering to the Clowns. All who knew about the Clowns dressed as such and visited one tipi after another. In each tipi the people put sweetgrass and ground spruce in the fire, to make a smudge to discover whether there was a tipi in which a person had done something wrong. Some dressed as bears, some as dogs, and painted

¹ Neill, 1872b, 268-269.

themselves accordingly. They also went about searching for the cause of the trouble, and at every tipi made a smudge. When I was going to bed, two Clowns came in. They were painted white and sat in the entrance, trying to start a fire. At intervals they would stop these attempts and run about. At last they built the fire, put sweetgrass and ground spruce on it, and ran out. A moccasin hung over the fire; the Clowns were frightened by it and ran out. The first day they found nothing. The next day they went out again. They wore only the breechclout, were painted, and some covered their heads with bladders. Some went out in pairs, some three in a group, and some singly. Some Clowns stood on the hill and sang. In the evening they all came home; they had ascertained the cause of the trouble. They told every man to load his gun, leave camp, and shoot whatever they saw. The Clowns went off and the other men followed. They made a grass image of a baby and one Clown carried it about, swinging it. They made a place for the men to shoot and all fired at the target.

A young unmarried girl in the camp had given birth to a child. She had killed it and had hidden the body. The spirit of this infant had frightened away the buffaloes. When the men shot the image, they killed its spirit. They went to the tipi of the girl, pulled it down, and tore it into pieces. Then they killed every horse and dog belonging to the people in the tipi. Next day they hunted and saw buffaloes. The buffaloes were not far away and they killed many.

This story is true. I saw all this. It was about 48 years ago [that is, about 1866].

5. A man went hunting and was lost. He wandered about through the bush. He returned during the evening of the second day. The people asked him where he had slept. He reported that while he was returning from the hunt someone shot an arrow which fell to the ground in front of him. As he was about to pick it up, he lost consciousness. When he revived, he was in the Clown's tipi. The Clown's home, he said, was on a little hill, plainly visible from the camp. A long time ago the man had been directed to make a Clown feast and he had not done so; therefore, when he was close to the home of the Clown, the latter took him into it. One of the Clowns declared that he had delayed

too long, saying that if he did not give the feast, he would be like this—rubbing his face, which had neither nose nor eyes [meaning, he would be blind]. The man was afraid he would become blind and prevailed upon a friend to help him prepare the feast. When the meat for the feast had been cooked, he sent another young man to invite the Clowns. Instead of going into the tipi to invite them, this Clown stopped in the entrance, showed his buttocks, and ran out without saying a word. The occupants, however, knew what he meant, and he knew where each Clown lived. The man sang and the feast was under way.

After the feast he took a sweatbath. The Clown who had previously called at the tipis visited them again, exposed his buttocks at the entrance, and thus invited the Clowns to the sweatbath. They procured four large stones and the Clowns took the sweatbath together. When they had finished it, the Clown remarked that he would go out to hunt. In a dream, a supernatural Clown directed him to make a bow and arrows, and take these when he went out to hunt, in case he should find that he had not been able to kill the desired game. After he had made the bow, he decided to test it. He went out to hunt, killed a large bear, took it to the camp, and gave a regular Clown feast for the other Clowns. When he had finished it, he announced that he would make another feast. When they had eaten the bear meat, he again went out to hunt, but returned empty-handed. He hunted again and obtained nothing. He had consistently bad luck.

The supernatural Clown appeared in a dream and bade him inform the maker of the feast that during the next few days he would obtain plenty of game. The supernatural Clown bade this man announce that he had killed something. When they were near the camp, the supernatural Clown told him repeatedly to say that he had killed two deer. Finally he told his wife that he had killed two deer. She announced this to her father and mother. He felt badly because he had told his wife that he had killed two deer and had bade her announce this to her father and mother, for, in fact, he had not killed anything. His parents-in-law went with him to carry the meat home. The following morning, while they were traveling through the bush in search of the place where he said he had killed the two deer, he shot two deer. His parents-in-

law carried them to the camp. He told them he had said this because a certain person had commanded him to do so. They secured the meat, returned to the camp, and had a meal. He told his wife and her parents that in a dream the leader of the Clowns had instructed him that before he performed any feat to attempt to fool everybody, to say that he had killed two deer, when in reality he had killed nothing. Accordingly, thereafter he went about deceiving everybody.

One day, while hunting, the supernatural Clown came to the man, guided him to his tipi, and asked him why he was out in the bush. He replied that he had come to hunt. The Clown bade him sit down and smoke, then return to his tipi, and announce that he had killed an eagle and a deer. The Clown rubbed his face, saying that the man would be like this the next time he went to hunt—if he failed to do as bidden. The man returned to his tipi and ate. He was reluctant to say this. But the Clown's voice continually bade him hurry and speak as he had been directed. The Clown admonished him a third time and declared that if the man did not obey before he was reminded a fourth time, he would be blind.

The man was frightened and told his wife that he had killed an eagle and a deer. As he said this, he felt the Clown strike his side, then saw him run away, laughing. The man complained that the Clown continually compelled him to tell lies. His wife told her parents about her husband's success. Men who heard her say this ran to the tipi; some asked for feathers, one requested the wing, one the tail, and another asked for the other wing. Each was pleased with the reply to his request. Next day the Clown felt badly over the occurrence; he was afraid that the supernatural Clown would deceive him. Each day, he had to say that he had killed a certain kind of animal; the following day he would kill it easily.

Early in the morning, before anyone left the camp, he went to hunt. When he had gone a short distance from the tipi, he saw an eagle flying toward him and killed it. A little farther on he saw a deer and killed it. All the people were pleased when they saw these. He told them he had not killed this game on the previous day, but had been directed by the Clown to say that he had done so and was assured that he would procure them on the following day. He

was afraid that if he disobeyed, he would be killed.

On another occasion the people were starving and could procure no game. This man went to hunt, but killed nothing. On his return he heard the Clown say that he had killed a moose and its young ones, and that he should announce this; if he failed to do so—the supernatural Clown rubbed his face with his hand—he would be blind. The man was not disposed to make the announcement, but the Clown insisted that he do so at once. Accordingly, he told his wife that he had killed a moose and its young. When her parents heard this, they were pleased and told the others that their son-in-law had killed a moose and its young ones. Next morning they went to get the game. The Clown preceded the others; he had always misrepresented his success and he wished to procure the game before they arrived. They were pleased to get the game, took it to the camp, and divided it among themselves. After they had eaten all of this meat, they were starving again. He went out to hunt in the hope that the Clown would promise him game. He hunted until dark.

The Clown came to him and bade him go home and announce that he had killed five female moose. While he was returning to the camp, the Clown repeatedly told him to speak as he had been bidden, and not to forget. From time to time he whispered in the man's ear. As the man approached the tipi, he repeated his instructions at more frequent intervals. He went into his tipi, said nothing, and began to remove his moccasins. Meanwhile the Clown was urging him to speak. Finally, tiring of the Clown's continual whispering, he said that he had killed five female moose. His wife ran to her father's tipi to report. He was much pleased and announced it to the other men.¹ Early in the morning the man rose and went into the bush. He saw five moose and killed all of them.

When the party from the camp arrived, the moose had been killed. They divided it among themselves and carried the meat home. He told them, as he usually did, that he had killed nothing the previous day, but had said that he had killed these moose, because the Clown had bidden him say so and had declared that if he

¹ The father-in-law of a hunter invites the participants in a hunting party.

failed to comply, he would be blind the remainder of his life. It was winter. He did not see the Clown, but always heard his voice when the people were coming to get what he had promised them.

Another day the Clown went to hunt. On his return journey, the Clown came to him, and said he had seen another camp of Dakota in which there were plenty of deer and moose and the people were well supplied with game. Next day he went in the direction indicated by the Clown. He traveled all day. About evening he arrived at another Dakota camp and remained with these people. Later he went to hunt and killed a deer. While he was returning home, the Clown came up behind him, told him to drop the deer, run to the camp as fast as possible, and tell the people that the Chippewa were pursuing him. The man was loath to do this, but the Clown said that if he did not do so, he would become blind. The Clown continued to tell him to do it. When he arrived at the camp and made this announcement, the people became greatly excited. They hastily obtained their "medicines," and procured guns, bows, arrows, warclubs, and tomahawks. When they asked him from what direction the Chippewa were coming, he did not know how to answer. After the war party had gone a considerable distance from the camp, they stopped and asked the man where the Chippewa were when they halted their pursuit. He pointed to a spot ahead and declared he had seen them near that place. No sooner had he finished speaking, than a Chippewa shot at them. The man had, however, not known that the Chippewa were there.

It was a strenuous fight. Unaided, this man killed four of the enemy. When he had dreamed about giving the Clown feast, the Clown had told him that throughout his life he must tell such lies when he returned from a hunt. If he should fail to tell them, he would be blind the remainder of his days. His name was To'tiwa-kan'da' (Others [him]-*wakan*-think).

One day he hunted. As he was returning, the Clown told him to wave his blanket. The people in the camp said to one another, "Someone is approaching, waving a blanket from side to side." They ran out to meet him and asked him what was wrong. He said a large herd of buffaloes was approaching. They inquired where it was. He was standing on a hill and pointed down into a ravine. The men rushed back to

camp to get their guns, then went into the ravine, but they saw no sign of even a buffalo cow. Again they asked him where the buffaloes were. He declared that a few minutes before he left the spot he had seen them approaching the ravine. Some of the men remarked to one another, "This man is always fond of deceiving the people; doubtless he is fooling us again."

Some of the party returned to camp and some remained where the Clown had bidden them stay. Later those who had left saw a big buffalo herd approaching. The men who had remained procured the buffaloes, whereas those who had returned home did not kill any. The former secured plenty of meat. When they returned to the camp, all the people had an abundance of meat.

Another day he went out to hunt, returned and declared he had seen a large party of Chippewa. A large number of Dakota went to the place where he said he had seen the Chippewa, but they saw no one there. They returned to the camp and told the man that they had failed to discover the enemy. He said they must have gone to the wrong place. Next morning he went to hunt; again he ran home and announced that he had seen the Chippewa. This time it was true. Some of the men did not believe him and a small group of young men was sent out to reconnoiter. The Chippewa killed them all. The others, hearing the gun shots, rushed off in their direction; when they arrived on the scene, they found their own dead, but no Chippewa. He asked them why they had not gone to the place to which he had directed them. The men blamed themselves for this misfortune. The Clown assured them that these young men had been killed because the others had not believed him.

Another day he went out to hunt. When he returned, he reported that he had killed seven female moose; since the remainder of the herd moved slowly and it was too late to pursue them, he had, therefore, returned to the camp. Some believed him and some did not. Next morning those who had faith in his report went to get the meat. They saw the tracks of large moose. He admitted that he had killed no game the previous day, but declared the Clown bade him speak as he did. He added that if he failed to do as he was bidden, he would become blind; he did not wish to be blind and he had therefore followed the Clown's orders. They followed the

tracks of the moose and killed a great many. This man killed seven. They killed all the moose that passed by this place.

6. Reminiscences of a Clown.¹ Four tipis stood near a lake to which the people had gone to fish. After fishing for some time, the families wished to go farther into the woods. They went toward another lake about 40 miles away. They camped at a point about halfway between the lakes.

Next day they continued their journey, and at night set traps. In the morning they took three minks from the traps. They traveled on. In the afternoon, carrying a gun, I went out to hunt big game. I saw nothing, not even the tracks of game. The people had no game to eat and few fish. As I was returning empty-handed to the camp, I reached a high hill, then journeyed through the woods until I reached a small bluff, and then went on to another hill. I stopped at the second hill. I saw a man standing on this hill. His back was turned toward me. He was yelling, "He!" As soon as I saw him, I knew he was a Clown.² I paid no attention to him, but traveled on. The Clown climbed to the top of another hill and shouted. I traveled on and paid no attention. The Clown overtook me, stood in front of me and instructed me, when I arrived home, to say that I had killed two deer. I knew that I had killed no game and had seen none, and I was not willing to say that I had killed deer. The Clown reiterated that when I arrived at the camp I was to announce that I had killed two deer. I was unwilling. I returned to the camp. The Clown followed me and admonished me to say this. I did not want to do so but did not reply to the Clown. When I arrived at my tipi, the Clown was standing behind me, though no one else could see him. He continued to counsel me to say that I killed two deer. I was unwilling to say it. The others were starving and I did not wish to deceive them. The children in the next tipi were crying for food. It was some time before I brought myself to follow the Clown's instructions. Finally I decided to comply and I shouted to the people in the other tipi that I had killed two deer.

¹ Recounted by Wandu'ta, Red-arrow, an old Clown then living on the Griswold reservation.

² An apparition.

Early the following morning I was up and dressed before anyone else was abroad.

The Clown had been standing behind me, rousing me. When I was ready to go, he said, "I will go ahead; follow in my tracks." I followed in his tracks, as though they were the tracks of a wildcat, until I arrived at an open marsh. The Clown was standing some distance from me. Before I came to him, he made two marks in the snow. When I examined them, I saw two deer. I shot the larger one; the smaller one ran away. I re-loaded my gun and shot and killed the other deer which was then halfway up the hill. I ran to it. When I arrived at the deer, the Clown was standing opposite me, at its head. The Clown said, "I killed this elk." "No, no," I replied, "I killed it." While we were disputing the deer began to swell. Before it had grown very large, I took three kinds of medicine from my clothing, chewed them, and then mixed them with a stick. I blew this medicine from my mouth over the head and into the eyes, mouth, and nostrils of the deer, also on its chest and its four legs, and beat its body with the stick. It then shrank until it was of normal size. The Clown stood there, watching me. "Now you know that I shot it," I told him. He did not reply.

After a while he told me to hurry and take the parts which I did not intend to eat immediately. I removed the tongue, cut off the head, took out the heart, cut off the ears and nose, and set them aside. The people from the camp were approaching, following my tracks. They were much pleased to see the deer. I told them to camp near the marsh, for there was plenty of game and water at this place. We went to one of the deer, removed the skin, then went to the other deer and sang near the tongue and the heart. The Clown came and danced around them. Suddenly he halted and looked east. We were on a hill. A bluff was visible in the far distance. The Clown said: "I shall shoot my arrow there. Go to it this evening [meaning the next morning]."³

At night we had a feast. That night a man asked me, "Are these the two deer you shot yesterday?" "No," I replied, "these are the two I mentioned; I did not shoot any yesterday." Next morning I rose early and went to get the Clown's arrow. I had eaten plenty of food and

³ In the backward speech of Clowns.

felt energetic. I ran toward the bluff and arrived there as the sun rose. The wind was blowing from the south; I approached the bluff from the north. Soon I saw the tracks of moose. I doubled back and approached from the direction in which, as I supposed, the moose had gone. I saw one with its head down. When I was close to it, I shot it. I saw two of the Clown's arrows where the moose lay. When he shot the moose, the Clown was a long way off. We camped at this place and had another feast. During the feast I saw the Clown. The children were dancing and laughing. The Clown asked for an explanation. I told him they were crying for meat. He said that in two days he would give them more meat. Two days later I shot another moose.

On another occasion I was hunting rabbits. I shot four rabbits and hung two from each side of my belt. While I was going through the thick brush I saw a bear lying on the ground and shot it. I cut a stick and pushed its head to one side, to see whether it was dead. I then pulled it out of the bush, skinned it, and cut it in pieces. I removed the forelegs, the breast, and two ribs. It was very fat. I wrapped these pieces, tied them in the hide, and went toward the camp. A voice said, "Make haste and show the bear meat to the children at home." I did not answer. It was the Clown.

I walked on toward the camp. When I approached the camp, I placed the hide which contained the meat under a large tree and went to the camp. I ate my meal and then told my wife to get what I had left under the tree. She went out and got it, but the Clown had transformed the bear meat into a rabbit. She found only a small rabbitskin and the forelegs, breast, and ribs of a rabbit. In those days the older women cried when a bear was shot. I said it was well that I had not brought the bear home. My mother-in-law was sitting there and it would have been very amusing if she cried when the rabbit was brought in.

During the remainder of the day I did not see the Clown. He kept out of sight.

Next morning I went to hunt and shot a bear. I removed and hung up the hind legs, back, head, and feet. When I returned, I found that all of the flesh had turned into rabbit meat. The head was mule-shaped; the hind legs and the back were those of a rabbit. I looked behind me and saw the Clown dancing and singing at

the bear's den, and pointing toward it. When the Clown walked to the den, a bear crawled out. The Clown shot it with an arrow and killed it. The arrow penetrated its head. The Clown ran away, then stopped, slapped his thighs, and danced. I removed the hide and cut off the forelegs, ribs, breast, and some of the fat. This time, out of fear that it might be transformed into a rabbit, I carried the remainder of the meat to the camp. Some said that this was the bear I had shot the previous day when the Clown deceived me by turning it into a rabbit.

When I was growing up, I used no gun, only arrows. I was told not to make arrows and not to aim a bow or a gun in my tipi. I would not allow others, even boys, to bring a gun or an arrow into my tipi, much less to aim either of them there. I killed many deer with arrows. Guns were scarce and few Dakota used them.

If a wild goose flew toward me, I could shoot it with an arrow. Once I ran a moose down. I tracked it from early morning until night. I carried a muzzle-loading gun. The gun failed to discharge. It hung fire three times. The moose ran away and I followed it. A lake lay in the midst of the woods. The moose circled round and round this lake. It was not far ahead of me and I could hear twigs breaking when it stepped on them. Occasionally it went into the water to cool itself and then resumed its journey. I followed it all day. When the sun was setting, the moose appeared to be exhausted. It went into a creek, broke through the ice, and was imprisoned there. It was breathing hard. I struck it with sticks. It could go no farther. It turned toward me. When it was about 10 feet away, I shot it in the head and killed it.

Another time I was hunting deer on Turtle Mountain. At sunrise I came upon the tracks of 12 female deer. When I followed their trail, they ran from me. I tracked them until, at sundown, they were too tired to run. I, too, was weary. I went around in front of them and shot the two largest deer. The others went on. I went ahead of them again and killed two more. The others continued. Again I preceded them and shot two more. I reloaded my gun and shot another. The sun was down; it was dark. I shot at the remaining deer and killed one of them. I killed seven of the eight deer. This is the only time I ever outdistanced deer. During the 20 years that I have been in Canada, I have killed 101 moose.

One fall I was trapping muskrat at Lake Manitoba. In the morning I went out to examine the traps. As I was approaching the boats, I saw lightning. I looked around and saw the Clown. He ceased following me and said, "Today you will kill a certain bird; be watchful all the time." Some cranes flew toward me. I shot one of them, put it in the boat, and went on to look at the traps.

While I was returning home, I found a large muskrat in the last trap I visited. I saw a large eagle through the water weeds growing around the place. I raised my gun and shot it. In the old days it was taboo to take an eagle to the tipi. I plucked the tail feathers, cut off the wings, and removed the skin from the back. I cut some long grass, wrapped them in this, placed the bundle in the fore part of the boat, and started toward home. As I was approaching the camp, I saw an eagle above the tipi. This was the eagle that I was expected to shoot and I had shot another. I built a sweatbath tipi four times. The fourth time, I invited two old men and told them I had shot an eagle. One of them said, "Hew! Hai!" meaning that he was very thankful. When the sweatbath was prepared, I brought in the eagle feathers and unwrapped the bundle to exhibit the feathers. All waited anxiously. The bundle did not contain the feathers of an eagle but of a *ha'kagidja' gA* [hawk?]. The old men, surprised, remarked, "They are lovely eagle feathers." The Clown had fooled me again.

On another occasion the people could procure no game. Upon waking one morning, I ran out of the tipi, naked. I crossed the camp, zigzagging, ran to a hill, and climbed it. When I returned, young men went out on horseback to look about. When I had done this four or five times, I told them a herd of buffaloes was approaching. They rode about in search of the herd, but saw only two small calves. They returned to camp and reported. I replied that a herd of buffaloes would come to the camp that day and the men should be ready. In the afternoon I went to the hill again to look around.

A herd of buffaloes approached. [In the old days a man who sighted buffaloes ran toward the camp, in a zigzag course, to notify the others.] The men hastened in pursuit. I went to my tipi and saddled my horse. When I was close to a buffalo, I drew my bow and took aim, but aimed high rather than at it. The buffalo fell

dead. I shot another arrow under a buffalo, and it too fell dead. I cut the buffalo meat into small pieces and dried it.

One morning I ran out again, pointed and said that someone was coming toward the tipi. All the people ran out to look, but saw no one and thought I was joking. Again I declared someone was coming. Again they ran out to look, but saw no one. After a while someone came over the hill. I had seen him approaching from the other side, but the others could not see him. It was a Dakota from another camp.

7. An Eye-Witness Describes the Antics of Clowns at a Buffalo Kill. A man went to a pond to get water and saw a herd of buffaloes. The people saddled their horses, went in pursuit, and killed many buffaloes. Two Clowns painted their bodies and faces with white earth and walked toward the camp, singing. They harnessed three dogs to a travois and, when they arrived at the place where the buffaloes had been killed, put their tongues and livers on the travois and took them to the camp. They went around the camp, stopped at the pond, and shouted, "Here are some men carrying the tongues." [I myself saw this.] When they arrived at the pond, they unhitched the "horses," placed the tongues and livers at one side and arranged them in three piles. They set up two long sticks, one leaning against the other, and built a tipi with long weeds and grass. They did not know what to use as a cover. They saw a woman at work and ran to her at full speed. When she saw them approach, she ran into the tipi. She had been cutting up a buffalo hide. They took the hide to the grass tipi and used it for a cover. The tipi fell flat.¹ The two men ran off, laughing boisterously and slapping their buttocks.

They built another tipi. When the men had stopped laughing, they ran toward it from opposite sides, jumped against the entrance, and crashed through it. Two women dressed [painted?] in red cleaned up the litter of the broken tipi, took the meat and the sticks to the pond and arranged the poles as they had been previously. A Clown took a stick and a drum and sang in his tipi [the sound of the Clowns' drumming is deadened and is not like the sound

¹ The Clowns were pretending to set up the tipi for the Clown feast.

from a real drum], and the other Clown danced around the meat. The two women approached, pulled the flap off the tipi, and placed the two stakes near the entrance. The two men ran into the women, knocked them down [that is, thanked them], and ran away, laughing. The women went to their own tipi. Later these men ran into a tipi where two men were sitting and knocked the occupants over. The Clowns bade one of these men gather sturdy sticks, plant them upright and hang eight vessels from them. They did this and filled the vessels with water from the pond.

The Clowns went to other tipis. If they saw a young woman in a tipi, they entered and knocked her over. She would then go out and gather buffalo chips to be used as fuel. The entrance to the Clowns' tipi faced east. At the entrance they built a fire and hung the eight vessels over it. When the water in the pots began to boil, the young men cut a figure of the thunder [?-bird?] on one side of the tongues, and on the other side the figure of a deer. On one side of the livers they cut a fish, on the other the thunder [?-bird?]. They arranged these in a row on the ground. They went to an old man who was sitting in one of the tipis, grasped him by the hands, shook him, and pointed toward the tongues and livers. The old man said he would go; they left him.

The two Clowns covered themselves with black earth overlaid with splotches of white. Over the head they wore a cloth which contained holes for eye slits, so small that one would be sure they could not see far through them; after using one of these, however, I know that it is possible to see well through them.¹ They went around the camp until they came to the pots. One of them picked up a tongue, walked about 10 yards from the pots, faced east, and, after making several motions to throw it back over his head, tossed it into one of the pots of boiling water.

He picked up a heart, went behind the tipi, and faced west, singing. He motioned three times to throw the heart over the tipi. The fourth time he threw it over the tipi into the pot. No ordinary man could do that. The two young men put the other tongues and livers into the pots. Meanwhile, those who had gone to get the buffaloes returned with much meat.

When they saw that a Clown feast was in progress, the Clowns put on their special costumes. These 40 to 50 Clowns assisted in the singing. Among them were two Clown Women who had tied themselves together and were dancing. Another women carried a cane while she danced. When she went close to the fire, an old Clown jumped upon her back, with his face turned away from her, and struck her with a bunch of long grass. At first she paid no attention to him, then she struck him on the shins with her cane. He fell, and lay there, weeping. He went to the woman's tipi, but could not find her. I was sitting close by, watching.

While they danced, another man arrived, dressed very differently from the rest of the group. He wore a large hat made of two calf hides with the heads and feet attached to the hides. His body was painted white, and his legs, from the knees to the feet, were painted red. He stood a long distance from the dance place, and sang. He ran to the dancers, sang, and then ran away. He carried a small stick.

He was standing close to me. He stared at a weed² and tried to fall upon it, but fell to one side. He repeated this attempt four times. He rose, gave me his cane, and pointed towards the weed. I dug it up and gave it to him. He rubbed it over the parts of his body which had been painted white, then over his arms from the elbows to the hands, and over his legs from the knees to the feet. He stared at another weed and fell down close to it four times. He came to me and did as before. I dug the weed up and gave it to him. He rubbed it on the parts of his body which had been painted red. The others danced about the place, dug up medicines, and went closer to the pots. Some picked up live coals and were not burned by them. The medicine made the fire and the water feel cool to them.

A man sat in the center, singing, and beating time on the drum, while another dipped sweet-grass into the pots, stirred it, and said: "i, i" [inspired], meaning that the water was cool. He shook every pot, sang, and stirred the water until the meat was ready to be taken out. While he sang, the others went to the pots and took a heart or a tongue from them. The singer took a carved tongue out of the pot, ran to the place

¹ This possibility is always a puzzle to the Dakota.

² This weed is evidently the medicine which protects the Clowns from being injured by the heat of the boiling water.

where I was sitting, jumped over me, and dropped the tongue in front of me. He returned to the pots, took out a carved liver, and again jumped over me and dropped the liver. I had dug up the weed for this man. Others who were watching came to me and asked me for some of the meat. I refused to give them any of it and took all of it home. When I picked up the pieces, they were so hot that they burned my hand.

When the Clowns had taken out all the meat, they played with the broth and splashed it over one another. Then they amused themselves and the spectators by kicking the pots about. They went to the pond, dived, threw mud, stuck their legs up, and did many diverting things. Playing with the pots was the most entertaining part of the performance. Occasionally one put a pot over his head, and spilled the broth over himself, and then threw the vessel away. A man who had a large pot on his head dashed the pot on to a stone and knocked a hole in it. The woman who owned it berated him and bade him to go away. However, he ran to her and stared fixedly into her face.

8. A Clown told his wife that he had dreamed that he and she were laughing and singing. She asked him what he meant. He replied that he had dreamed that they were laughing and singing. She asked him a second and a third time; she received the same answer to each question. He had a young son and a married daughter. The boy and the daughter's husband went to shoot ducks. They saw ducks, and when the older of the two hunters was about to shoot them his gun went off by accident and killed the lad. The hunter was frightened by this misfortune, and, weeping, carried the body to his father-in-law's tipi and reported that he had shot the lad accidentally. The Clown sang the Clown song, went into the bush, painted his face and hair gray, returned to the camp, and sang at some distance from his tipi. Meanwhile his wife was in the tipi, weeping. She went to him, asked why he was singing and whether he knew that his son was dead. The Clown did not reply, but continued to sing. His wife struck him with a stick and bade him weep properly. He thanked her for striking him and walked away. Actually he had dreamed that he and his wife were weeping, but he told her instead that he had dreamed that they were laughing and singing. He now

went some distance into the bush and continued to sing. [He was singing because he was a Clown, and inasmuch as he was sitting down, this signified that he was actually weeping. When he thanked his wife for striking him, he meant that she had angered him, and that was why he walked away from her.] After mourning in the bush for several days, he returned home, carrying a deer on his back. He told his wife that while he was walking through the bush, singing, the Clowns had given him a deer to cut into small pieces and stick up his anus [meaning that she was to take it, cut it up, and eat it]. She asked him to explain. She struck him several blows with a stick. He entered the tipi unconcernedly and paid no attention to the punishment.

One day, while in the bush, a voice had told him to perform the Clown feast, but he had not complied. He merely went about constantly talking in the Clown manner. In punishment for his disobedience, his boy had been killed. The Clown again told the man to try to perform the feast, lest another misfortune be visited upon him. This meant that all the persons in the west would frighten him [that is to say, the Thunders would kill him]. It was the Clown's way of saying so. That is what he was told when he was hunting.

Upon his return, he told his brother what he had heard and said he felt badly about it. He asked his brother to come to his tipi that night, for someone had told him to make a feast; he had not done so, his little boy had been killed, and, if he delayed longer, he, too, would be killed; he was frightened, and asked his brother to hunt with him. His brother agreed to accompany him. Next morning both went out to hunt. He told his brother that they would bring home whatever game they killed first and cook it in 11 pots. They killed a deer, brought it home, and cooked only one potful of meat, instead of 11 potfuls. When all the preparations had been made, he selected assistants, among them a young man to tend the fire and the pot, and get what was needed. When the meat had been cut up, he faced west, holding the heart in his hand. As he sang his Clown song, he threw the heart behind him, over his head. It fell into the pot. He treated the tongue similarly. When all the meat had been cooked and while it was hot, he came out of his tipi and sang. Clowns appeared from every direction, as though they

had sprung from the ground—the spectators did not know whence they had come.

The Clown bade the young man build a hotter fire. The Clowns ran to and fro in every direction and gradually approached the pot. When they were close to it they dug from the earth medicine which they put into their mouths, rubbed on their arms, and blew some of it into the pot. The maker of the feast was the first to put his arm into the pot. He picked the heart from the bottom. When they had taken out all the meat and had finished singing, the leader told the young man to put away the sticks on which the pot was hung and the other paraphernalia which had been used and take care of them. The leader said he would take them with him the next time he went to fight the Chippewa and would leave them in the bush. He told his brother he had seen him kill a bear and cook it in pots. His brother took care of the sticks.

Before they started on the war party, his brother went out to hunt. He killed a bear, cooked the breast for the Clown, and made the Clown feast for him. While the Clown sang his Clown songs, his brother went to invite the other Clowns. On this occasion, the Clowns did not perform any feats, but merely participated in the feast. After the feast his young brother heard that a certain man in another camp would go out to fight. He remembered his Clown brother's injunction to take care of the sticks and other gear used at the feast, and reflected that he perhaps meant that the man would kill a Chippewa. He had fighting medicine on his person and also carried the sticks.

While a member of this war party, the man killed a Chippewa with one of these sticks. He hung the stick on a tree and left it there in the bush. The man had another Clown feast. He hunted but killed nothing. It was growing dark and he decided to return home. When he was near the camp, a voice instructed him to say that he had killed a moose. When he arrived at his tipi and had eaten supper, he told his wife that he had killed a moose and asked her to get it in the morning. His wife believed him; the following morning they departed. He saw the tracks of a moose, told his wife he would follow them, and, if the animal was too far away, he would return. After proceeding a short distance, he killed a moose. He returned, told his wife he had killed a moose, and indicated the place

where he had killed it. The people agreed to go and get it. His wife said that the moose which he had killed on the previous afternoon was not far away and they would get it. He said that on the previous afternoon he had killed nothing; that when his little boy had been killed, and he was weeping bitterly, his wife had struck him; that all the Clowns knew she had done so and had told him to deceive her continually. He added that he would do this thereafter. His wife exhorted him to try to talk properly, occasionally, and not talk in the Clown fashion all the time.

Again he went out to hunt. When he returned, he told his wife that he had missed a bear; that he had gotten her a little switch, with which she was to make her sister cry. She did not understand and asked him repeatedly to explain what he meant. He replied each time that she was to use the switch to cause one of her sisters to cry. When he told her that he had missed a bear, he meant that he had killed a bear. She did not understand. When he bade her make her sister cry, he meant that she should go to her sister, tell her he had killed a bear, and invite her to come over and partake of it, so that she would be grateful and be much pleased.

Another day, when he was returning from the hunt empty-handed, a Clown told him to announce, when he reached home, that he had killed a deer and an eagle. He was loath to comply and said so continually. Later, when he was pondering the matter, the Clown whispered in his ears. He could hear the voice in the tipi, although it was audible to no one else. Finally, he bade his wife tell her brother that he had killed a deer and an eagle. She asked whether this was true. He replied that he never told a lie. She went to her brother and told him. He was much pleased and went to his brother-in-law's tipi to learn more about it. He inquired whether all the feathers were in good condition. The Clown declared they were the worst he had ever seen, for after killing the eagle it had fallen into the bush and all of its feathers were blackened and ruffled. Every time the man inquired whether the feathers were in good condition, the Clown declared all of them were spoiled. His brother-in-law grew tired of asking about them and said he would accompany the Clown the next morning, for he wanted some eagle feathers. The following morning they went towards the place.

Soon after they entered the bush they saw an eagle flying low above the trees. The Clown's brother-in-law said that he had only one bullet in his rifle, and bade the Clown shoot the eagle, if his gun was loaded. They hid behind the trees and when the eagle was above them shot it. The Clown declared that he had killed neither eagle nor deer on the previous day, but a person had told him to say that he had done so. The brother-in-law said this made no difference, provided they procured the eagle. The Clown told his brother-in-law to cut off the tail feathers and the wings of the eagle; he said that while the latter was preparing the eagle to take to the camp, he would go farther. Soon the Clown returned, carrying a deer on his back. They cut it up, apportioned it, and the two men carried it home. Whenever the Clowns make a prediction, it is fulfilled.

This Clown went hunting and returned empty-handed. He said he heard the supernatural Clown's voice tell him to announce that a large herd of buffaloes was at a certain place. He was loath to do so. After he had arrived at the camp, the Clown continually urged him to make the announcement. Accordingly he announced that a large herd of buffaloes was at a certain place. All the people were pleased to hear this and said they would hunt them. Accordingly the men went, but saw nothing. They urged him to go with them to this place next morning and they would then show him that no buffaloes were there. The Clown went with them to the place mentioned and found many buffaloes, some walking about, some lying down.

A few days later he hunted again. As he was returning home the Clown bade him tell his wife that he had killed the largest deer he had ever killed. When he reached home, he told her he had killed the largest deer he had ever killed. She did not believe him. He persisted that he was telling the truth—he had killed the largest deer he had ever killed. He asked her to go with him next morning.

Next morning she went with him. He told her to remain at a certain place, where he had discovered the tracks of a deer. He said that if the deer had not gone far, he would kill it; and if it had traveled a considerable distance, he would turn back. He followed the tracks until he came to a very young deer. He killed it, carried it on his shoulders to his wife, told her to take it

home, and said he would get the larger one which he had killed. He had deceived his wife when he told her that he had killed the largest deer he had ever killed. While she was with him, he killed a small deer, and gave it to her to carry home. When she had carried the deer home, he told her he would cook it and invite all of his young brothers and sisters to come and stick it up their rectums. She did not understand what he was saying. He said he would speak in this manner three more times, and then tell her properly.

He said that when he spoke to her in this manner he was obeying the instructions of the Clown. He cooked the deer and told her first to invite all his youngest brothers and then his young brothers and sisters. She did not know whom he meant by his "young brothers and sisters." The supernatural Clown now bade him tell her properly. He then told her to invite all the old men and old women in the camp. When they had come, he told the Clowns he had directed his wife to invite all his young brothers and sisters, but she had not understood and he had to tell her in the usual way. He used only the large deer for the feast. He gave the portions which he had not cooked to the old men and old women. He performed no feats.

He went out to hunt another time. While he was returning in the evening, a voice instructed him to say that he had killed four bears, that he could not carry all of them, and so had left them in a certain place, and had returned to the camp.

He bade his wife carry this news to her brother. She went to her brother and told him. He was very glad to hear it, saying he would go to see his brother-in-law and inquire about it. Accordingly, he went to him and asked whether it was true that he had killed four bears. The Clown replied that it was true; but he could not carry all of them home; it was almost dark, and he had decided to ask others to accompany him on the following morning. Several men volunteered to accompany him. He selected some of his friends, and on the following morning the party left. He told them they were walking too slowly; he would go ahead and prepare the place at which he had killed the bears. He found a den of bears and killed three of them. As the party ran to the place, they heard him shoot the third one. When they arrived, he had killed a fourth one. His brother-in-law told him four

bears were not enough; he wanted plenty of bear meat, and asked to be taken to the other four. He said this jokingly, for he knew that on the previous evening the Clown had fooled them. The Clown declared the place was too distant and said the four which he had killed would be sufficient. They took the bears to the camp and for some time all had plenty of bear meat. Several days later the Clown told his wife that the Clowns had directed him to make a hat, so that when he became too speedy a runner, he would be able by wearing it to run more slowly. He said he would cut out the pieces for the hat and his wife should sew them together [meaning that when he became old, he would wear this hat when he hunted and he would then be able to run fast]. He cut out the pieces for the hat and his wife sewed them together. He tied a small piece of black cloth on the hat and told his wife he would bring a nice piece of meat home to her. He hunted and killed a deer. He brought it home, told his wife to cook it, and said he would invite his oldest brothers and sisters to eat it with them. When the meat had been cooked, he went about the camp and invited every little boy and girl whom he saw. When he met a little girl, he told her that he did not want his oldest sister to go to his tipi again [meaning he wished this girl to go to his tipi]. All laughed at this way of inviting his sisters and brothers. He invited every boy and girl in the camp.

He then announced to them that the Clowns had told him to invite all the little children and he had done so. He gave each of them a piece of the meat. The supernatural Clown who was continually telling him to do these things would rub his face and say that, if the man failed to comply, he would be like the Clown [that is, have no eyes, and be blind]. At the beginning of his career, the Clown had been told that if he did everything he was directed to do, he would live to be an old man.

So far he had gotten along well. One night he declared that he had ruined his life. He went outside and wrapped his blanket about him. His hat was entangled in the blanket and dropped in the entrance-way; his wife had stepped over it; she was sorry; she had not seen it, and so could not have prevented the accident. He felt badly about this. He made a sweetgrass smudge and held his hat over it. But this was of no avail. His eyes became sore, he

suffered from headaches, he sickened, was ill for a long time, and died. If he had taken care of his hat, he would have lived longer.

9. A man announced that he wished to give the Clown feast, but he failed to do so. Suddenly, one day, he became ill and could not work. He recovered from his illness. Later he lost his sight. When, subsequently, he partly recovered his sight, he asked a medicineman to treat him. The medicineman told him that until he gave the Clown feast, as he had been directed, he would be sick; misfortunes would incessantly dog his footsteps and the Thunders might kill him. The Thunders had sent these sicknesses to remind him that he had been told to perform the Clown dance. When he heard this, he procured a bladder, dried it, and, after making eye slits in it—vertical, instead of horizontal—placed it over his head. A hole in the top allowed some of his hair to protrude. He wore this headgear. He dressed a little boy in the same fashion. From an old stick he made a large, long, very crude bow, and crude arrows for the boy. He made a small bow and small arrows for himself. When they had dressed and were ready, he said he had dreamed the night before that a deer came to him and gave him a moccasin; then a bear came and gave him the mate to the moccasin. Next morning he removed the hide from the deer's head and tied it around one foot; he removed the skin from a bear's head and fastened this around his other foot. When all was ready and the food was cooked, he and his son began the performance. Four Clowns sang; four others some distance away pretended to be guarding the dancers. They danced for two days while it was light. When he had finished the performance, he said he had seen someone killed by the Thunders—someone who had been told to take part in the performance and had failed to do so. That night a man was killed by the Thunders. His forecasts came to pass.

Next morning the boy's uncle went to the lad and asked him to lend him his gun. The lad complied. When he heard about this, the boy's father was pleased and predicted that when the lad went on a war party he would kill a Chippewa with that gun [meaning the bow and arrows]. The man carried his bow and arrows and killed a Chippewa.

[When the Clowns have a sweatbath or a

dance, they do not announce that they will go on a war party. They merely accompany the others on a war party, and do not announce their intention.]

A certain Clown announced that he would hold a feast, for he was afraid of the Thunders. He bade some of the men go out to hunt, procure a deer, cut off its tail, and throw it away. They brought the deer to the camp and he bade them cook it. They cut off its head, without skinning the animal, put the head in a separate pot and boiled it. They also cooked the remainder of the meat. [At their feasts the Clowns do not keep together, but approach in a large circle, while the onlookers watch them. Perhaps one Clown sits apart, on a hide spread on the ground, and strikes the hide with a stick; another makes an old pan do service as a drum; a third uses two sticks. Meanwhile, each sings his own song and maintains his own rhythm.] When all were singing, the meat cooked, and everything ready, the Clown bade them eat. All the Clowns were naked, each painted with earth in his individual fashion. They ran in every direction, dug into the ground, found roots, and discarded them. Then they ran elsewhere, dug into the ground with their fingers, and, when they found a root, chewed it, and spewed the particles into the pot. They continued in this way for some time, going to and from the pot in which the meat was cooking. Some of the men then added more wood, made a big blaze, and the water in the pots boiled. The Clowns picked out the meat with their bare hands. One of them carried out the orders of the others. He was painted like the other Clowns. Because he had been painted like a Clown by the maker of the feast, he thought that he could imitate the Clowns. Actually, he never dreamed of the supernatural Clown. He pulled a piece of meat out of the pot so quickly that he escaped scalding. The other Clowns rushed at him, took out the boiling broth with their bare hands and dashed it on him until he was scalded. They then splashed the remainder of the broth on one another.

10. A man who was not a medicineman announced that he would perform the Clown feast. The people procured a deer for him, prepared the meat, and placed the pot over the fire. When he was about to begin the performance,

he announced that if he should fail to give the Clown feast, he would be killed by the Thunders; he feared death and would, therefore, give the feast. Later he removed the heart and tongue and threw each back over his head into the pot. During the feast and the singing, he saw Chippewa approach from the east. They were trying to sneak up unseen by the Dakota. This man had not dreamed of the Clown, but when he announced that he would give the feast, the Thunders heard him and said he must do it. Although he was not actually a Clown, the Thunders helped him.

After the feast, a man went out to hunt. He saw the Chippewa approaching. The rest of the party, led by the man who had given the feast, went with him to the place where he had seen the Chippewa. Two of the men in the Dakota party were killed. Later it was discovered that they were killed because their leader had not been told in a dream to become a Clown.

11. Most Clowns are satisfied with giving one Clown feast. An old man, whom I knew when I was a boy, was continually singing. People were always making a feast for him.

The people were starving. Men hunted, but could kill no game. One day they hunted from place to place in search of game, but killed nothing. They gave a feast for the old man and asked him to discover why they could get no game. When they had cooked the meat, he bade them put a little water in the pot and set it on soft ground, make a sharp stick, put leaves on it, and add this to the contents of the pot.

It was early autumn. The Clown's legs, to his knees, were painted gray. He said it would snow [signifying that animal footprints would appear in the snow]. When the ground had been softened, as he had directed, he indented it with the point of his forefinger and placed wild goose feathers over it [because there would be plenty of game]. Then he sang. Next morning he announced that a woman in the camp had given birth to an illegitimate child. In her shame she had killed it, put it in a basket, and covered it with sticks. This child had been destined to become a medicineman. The child was angry because of its treatment by the mother and in retaliation was keeping the game away. The Clown said he would do his utmost to help the people. He directed them next morning to stuff

a dummy with cloth, set it up some distance away as a target and all shoot at it. After they had done this, they all killed any game they wished.

A man who had killed a small deer cooked it for this old man. He invited all the Clowns to a feast, at which they ate all the venison. He told them he had driven off the man who had been keeping the game away and now the people could get as much game as they wished. His name, Tate'witci (When-wanted), had been bestowed upon him by a medicineman to whom a deer had appeared in a dream and had bidden him give this name to the child.

12. [Some men treat their wives cruelly and do not permit them to follow the instructions they receive in their dreams. As a result these women are killed by the Thunders. This is a story about such a woman.]

A woman was planning to celebrate the Clown feast. In the winter she told her husband that she would give it when the grass had attained about the height of a hand and indicated the height to her husband. He laughed at her, telling her she was not a man, and that she should not give the Clown feast. A few days later the woman cut a thong from a hide to use as a burden strap. Later she told her father, mother, sisters, and brothers that she had been directed to give the Clown feast and wished to perform it, but that her husband would not consent. They urged her to perform it, but her husband was obdurate and would not permit it. Spring came. When the time indicated for the feast was near, she had a dream almost every night in which she was instructed to give the feast. Her husband would not allow her to do so. She told him that if he was unwilling for her to comply, she was ready to die. That night during a heavy thunderstorm, while she was sleeping in the tipi at the side of her infant, they were both struck by lightning and killed. Everyone scolded the husband for having forbidden her to give the feast.

13. A woman dreamed of the Foolish Clown and was directed to give a feast, but failed to do so because her husband would not permit it. She was killed immediately. Her husband said she had merely had a dream and there would be no consequences. During every thunderstorm

she told her husband about her fears. He merely made fun of her, said she was not a medicine-woman and need not fear the Thunders; moreover, everyone was afraid of the Thunders when they passed overhead. She was anxious to perform the feast. She told her husband she knew that everyone was afraid of a thunderstorm; nevertheless, she had been directed to give a feast and she did not want to die—it was incumbent upon her to give the feast. One day as a big thunderstorm approached she wept and told her husband that the Thunders would come and kill her if she did not give the feast. He ridiculed her all the more for saying this and declared she was not worthy to be a medicine-woman. Meanwhile the thunderstorm was approaching. It gradually drew nearer. It was one of the most violent ever experienced. She wept and told her husband she intended to do something that would give her an opportunity to perform the dance on the following day. She continued to weep and to declare that she was ready and willing to die then, if he would not permit her to perform the dance. She put on her shawl and went outside to a place about 25 yards from the tipi, where she was struck by three or four thunderbolts. Her husband rushed out and brought her body into the tipi. The people asked him whether he had heard her say that she had been told to perform a certain ceremony. He replied that she had been told to give the Clown feast. They asked why he had not allowed her to do it. He said he thought she was saying it in fun; he had never heard of a woman giving the Clown feast, for only men perform it. The woman's name was Anpe'tAwin (Day).

14. A man intended to give the Clown feast. He bade some young Clowns go out to hunt and kill whatever game they saw first. They went into the bush, killed a buffalo cow and brought it to the camp. The man had said that if they saw a big herd of any game they must kill its largest member. They assumed he was talking in the Clown manner, so they killed the smallest buffalo cow. As a matter of fact, he had intended his instructions to be taken literally. He asked why they had brought the smallest buffalo, when they had been told to bring the largest. They replied that he had directed them to bring the smallest cow in the herd and they had done so; he should have talked properly;

if he meant the largest, he should have said "the smallest." They skinned the buffalo cow and cut it up for cooking. Standing some distance from the pots and facing west, the man held the heart of the buffalo cow and sang to the Thunders. When he had finished the song, he threw the heart over his shoulder into a pot over the fire. He took the tongue, sang other Clown songs, and threw it behind him over his head. It fell into the pot into which the heart had fallen.

When the meat had been cooked and everything was ready for the Clowns to pick out the meat, they scattered about in every direction, singing. The man who was giving the feast blew medicine on his feet. He said he was blowing it on his hands. He blew it also over his legs. The Clowns gradually approached the pots. When they were very close, a Foolish Clown made a bundle of dry grass, dipped it into the boiling broth and sprinkled it over his naked body. He said it was too cool and asked them to make a hotter fire. When the water was boiling, he dipped the bundle of grass in again and sprinkled the broth over himself and the other Clowns, most of whom ran away from him. He continued this for some time, then dipped his hand into the pot and picked out the heart. I was then a young man. Carrying the heart, he ran toward us, turned, and threw it to us. It burned my hand, yet he had picked it out of the pot with as much unconcern as if it had not been hot. The Clowns picked out all the meat and gave it to the spectators. Then they played with the broth and sprinkled it over one another. They did this to discover who had really dreamed of the [supernatural] Clown. Those who had not dreamed of the Clown were burned [by the broth] and those who had dreamed were not burned. They splashed out all of the broth. [Although all the Clowns are medicinemen, they do not lead war parties, as do other medicinemen, but merely give a feast. This is not in accordance with some other statements. During the feast, they may learn that a certain person will go out to fight. They do not announce that they will accompany the party, but, when it is ready to start, they join it.] This Clown went with the war party to another camp about a day's journey distant, where a group was preparing to leave on the morning after their arrival. When they were leaving, the medicine-man who was their leader announced that they would kill the members of four Chippewa

families. They were all killed by Clowns who had come from the other camp. They removed the scalps, returned home and had a dance. [This shows that Clowns are superior to other medicinemen. The leader thought he would kill the Chippewa, but the Clowns outwitted him. Some men think they can surpass the Clowns; but they never succeed. A Clown can match any performance of other medicinemen; but other medicinemen do not possess the accomplishments of Clowns.]

15. A Clown invited people to his tipi; that is to say, he announced that he did not wish to see them [meaning that he desired them to come]. He added that he did not want them to swim. Some understood his meaning, some did not. [He meant that he wished them to come for a sweatbath.] He invited only those who had dreamed of the bear.

When those who had been invited had gone into the sweatbath tipi, he announced that he would enter the tipi last. Instead of holding the stem of his pipe toward the stone, he pointed it toward one of the medicinemen, and prayed to him to grant the Clown long life and fulfill his wishes by giving him the game which he desired when he went to hunt. They all felt disposed to laugh, but restrained themselves. He handed the pipe to the medicineman to whom he had offered the prayer, bade him light and smoke it and be the first to enter the tipi. When all the preparations were completed and this man was about to precede the others into the tipi, the Clown rushed in ahead of him and sat down. All now understood and laughed. Accordingly, the medicineman to whom the pipe had been given entered last. When all had assembled in the sweatbath tipi, he announced that he would be the last one to sing and would now sprinkle only a little water over the stone. When everything was ready, they closed the tipi. The Clown suddenly grasped a large bunch of grass [instead of the small bunch usually employed for this purpose] and four large stones, instead of the usual four small stones, and sprinkled the water over them. He had used all the water before the first song was sung.

Only members of the Bear feast had been invited. They were growling in imitation of bears. Before the Clown had finished the first song, he had driven all the others out, for they could not

endure the vapor. The Clown then went around the camp and announced that he made the sweatbath because he wished to hunt with the other Clowns.

The other Clowns thought he had intended to go alone and therefore had asked them to participate in the sweatbath. He asked the men why they had not remained in the sweatbath and assisted him with the singing instead of running out. He said he would not make another sweatbath for them; he thought he was doing something to help them; if they did not like his sweatbath, he would never make another for them. Some replied that they had heard him say he would sprinkle only a little water; they did not know he would put a pailful on the stones and drive them out. He announced that while he was in the sweatbath tipi, he had seen all the Clowns running about, carrying bows, arrows, spears, and guns. Inasmuch as they were Clowns, he did not understand the significance of their behavior, but later he would learn its meaning. He added that two days later he would go out to hunt. Those who heard this believed him. They waited for him on the second day, not knowing that he had gone hunting on the first morning after the sweatbath. He shot a deer. [When Clowns hunt, they seldom kill any other game.]

He brought it to the camp. They asked him why he had gone a day earlier than the time specified, why he had deceived them by saying he was going on the second day and had gone on the first day, without anyone's being aware of his intention. He replied that he had gone on the second day and not a day earlier than the time specified. He killed the deer for all the Clowns and told them he had seen all of them running about, carrying spears, bows, and arrows. He bade the people be cautious, for the Chippewa might attack the camp. The following day the Chippewa came to the camp, and there was a big battle. A Chippewa escaped. Doubtless he was a medicineman, for all the Dakota shot at him but no bullet could kill him. The Clown was in the rear of the pursuing party pretending to be unable to run fast. He was far behind the others. He was half a mile behind the Chippewa when he [the Clown] stopped, shot an arrow, and gave a war whoop. He was a considerable distance behind the other Dakota. They saw the Chippewa fall. The others wondered what had happened to him. When

they reached him, they found an arrow in the back of his head. The Clown was reluctant to approach and remained some distance away. Two of the party disputed as to which one of them had killed the man. The Clown went to them and showed them that the arrow was identical with those he carried. The pursuing party had not supposed that the Clown had shot the man, for they believed he was too far away, but the Clown could prove that he had in fact shot the arrow by comparing it with those which he carried.

On another occasion the Dakota were fighting the Chippewa, who were accompanied by their most powerful medicineman. The Dakota had dug a trench and were hiding in it. The Chippewa came up to them, expecting the Dakota to approach. Similarly, the Dakota were awaiting the Chippewa. The Chippewa medicineman gave the war whoop and the Chippewa ran diagonally across the intervening area, then turned and ran parallel to the line of Dakota. All the Dakota shot at this medicineman, but no one could kill him. When this Chippewa had passed in front of them four times, in his zigzag flight, he fell. He had been shot by a Dakota Clown who was so far to the rear of the party that the discharge of his gun could be heard only faintly.

16. A man went out from the camp to get [material for] arrows. He was approaching a small bluff. He knew about the Clowns. He carried his quiver and his knife in front of him instead of on his back. When he was close to the bluff, five men came out of hiding and attempted to shoot him. He stopped and gazed calmly at them. When they approached to attack him, he raised his bow to protect himself. He killed all of them, removed their scalps and carried them to the camp. Another time he went to spear muskrats. Every muskrat he speared changed into a fish. Soon he had a bag full of fish. On another occasion he was removing the charge from his muzzle-loading gun, and some men sitting close by were watching him. One of them saw a heron fly towards them and told him to shoot it. He aimed with his empty gun, and, although the people heard no shot, the heron fell to the ground, dead. Another time he took his bow and arrows and went to look at his horse. He saw a goat running. He aimed an arrow above it. The arrow fell on the

back of the goat and killed it. He performed many feats which no other man could master. One time, while he was pursuing buffaloes, he sat backward on his horse. When he was close to the buffaloes, he dismounted and ran, leading his horse. He shot several buffaloes. Some of the men in the party thought he had fallen from his mount and would be killed, but he returned unscathed.

He could speak several Dakota dialects.

One day he approached a woman who habitually gathered buffalo chips for firewood. She was carrying some home on her back. When he was close to her, he said, "Do not look at me" [signifying, "look at me"]. When she gazed at him, he pushed her away [indicating that he was fond of her]. "Don't come with me," he said [meaning that she should accompany him]. He started away from her. She followed him and became his wife.

"If I kill one more enemy," he said, "I shall celebrate the *wAzA'pi*." One morning they went on a war party. After marching three or four days, they arrived at the enemy's camp. The enemy fled; the Dakota pursued and killed them all. He killed the last one and removed the scalp. They brought all the scalps to the camp.

The man said he would perform the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* when he arrived at the camp. He announced that buffaloes would come and that the herd would include a white one and a black one. About two days after his return, he went to a hill, removed his clothes and painted his body white. After looking around and singing, he went over the hill. Two men went out to ascertain whether they could sight any buffaloes. They saw a herd. This Clown went into their midst, without being noticed by any of the herd, and killed the white and the black buffalo. The other men saddled their horses and pursued the herd. They killed all the remaining buffaloes. He removed the hide of the two buffaloes and extracted the livers. He called the liver of the white one the heart, and that of the black one the tongue. He cut the latter into slices. They erected a tipi for him and brought eight pots, put water in them, and built fires under them. When the preparations were complete, he came with the "heart" and the "tongue," as he called the meat. The Clowns had donned their costumes and were awaiting him. His entire body was painted white. He sang and the other Clowns assisted him. He stood about 10 feet from the pots, and motioned four times as

though he would throw the meat into them. The fourth time he threw it back over his head into one of the pots. He threw another piece over the tipi into the pot. He then put meat into each of the other pots. When the meat was cooked, the Clowns danced about the pots. After a while they went to the pots and picked out the pieces of meat. They were surprised to find that all of it was tongue and heart, instead of liver.

Nothing of importance happened during the next year. He invited some of his best friends, including his brothers and cousins, and announced that he would go on a war party. He intended to steal horses. Eleven men decided to accompany him. He made a hat and a coat of old cloth for each of them. Their appearance was amusing, for they all resembled Clowns. They started and traveled for five or six nights. They found a camp at which there were many horses. They abandoned their blankets and approached the camp, wearing their hats and coats, leaving their legs bare. Each man carried a bow and arrows. One half of the back of each bow was black, the other half was splotted with white dots. The notched ends of the arrowshafts were red, the ends nearest the arrow were white; zigzag lines, representing lightning, extended along the shafts. He carried only a bow and an arrow. Before he started from his camp, he had made an offering to the sun and the moon, told them what he wanted and asked for their help.

They abandoned their blankets and walked into the camp in single file. They went into the middle of the camp and sat there in a circle. The man carried a small drum which he placed on the ground. He sang, and the others danced. The people came out and looked at them, thinking that these men belonged to their own camp. When all the people of the camp had gathered about them, the leader pointed a red arrow first in one direction, then in another. Lightning flashed from every quarter toward which he pointed, and the people of that camp fell to the ground unconscious. He did the same to the tipis. They fell down, and the women and children in them dropped to the ground unconscious. The Thunders had directed him to do this. The sun was to watch over them; wherefore the people lay there unconscious until sunset. The Dakota secured the horses and led them back to the camp. Next morning, upon regaining consciousness, the enemy started in

pursuit, but lost the trail; all the horses were taken to the Dakota camp.

On another occasion the people in the camp were starving. The prairie had been burned and buffaloes were scarce. There was very little food. It was autumn. One morning this man went out, naked, wearing only moccasins. He carried his quiver and his bow in front of him. It was snowing. He referred to the snow flakes as "mosquitoes" and tried to fan them away. He climbed a hill, to look beyond it. For some time he did not return. When he returned, he ran a zigzag course [indicating that he had seen buffaloes]. The people did not believe him, for there could be no buffaloes on a burnt prairie. He went to the hill again. His brother watched him and saw that he was shooting arrows at random and was running a zigzag course.

The brother said he would go and see what this betokened, for there could be no buffaloes there. He went to the place and saw a small herd of buffaloes. The Clown had shot all except five of them. The brother ran to the *tiotipi* and announced that the Clown had been shooting at buffaloes and that only five were left; he thought the Clown would kill all of them, and it would be well for the people to wait until he returned. When the Clown had shot all the buffaloes, he removed the arrowshafts, tied them into a bundle with a piece of grass, removed the buffalo tails, tied these to the end of his bow, and thus returned to camp. Before coming into the *tiotipi*, he said to his brother: "Get horses, gather the buffalo tongues, and take them to the *tiotipi*. I will take the tails and will present them as tongues to the people there." The brother took horses to the place where the buffaloes had been killed. The Clown took the tails to the *tiotipi* and said, "Here are the buffalo tongues." He rested there a while. His brother gathered the buffalo tongues, put them on the horses, and led them to the *tiotipi*. The Clown, who had been sitting in the entrance, rose and sang, by way of thanksgiving. The others laughed and said, "Get out of the way! We want to give thanks." After a while, he left. The old men sang in gratitude. The Clown took four of the buffaloes to his tipi.

That is the end of the story.

17. One winter, whenever the buffaloes approached the camp, the wind blew toward them

from the camp; they smelled it and turned back. The wind blew continually from the east. Some Clowns painted their bodies and entered the camp naked. They carried a bladder. They faced the wind, opened the bladder, and allowed it to fill with air. They walked to the windward of the camp with the inflated bladder, untied its neck and allowed the confined air to escape toward the camp. They did this to turn the wind. After this the buffaloes came to the camp, for the wind no longer carried the odor of the camp to them.

18. While a Clown was hunting, the supernatural Clown went to him and told him to return home. Some women from the camp were digging roots on the prairie. The Clown bade him return to camp and announce that the Chippewa were pursuing the women. He ran toward the camp, waving his blanket. When he was close to it, he shouted that the Chippewa were pursuing the women. Those who had ponies close by mounted them and rode to the place where the women were gathering roots. The *wakan* Clown dogged the Clown's footsteps and continually urged him to tell lies. When the men arrived at their destination, they found the women busily digging roots. Some of the men were angry at him for having deceived them.

Next morning, while the women were again out digging roots, the Chippewa pursued them. The people discovered the Clown's predictions were fulfilled, not on the day stated, but on the following day. Consequently, when the Chippewa arrived in the morning, the Dakota were prepared; when they pursued the women, the Dakota killed some of them. A few days later, during that winter, this Clown went to hunt and returned empty-handed. The *wakan* Clown followed close behind him, bidding him say that he had killed a bear so large that he could not drag it out of its den. His wife went to her father's tipi and announced that her husband had killed a bear, too big to drag out of its den; she requested her father to go next morning and recover the body of the bear. Early next morning they started. The Clown led the way. He happened to look to one side of the path and saw a large pile of earth. He went to it and discovered a bear's den. He poked a long stick into the den. A bear came out and he shot it. His father-in-law and his brother pulled the

bear out. He told them that when they had skinned it, he would go on to get the other bear. He added that he had not spoken on his own initiative, but was inspired by some other person, under whose inspiration he had been continually telling lies.

Some days later he again went out to hunt. When he returned in the evening, he said that he had seen several female moose, had killed four and pursued others, but gave up the chase and returned to the camp, for it was getting dark. He said also that he had killed a bear. The men knew that his statements always applied not to the day mentioned but to the following day; they remarked that his prediction might be fulfilled on the morrow. Although, on the following day, no one was invited, a large party accompanied him. He killed four female moose and a bear. He saw the tracks of other moose; these, he said, were the animals to which he had referred. He admitted that he had not killed a moose on the previous day and added that the Clown had caused him to speak as he did. The other men in the party overtook the moose and were killing them. The Clown decided to precede them. As he walked on, he looked behind him and saw a bear's den. He killed the bear. The other men killed every moose in the herd.

On another occasion he went to hunt. When he returned, he reported that he had seen a large herd of moose. He stated merely that he had seen them, but did not claim to have killed any of them. Some of the men went to the place where he said he had seen them, but they saw no game and returned to the camp. Next day some of them accompanied the Clown. All who did so killed moose, dried the meat and packed it. Each of them then had a good supply of meat. The Clown was continually deceiving them in this way. He fooled them every time he returned from a hunt.

After they had returned with the moose, he again went to hunt. When he returned, he said he had seen a large party of Chippewa. The men were disposed to believe him, although each knew that he was always lying. After this announcement the men procured their guns and started. When they arrived at the place designated, they could detect no signs of the enemy. The party returned and declared their search had been fruitless. They all now knew that whatever he had predicted would happen

in the evening would [actually] happen the following morning. Next morning he accompanied the war party. The Chippewa were proceeding by another route toward the Dakota camp, and the Dakota crossed their tracks. Some of the men kept constant guard at the camp. The Chippewa were facing the camp, concealing themselves from that quarter, and were unaware that the Dakota were approaching from the rear. The Dakota came upon them from the rear and killed all of them. The entire camp was jubilant over the Clown's accomplishment. Previously they had never believed him; thereafter they believed everything he told them. He declared the Clowns had told him that he should continue to deceive them in this manner as long as he lived; and he would stop when he died. When he said this, they laughed. He was now very old. He told them that in a dream, the Clown had informed him that this would be the last time he should deceive the people; "From now on you may do as you please, for you are too old to perform anything." He was told, however, to use great caution, lest he be killed. I saw this old Clown, who was then a very old man and did nothing except fish all the time. One day, while he was fishing, Chippewa from the other side of the river shot and killed him. This story about him was often told, for, although he was always telling lies, in each instance everything happened precisely as he had foretold.

19. A boy about 18 years old told none of his friends that he knew about the Clowns, yet he talked continually in the Clown manner. Sometimes he made a sweatbath for the Clowns, but he did not join them in it. He was a good shot with the bow and arrow; he always hit the target. When he went to hunt, he secured all the game he wanted. One day he took his bow and arrows and went to hunt. He brought home only young ducks and told his father he wished to make a feast for the Clowns. He cooked some of the ducks and invited all the Clowns. When they had eaten the young ducks, one of the old men asked the boy whether he had dreamed about the Clowns and whether he knew anything about them. He replied that he knew nothing about them, had never dreamed about them, and was giving the feast merely because he knew that whenever the Clowns made a

promise, it was fulfilled. The Clowns assured the boy that in return for his feasts he would be one of the best fighters in every attack on the Chippewa; though he was then only a boy, he would soon be a large strong man.

The boy wondered how he could kill a bear and with its flesh give another feast for the Clowns. While he was fishing, he saw a turtle. He killed it, extracted its claws, and his father scraped and dried them. When they were dry, they were as hard as steel. Most of the ancient arrows had turtle claws at the anterior end. He made six arrows with turtle claw points. While he was walking through the bush, hunting, he saw a cave, which he thought was a bear's den. He pushed an arrowshaft in and heard a bear growl. He pushed the shaft in again. The bear started to come out. He placed himself behind the bear, so that he could shoot it in the head. When the bear showed its head, he shot it in the head, then in the neck, and again in the shoulder. The fourth time, he shot it through the heart and killed it. He went home and told his father he had killed a bear so large that he could not carry it. His father was pleased to hear this. Next morning they went to get the bear and found a large one. They asked him how he had killed it. He described the manner in which he had killed it.

The boy did not join the Clowns. He was not a Clown, although he had always talked in the Clown manner and had made feasts and sweat-baths for the Clowns. After they had promised him that he would be one of the best fighters, he seemed to acquire increased power after each feast that he made for them. His father carried the bear home. He made another feast for the Clowns with its breast.

Each time he selected the same man to sing. When all was ready, this man began to sing; he then bade the boy invite all the other Clowns. They came; all of them sang. After the feast they talked about the boy among themselves. They all agreed that they wished him to be a Clown; they would wait until he was older; he was procuring game and accomplishing other things which a grown man would do, yet he was a little too young to join the Clowns. They agreed to this, but said nothing about it to the boy. After the Clown feast, the boy went to his father and asked him to make other arrows, with points like those of spearheads. His father made 10 arrows for him. The men went out to

hunt and the boy accompanied them. He killed a large deer, brought it home, and made another big feast for the Clowns. The Clowns were pleased with the feast, but said nothing to the boy about it. Another day he went to hunt and after his return made a feast for the Clowns.

No boy of his age was as good a hunter as he, or equaled his other accomplishments. All the people marveled at his abilities. He heard that a party expected to go out to fight. Two of his brothers were members of the war party. He asked permission to accompany them. They replied that he was too young; that when men are on the warpath they do not travel like hunters, but frequently march throughout the night. He was told that this would be too difficult for him and also that he slept too late in the morning. They were reluctant to have him join them. His father, however, thought he would return safely, and gave him permission to go, for he could walk rapidly, was a good hunter, and might also prove to be a good fighter. His older brothers declared he would be helpful only in gathering wood and making the fire, when the men were on the march, and in getting water and fuel when they were resting. They agreed to his joining them, however, and told their mother to make them each an extra pair of moccasins. After they had agreed that he should go, the boy sharpened his arrows on a whetstone. The people teased him, told him he would not kill anything, but that if anyone in the party used all of his own arrows, he could supply that person.

They camped at night, and a party was sent ahead to ascertain the number of Chippewa tipis. They returned with the information that there were three tipis. The younger of his older brothers said the boy should stay with him; he was not to go far from him, and was to observe where the Chippewa were, and not get within range of their guns. When they saw the Chippewa tipis, they all ran toward them, the boy in the lead. A Chippewa ran out and shot at the lad, but missed him. The boy shot an arrow at the Chippewa and killed him. The others were arguing about the coups on the Chippewa whom he had killed. The lad pressed on and killed another Chippewa. The remainder of the Chippewa were killed by the other Dakota.

The boy was given the scalps of these two Chippewa. After he had returned home, his father was very proud of him. He was the

youngest member of the party. The others had predicted he would be a continual care to them and on the march might drop from fatigue. Yet he had walked faster and had stood the journey better than had anyone else in the party. His brothers had warned him to take care of himself and be cautious about where he went. They had not assumed that he would run about fearlessly, as, in fact, he had done. He had shown no signs of cowardice; on the contrary, he had demonstrated that he was brave. All his relatives were very proud of him. [That is the first time I ever heard of a boy of his age going out to fight.] On the homeward journey, when the party was near the camp, the boy fell back to the rear, walked slowly, and allowed the others to arrive there ahead of him. He went into the bush and killed a deer close to the camp. He brought it home, gave another feast, and invited all the Clowns. He told them that when he was a small boy he had had a dream about the Clowns. They had told him that if he gave the Clown feast from time to time, when he grew to be a big boy he would be a good fighter and a good hunter and would never miss the target. They told him also that when he was old enough to comprehend his surroundings, he should carry out the instructions received in his childhood dream, and he would then learn whether they were true. He told the Clowns that up to the present his dream had been realized; that he had been told from time to time to give a feast for the Clowns, do as they directed, and all their promises would be fulfilled. He had wished to kill a Chippewa and wear feathers on his headdress. This was why he had been continually giving the Clown feast. All this time the boy had been dreaming about the Clowns—although he was loath to describe his dreams—and had been carrying out their directions. He thought he was now old enough to do as he had been instructed and would get along all right.

One day he told his brothers that he was continually having dreams in which the Clowns told him to do these things, but he had been unwilling to announce them; he would, however, sing the songs which the Clowns had given him in his dreams. They were pleased and bade him sing the songs and do everything that the Clowns directed. He sang his songs and at the same time wore his war feathers. When he had finished singing, he returned to his father's

tipi and asked his brothers to arrange the ground in the tipi; they were to make a high place in the center and put a stone there. When all was prepared, he sat down in the tipi and invited his father and his brothers to enter. After he had sung, he told them that he had been taken from place to place by the Clowns, who showed him the whole world.

The Clowns urged him to do as he was directed, promising that he might have whatever he wished of what he had seen. He promised them that he would obey them.

The Clowns took him to a high hill and bade him look about. He could then see over the whole world and could discern everything on it. He could see the land and the water and all that was about it. The Clowns told him that though it looked small to him, it was the great earth and he was seeing the whole world. They took him to the top of a hill to enable him to see everything. When they had asked him whether he could see everything and he had replied affirmatively, they asked him what he saw. He replied, "A stone." They told him the stone would be his lifelong friend; that he must put tobacco on it before he left the hill. He was taught the songs, but was told not to sing them until he was old enough to do so. Then the people would be glad to hear him sing them and the Clowns would assist him whenever he needed help. When he had related this to his father and his brothers, they placed tobacco on the stone and he sang his songs. He told them to go out and invite all the Clowns. One of his brothers went and invited all the Clowns. All entered the tipi. They were pleased to see the young man. He repeated to them what he had told his father and his brothers. He said he had little suspected that what he dreamed when he was a mere boy was true, or that these dreams were worth testing. He had tested them and found them to be true; he had been able to procure everything he desired. He told them that after giving the Clown feast, he had always had dreams from the Clowns; he was not ready to announce them, although he always acted in the Clown manner, and carried out all the instructions of the Clowns.

He said he would now sing and would willingly assist anyone who needed help; that he had started to perform in the Clown manner and through the remainder of his life he would follow the bidding of the Clowns. His words

pleased all the old men. One of them said he was glad to know about the boy and about the useful deeds he could perform and to know that all the people could depend upon him in sickness or in any other need; moreover, they welcomed him into the Clown society.

Having finished the Clown feast, the boy was now a Clown. He did not often sing, except when he wished the men to go out to hunt. When he did sing, they all procured sufficient game. All the people were now cognizant of his power. They were glad to know that he would be a Clown and a medicineman. Whenever they wanted to learn about difficult things, they came to him and asked him to find out about them.

The boy did not make many Clown feasts or sing often; he sang only when the people were in need of meat. He conducted himself in this way for several years, until he was a mature man. One day he told his brothers he had been directed in a dream to perform the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. The brothers asked when he would do this. He replied that in the dream the Clowns had told him they would notify him of the proper time. Several times after this the brothers asked him whether the appointed time was near. He said he had received no further warning. Later he told them that the time had come for him to give the feast. He instructed them to obtain a tipi and set it up outside the camp. They obtained a tipi and prepared everything for him. When the boy was ready to give the feast, he directed his brothers to hunt and bring home a deer. [When a Clown says he will give a feast, and sends someone out to procure game, the hunter seems to get the game more easily and in less time than on other occasions.] They had shot the deer, removed the hide, and cut the meat into pieces. The young Clown threw the heart over his head, behind him, into the vessel and did likewise with the tongue. He placed the other pieces of meat in the vessel. Fuel was put on the fire, and when all was ready he sang.

The other Clowns went off to dress in secrecy. All the preparations were completed; the man came out of the tipi and sang his songs. The other Clowns came from every direction. They danced until they were close to the vessels. Then they dug up roots, put them in their mouths, chewed them, and spewed them out into the vessels. The young man took the heart

from the vessel and went westward with it. He returned, took out the tongue, and went eastward with it. The other Clowns took out pieces of meat. They played with the soup, until the vessels were empty.

After the Clown feast, the young man went about singing. One day, as he sang, he perceived a spirit in the camp. He stood in the middle of the camp, with his head to the ground, pretending he was searching, turning his buttocks now in one direction, now in another, indicating that he was endeavoring to see something. He first faced west, then north, east, and south. [The ritual clockwise procedure.] He then went about the camp singing. When he had finished singing, he declared he had seen the spirits of the Chippewa. He bade all the men prepare; he said he could not see the thing clearly, but would try again later. His brothers and all the men were pleased to hear this.

Again he went about the camp, singing. When he had ascertained everything, he told them to prepare a sweatbath for him. When they had prepared it, he told them to procure a small stone, heat it, and put it inside the sweatbath tipi, for he wished to tell them something. When everything was ready, he invited all the Clowns. He told them he was glad to have them assist him in the Clown feasts and to meet them again in the sweatbath. They all sang. As each finished his song, he sprinkled water on the very large stone there. [They had gotten a very large stone, for he had told them to get a small one.]

After the sweatbath he asked them whether they knew that a spirit was present. He said it looked like the spirit of a Chippewa and its presence signified that the Chippewa would come to fight them. One of the 20 Clowns who were present stated that he had seen something, but could not identify it. The man who had made the sweatbath declared he was certain it was the Chippewa and said that all the men should be ready, for the Chippewa might come at any time. Two nights later the Chippewa entered one end of the camp and fought the Dakota. It was a severe fight. All the Chippewa were driven away. The Dakota held a big War dance. A man gave the Clown feast and invited this man and all the Clowns to attend. Because he was the first to learn about the Chippewa, this man was told that he should lead in singing the Clown songs. After singing at the Clown feast, he announced that, while singing, he had

seen something. They asked him to describe it. He said that a certain woman had given birth to a child that she did not want to rear; she had killed it, and hidden it in the bush where the dogs had found it. The spirit of this infant boy was keeping the game away; also, the dogs were sniffing the cooking vessels and eating out of the plates which the people used; in consequence, none of the game would approach. On the following day they would drive the spirit away. They all assented. They made the image of a man out of grass and placed it erect on the ground. The Clowns were to hold calamus root in their mouths, blue marks were to be painted on the head of each dog, and the gun of the man who was designated to shoot the image was to be coated with blue earth. The man walked, singing, around the grass image of the boy. All the dogs of the camp were tied close to the image. The man walked around the image, then shot it. The other men fired their guns toward the ground to drive away the spirits of the dogs and the boy's spirit, but they did not injure their dogs.

Everyone depended on the singing of the young man to procure all they wanted and to forecast events. Immediately after a person has embarked on the career of a Clown he seems to have more power than the other Clowns.

The young man went about singing. One evening, after going about singing, he predicted a terrific thunderstorm and told his brother to go about and warn the people, so that they could anchor their tipis. His brother inquired what he intended to do to avert it or to mitigate its fury. He replied that he had nothing to do with that phase of the matter—it was sometimes nice to have a big thunderstorm, provided it caused no damage. This storm would surely break, but it would not harm the people. Toward evening, they saw dark clouds approaching. The thunderstorm arrived and the lightning struck in front of the tipi of the young man's brother, where this young man was staying. Next morning he told his brother that the Thunders had left a deer there for him; next day he would go to kill it and would give it to his brother, so that the latter would not have to go any distance to get it. The next morning his brother went hunting, but stayed close to the camp and did not go far enough to find game. That night he returned to the camp empty-

handed and told his younger brother he had seen no game. The clown stated that on the following morning he would get the deer.

Next morning he went to hunt; he soon returned bringing a deer. He told his brother the deer was very easy to procure and asked him why he had not gotten it on the previous day. They made a Clown feast for him. After the feast, he announced that on the following day all must hunt. While he was singing, he saw the spirits of many game animals. The next day the people hunted, and all procured plenty of game. They made another Clown feast for the man and invited all the Clowns. After this feast, he told his brother that they would have another battle with the Chippewa, but this would not occur at once. He predicted a thunderstorm during which the Thunders would tell him the time of the fight. He said that the Clowns would not take charge of this fight, but another medicine-man would be the leader. When the first thunderstorm came, the Thunders would tell them whether the Dakota or the Chippewa would be successful.

Everyone then knew that there would be a battle and all, therefore, were prepared for it. That night there was a thunderstorm. The Thunders told the man that the Dakota were to fight on the second day and that all of them would be safe. Next morning he told his brother and asked him to go with them to the fight. They kept this information to themselves until the second day, when they heard that some people were preparing to fight. They all started.

The Clown's brothers were in the party. After a day's journey they camped for the night, and the medicineman learned that the Chippewa were near. Two Dakota were sent ahead to reconnoiter, went almost to the Chippewa camp, where they almost ran into two of the enemy. Each party fled from the other. Each now knew that they were near the enemy. Both attacked, and there was a big fight. The Dakota were successful and half the Chippewa were driven off. The other Chippewa were killed and their scalps were taken. One Dakota, who had been wounded many times, returned home without feeling his wounds or suffering from the loss of blood. When he arrived home, he told the people that he had been wounded as many times as the buffaloes had

predicted. They had told him that if he always carried out his instructions, he would never suffer harm.

After this fight they all went out to hunt, but they killed nothing. This young man also went, but he, too, got nothing. On his way home he met the *wakan* Clown, who directed that after returning to camp, he should tell the people that he had killed so many fat moose that all the people in the camp could not carry them. He arrived home and reported to his brother, as he had been instructed. Next morning all the people were delighted at the news. They believed it, for they had never known this man to lie. Everyone went out to get the game. They traveled farther and farther and continually asked him how much farther they must go. He said, "Only a short distance." Finally they met a big herd of moose. Everyone was there, even some of the women, for he had said that all of them would not be enough to carry the moose. They surrounded and killed the moose. He then told them that the night before he had not killed any, but he had been directed by the Clown power to tell them that he had done so. He thought he had been told to do it so that they would find the large herd of moose, and that there would be a sufficient number of people to kill a great many moose. When they had taken all the meat home, this man had a Clown feast for himself. When it was over, he told his brothers that he wanted to give another feast, just like the first, on elevated ground, with a small stone in the center on its crest.

When he had finished the second feast, he told his brothers that he had seen the spirit of an eagle, and that they should go out the next day and kill the eagle. Next day the brothers killed the eagle and brought it home. They made a Clown feast, invited all the Clowns, sang, and asked them to prepare the eagle. Following the feast and the singing, the Clowns did so. He then told his brothers to give another Clown feast, that while he was singing, he had seen something queer, but did not know what it was. If they would make another Clown feast, he would try to discover what it was. They went into another tipi and had another feast. When they had finished singing, he asked the other Clowns whether any of them had seen something. One after the other said they had seen nothing. The Clown told them that something

would happen in the camp. A young man in the camp was to have gone out to fight. He did not do so; during the night, while singing, the Clown learned about him and the man died. The people said it was the young man's fault and that no one else was to blame for his death.

Soon after this the man went out to hunt. Soon he ran back, saying he had met a large herd of moose. The people were excited and all ran in the direction whence he had come. They returned and said they had seen nothing. He went out, came back, and reported that he had again seen the herd. The people ran back into the bush and saw the herd. He was becoming the kind of Clown that continually fools people. One day he went to hunt and killed a deer. He brought it home and made himself a feast. He invited all the Clowns. When they had finished eating, he told them that next morning they would get a big herd of deer. Every man had notice of this, but he preceded all of them. He stood on a hillock and waved his blanket. Everyone rushed up to see what it meant. He said there had been a big herd of deer, but now it had disappeared. Some of the men said he was fooling them, but others stayed with him, and went on. Soon they found a large herd of deer. Those who had stayed with him got plenty of venison and those who had doubted him got none at all. The latter were very sorry that they had not stayed with the others.

This young man asked his brothers to save the tongues of all the game they killed, for he wanted to use them for a feast. The Clowns had been asking him to celebrate another *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. All were glad to do this, for, thanks to his Clown feasts, they were getting plenty of game. When there were a sufficient number of tongues, he asked his brothers to prepare the ground where he would lead the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. They saved the tongues, cooked them, and prepared the Clown feast. They told him that all was ready. He came out of his tipi and the other Clowns came out of the bush. [When someone gives the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*, more Clowns are seen than at any other time.]

As they approached, the Clowns stopped, signaled to one another, danced at various places; sometimes they all danced while the young man sang. They ran to and fro, gradually approaching the pot. When they were all close enough, the man went to the pot, removed one

of the tongues, ran west with it, and threw it at one of the men who were sitting there watching. He took another and went east with it, and tossed it at some young men who were sitting watching on that side. All the Clowns then moved toward the pot and reached into it for the meat. Following this feast, he told his brothers that a large party of Dakota in another camp were preparing to fight; if his brothers wished to join the party, he also would go.

They all agreed to help this war party. They left and arrived at that camp the night before the party expected to leave. The leader of the men in this camp said that he had seen a family of Chippewa in a certain place and wished to kill them. He was very glad that these Dakota had come to help him. They sat there a while. After the meal, this young man took his brothers outside and told them that this leader had told the truth, and that he would arrange matters so that they would be the first to kill some of the Chippewa. He told them to stay very close to him in the fight and they would strike the first blows. During the fight the Clown and his brothers killed all the Chippewa before the others arrived. They returned to their own camp. The people were very glad to see them and to learn that they had killed all the Chippewa before the warriors of the camp they visited had arrived at the battleground. The Dakota in the other camp, however, were very angry, saying that their own leader should have had the Chippewa scalps. One of the brothers told the Clown that he was very thankful for what he had done and that he wished to make a Clown feast for him. He prepared everything and told the Clown to invite all the other Clowns. They all came and all sang. When they had finished, he told his brother that he was very young to give meat to all the men in the camp, that while he was singing he had seen many moose as well as bears and their young, but he did not know how many of these there would be. All the men were very glad. The following day they went out to hunt. They killed much game. Two of his brothers found a den of bears, with young ones, killed all of them and took them to the camp. The people were much pleased with the success of this hunt, made a feast and invited the man. After the feast and the singing, he told them he had seen a large herd of deer and that they

should all go out and get them the following day.

He rose early and departed ahead of the others. Later, after leaving, the others saw him standing on a hill, waving his blanket to signal to them. When they arrived at the hill, he was on the next hill waving his blanket. After he had done this a third time, some of the men were indisposed to follow him farther. The Clown's brothers, however, and some other young men continued, and at the foot of the hill found a herd of fine deer. They obtained plenty of meat; those who did not continue the journey got none. The former were very thankful; after they returned home they made another feast for the Clown. They invited all the Clowns.

After the feast he told them that when they went to hunt, one of them would kill a bear. Next morning his brother killed a bear and the others secured plenty of game. While they were hunting, the brother told him he was very glad to get the bear, and would give another Clown feast for him. Following an uneventful period, the young man told his brother that he did not feel very well and would go hunting. He wanted some game for a Clown feast, so that he could be happy. He hunted all day; late in the afternoon he brought home a deer. He told two young men to prepare for the feast and to cook the deer. When everything was ready, he told them that the Clowns had sent him to earth and had promised him a long life, if he would obey all their commands. He told them to invite all the Clowns who sang songs or knew about Clown procedure. After they had assembled, he said that he was very glad to be in the society of the Clowns; that before his birth he had known that he would be one of them; and that he was happy to have their assistance. They sang for some time and then held the feast. After the feast he explained that whenever he sang he saw the spirits of many kinds of game. He had seen them this time. He ordered them to go out next day and set fire to an oak tree.

Next morning the old men directed two young men to go out and set fire to an oak tree. They did so. While the tree was burning, all the hunters gathered around it. After the fire had died out, they went out to hunt. The two young men who had lighted the fire were the first to procure game; each of them killed a bear. Afterward the other men got plenty of game and most of them killed a bear. They returned home

and one of these two young men had a feast to which he invited all the Clowns, including the man who had seen the spirits of the game.

They all arrived, entering the tipi backward. When this Clown entered, the others told him that he was the new Clown who understood everything, and they wished him to be the first to sing. They asked him why he did not sing. He said they had asked him to sing first, and, therefore, he would do it, and they would sing later. They understood what he meant. Accordingly, they sang, and he sang last. He then told them that the following day all should go out to hunt, after another oak tree had been fired. In the morning the same two young men set fire to the tree. They all sat around it until the fire burned out. Then they went out to hunt and brought back plenty of game.

The Clown, however, did not return with the others. Late in the evening the people saw him running toward the camp. He told his brothers that the Chippewa had chased him home. They asked him whether the Chippewa were near the camp. He replied that they had nearly caught him near the camp, causing great excitement. The men mounted their horses, rode toward the approaching Chippewa, but saw no signs of the enemy. A man reminded them that the predictions of the Clowns were not always fulfilled at once, but sometimes came to pass later. They decided to wait until dark; if then they saw no signs of the Chippewa, to return to the camp. Immediately thereafter they saw many mounted Chippewa coming out of their camp. A big fight followed, although only one Dakota and one Chippewa were killed. They carried the scalp of the Chippewa home, took it to the Clown and asked him to prepare it. He said he would have nothing to do with it, that it was the business of the medicineman to prepare the scalps. He said that if he were a medicineman and sang and was the leader of a war party, he would prepare the scalps, but in this situation he could have nothing to do with it. The scalp was prepared and the War dance was held.

Afterward the man told his brothers that he had dreamed of much game and of killing a bear and he intended to hunt. He went the next day; he returned in the evening carrying a rabbit over his shoulder. Everyone laughed at him. He paid no attention to them and walked on, behaving as though he were carrying a heavy burden. He told his brothers to cook the

rabbit for him, for he wished to give a little feast. He directed them to cook it in two big pots, for one pot would not hold all of it. He said he would invite all the old men to his feast. He went away and his brothers waited to see which old men he would invite. He brought all the young men. After all who were invited had arrived, he sang. One of the young men served the rabbit. They all laughed at the small portions that were put on their plates. They laughed, saying that one rabbit would not make much soup; yet when they had eaten their portions, they were so full that they could scarcely drink the soup. When they tried to drink the soup, it was so rich that they could barely swallow it. Because they had ridiculed him, the Clown had sung songs that had made them feel replete with food, and he had caused a great quantity of grease to appear on the soup.

After the feast he told the young men to hunt the next day; one, who would kill an eagle, was directed to divide the feathers with those who had killed the Chippewa. The next day he accompanied them on the hunt. They killed a bear, as he had foretold. All obtained plenty of game; one man killed an eagle. Those who had been in the fight divided the feathers of this eagle among themselves. He brought the bear home, had his brothers prepare a large piece for him and cook it. He told them that he intended to invite all his young sisters to a feast. He went out and invited all the old women. Some were blind; some were so old that they could not walk. After they arrived, he told them that he was not doing this on his own accord, but someone had instructed him to do it. He said he had been promised that if he carried out all his orders he would have a long life. All the old women were very happy. After the feast he told the men that they might go to hunt the next day. He instructed them to set fire to an oak tree. The two young men again started the fire. After it had burned out, the men went to hunt; the Clown went with them. They returned with plenty of game. The Clown brought home a bear. He asked his brothers to prepare it and cook the same parts that they used before and he would invite all the young men. When all the preparations had been made and the meat was cooked, he told one of the young men to invite all his young brothers. The young men understood; he invited all the old men.

After this feast he told the young men who

had been spectators at the feast that if they wished to hunt and obtain plenty of game, they need merely set fire to another oak tree. He said that if they were tired of hunting, they need not do this; but if they desired game, that would be sufficient. Early the next morning the two young men set fire to the oak tree. Before this, however, the Clown had departed. When the men who had waited for the fire to burn down were going out to the hunt, they met him coming home, carrying a bear over his shoulders. They were very much surprised to see him out so early and with such fine game.

When his brothers returned in the evening, he asked them to prepare the same parts of the bear for a feast, saying that he would invite all his old brothers. The two brothers thought that this time they would partake of the feast. They were pleased. However, he invited all the little boys, even the newborn males and other very young boys not old enough to eat meat. Their fathers had to carry the children and eat the meat intended for them. He told the fathers that he was not doing these things of his own volition, but that he had been instructed to do them. If he did not do as commanded by the power, something evil would happen to him; he did not intend to neglect anything. He had always been strong and healthy and he wished to obey the Clown power, so that it would be pleased with him and protect him. He said that this would probably be the last feast that he would give for other people, although possibly he would continue to give Clown feasts. He said he was glad that these people had attended the feast and would not detain them longer, for some of the old brothers were continually ridiculing him [meaning that the small babies were crying vigorously].

Late that night he told his brothers that the next morning he would go out to hunt. He went alone and told no one when he was going. He walked all day and saw nothing. Late in the evening as he was returning home he heard the Clown power tell him to inform the people in the camp that he had killed many fat moose. The voice said that this was important and that if he did not comply, something serious would happen to him.

He said nothing, for he had thought that the Clown power would permit him to kill one or two moose and then he could tell the people. He thought it was wrong to tell this lie. The Clown

power continually reminded him to follow instructions, then rubbed his hands over his face, and said the man would be like that if he did not do as he was told. The man looked and saw no eyes in the Clown power. He was frightened and said he would do as he was directed. He knew the Clown power meant that he would be blind during the remainder of his life; he promised, therefore, to obey. He went into the tipi and told his brothers that he had stayed out very late because he was chasing a large herd of fat moose; apparently, they could not run at all and he had killed almost all of them. He asked his brothers to announce this to the people; that next morning all the men might go, and they would get plenty of meat. Next morning one of his brothers went about and told the people to go and get the meat. They did not believe that he had killed a herd of moose, but they had to do as he ordered.

All the people went to get the moose. The Clown went with them. He felt very badly, for he knew that he had not even seen a fat moose, much less killed one the preceding day. Before they had traveled a great distance, a large herd of fat moose ran out of the bush. The hunters surrounded them and killed them all. The Clown was happy. He told them that he had seen no moose the previous day, but that the Clown power had warned him that unless he reported as he did later, a great misfortune would befall him. The Clown had been afraid not to tell them, although he hated to lie. The others offered no objection; it was enough that they had the promised game and now had an abundance.

That night a man came to the Clown's tipi and told him that he had prepared a sweatbath for the Clowns, and invited him to participate. As he left the tipi on his way home, the Clown pursued him, kicked him in the back and knocked him down. The man assailed ran to his tipi to escape more of such treatment.

The young Clown then went to the place where the sweatbath was prepared. The man told him that he was making a sweatbath because, although he [the host] hunted repeatedly, he never obtained any game. He asked the Clown to come to this sweatbath and help him. The Clown told him to invite some other Clowns. When they came in, entering backward, the man laughed at them. One of them asked him why he was calling them names

[meaning why was he laughing at them.] When the last Clown had entered, the first Clown invited put medicine in his mouth, spewed it on the stones and sang. All the Clowns sang. Each spoke in his particular Clown fashion. It was difficult to understand anything that was said.

After the sweatbath, the Clown first invited told the man that the fighting spirit of his medicine bundle was driving the game away from him. One of the Clowns then ran to the man and kicked him in the chest, then another and another followed, until each had kicked him. The first Clown then told him that in this way they had driven the evil spirit away from him, that now he must have the medicinemen prepare his medicine bundle for him. The bundle had been handled by women, who had knocked it down and stepped over it; consequently, the game stayed away from him. The Clown assured him that if he should do this and invite all the medicinemen who made medicine bundles and have them restore his bundle, he would thereafter be as good a hunter as ever he had seen. The Clowns assembled and decided to permit this man and all the others to kill all the game they wanted during four days. This was necessary, for their families were starving. The women had desecrated all the fighting and hunting medicine. Now everything would be corrected and they would permit him to get all the game he wanted. Next morning the Clowns summoned all of the men to the center of the camp to tell them that they had decided to allow them to obtain all the game they wished, during four days. During this period they would neither sing nor have any feasts. They told the man whose medicine bundle had been desecrated that he, too, might hunt. He hunted that day and killed as much game as he could carry. Later, in the evening, he gave a Clown feast for the Clowns and told them he was very grateful for their help. After this the man killed a bear and made a feast for the old men who had restored his medicine bundle. He thanked the Clowns for driving off the spirit. He thanked the old men for restoring the medicine bundle to its original efficacy. The old men replied that they were grateful for the feast and that inasmuch as they had made the medicine bundle as good as new, they were certain that he would now get all the game that he wanted. Next day and the following day he hunted; each day he got plenty of game.

Soon another man invited this Clown to a Clown feast, to ascertain why the leader of the feast obtained no game. After the feast the Clown told him that he had been getting his game with the aid of medicine and had eaten it from a plate. In his absence a woman had dropped her moccasin on the plate; consequently the medicine had lost its potency. The Clown warned him to discard this plate and replace it with another. Then all would be well and his medicine would work. After the Clown had gone home, the man told his wife that he must throw away his plate and get a new one. He did so and hunted with success. He, therefore, invited the Clown to a Clown feast.

While the Clown was singing, he saw the spirits of the Chippewa, and so informed the man, saying that he [the Clown] must go and inform his brothers. The Clown told them. They went about and announced that the people must prepare for a battle. They wanted this man to go with them, but he was afraid, for his fighting medicine had been profaned by the women. The Clown told him that his medicine would be efficacious. Following this assurance, he consented to go with the others. They traveled all night and arrived at another Dakota camp. The men there asked them where they were going. They said they were going to fight. Many of the men in this camp wished to join them and asked who was their leader. They said they had no special leader, but a Clown had learned that Chippewa were nearby. They wanted to kill them before the Chippewa came to the Dakota camp and harmed the women and children. Many men from this camp joined the war party. They camped the first night and asked the Clown to sing and discover whether the Dakota or Chippewa would be victorious. After singing, he predicted that the Dakota would win, but that unless they were very careful during the battle, someone toward the end would blunder and the Chippewa would defeat them. The mistake would probably be made by young men who were in their first fight. He said that if they did not do something to discover the source of the trouble, they could not save themselves.

That night he told all the young fighters to lie with their heads to the east and the old fighters with their heads to the west. In the morning he would try to trace the source of the difficulty. Next morning he told them that

the trouble was not what he had said, but was something else. They gave another feast for him; he directed everyone to paint the right side of his body. He said that no one was to be afraid of the Chippewa, but each one was to rush in and kill every Chippewa who was within his power. If they did not do this, the Chippewa would think the Dakota were afraid and would defeat them.

Next day they journeyed on and encountered a bear, killing it with a bow and arrow. They did not use a gun, lest the Chippewa should hear the shooting. They made a Clown feast of the bear for the Clown. They brought in a stone and the bear's head, telling the Clown they wished to offer the head to Stone and ask that Stone give them much power. No matter how they were about to err, they expected Stone to avert the mistake and enable them to defeat the Chippewa. The Clown and another medicineman sang to Stone. Then they announced that all was well; they saw no way in which they could make a mistake and it was safe for the Dakota to fight. Everyone was glad to hear this.

On the morning of the third day, he told them that they would see the Chippewa about noon. At noon they sat down to rest and sent two scouts to reconnoiter. They returned and reported that they had seen two tipis. The Dakota moved close to these tipis, stopped, painted themselves and prepared for the fight. While they were getting ready, the youngest boy in the party lost his medicine bundle. He did not know how to carry on without it and asked the Clown for advice. The Clown pitied the boy. He cut a stick shaped like a warclub and gave it to him. The Clown instructed the boy to follow him, to go into every tipi that he [the Clown] entered and to strike with his stick at the first Chippewa at whom the Clown shot. This medicineman said they would go very close to the enemy, making no noise. He ordered that no one fire a gun or try to get ahead of the others, and that all should keep together. If they followed these instructions carefully, they would get the scalps of all of the Chippewa. They all agreed to this plan. When they were very close to the enemy and all were together, the medicineman shouted and rushed to the attack. Before the Chippewa were aware of what was happening, the Dakota were pouring into their tipis and cutting the covers with their

knives. The Clown went into the side of the tipi and shot at a Chippewa. The boy struck the Chippewa on the head with the warclub [stick]. Half of the war party were with the medicineman in one tipi; the other half were with the Clown in the other tipi. A man in the Clown's party shot at and missed a young boy who was running away. The Clown pursued him and caught him by his braids. The Clown asked the men not to kill him for he wished to take the boy home alive. Those who had won no war honors ran up and counted coup on the boy. Then they took him home alive.

They started towards home, traveling as many days as they had taken on the journey out. The medicinemen who had stayed at home learned that they were returning safely and continually watched for them. As they approached the camp, all the people came out to welcome them. The parents of the boy who had gone with the war party were delighted to see him return with the scalp that the Clown had given him. The Clown took the captive Chippewa to his brother's tipi and told him that he had brought the boy to carry water and wood and attend to his horses. The brother was very grateful, but warned against any attempt to escape. If he should try to get away, they would kill him. If he succeeded in escaping, they would pursue and kill him. They told him that if he was quiet and well-behaved, the old man would act as a father to him and would treat him as his son. The boy could not understand Dakota and the Clown did not speak Chippewa, but they conveyed their meanings by signs; the Clown power helped them make their meaning clear.

When all had returned home, the warriors of the second Dakota camp were very angry, for only the men of the first camp had taken scalps. All the people in this camp had a big feast and a dance. The Clowns danced separately. They placed the captive Chippewa boy in the center of the circle and shot arrows into the ground all around him. The boy was somewhat frightened by the Clowns' costumes. The Clown who had captured him told him to have no fear, for no harm would befall him.

Later the boy who had lost his medicine bundle in the fight made a sweatbath, inviting the Clown. When the Clown arrived and found that no one else was present, he invited the boy to come into the tipi. The boy was pleased for

he had always thought that the sweatbath was a simple ceremony. When both of them were in the tipi, the Clown sang and sprinkled water on the stone. After the third sprinkling, the boy had to leave the tipi. He could not endure the intense heat. After the sweatbath, the Clown told the boy to invite all the men who had been in the battle and give each an eagle feather. The Clown allowed the boy to have an eagle feather, to indicate that he was the first to strike a Chippewa who had been shot.

Soon after this, the boy gave a feast to which he invited all the Clowns. He told them that this was a thank offering to the Clown who had given him the eagle feather. He wanted nothing, but merely desired that they have a good feast. This Clown sang, thanked the boy for the feast, telling him that the next time he went to hunt he would kill a bear. Each Clown designated game that the boy would kill; some said moose; some, deer; and some, bear. They said he would not kill all of these on the same day, but would get them on successive hunting trips. Next day he hunted and killed the bear that the Clown had promised him. Each day he obtained some animal that had been promised him. On the last day he killed the deer. He brought it home and made another feast for the Clowns. He told the Clown that he wanted him to be the leader of the feast. After the Clowns had sung their songs, the young man told them that he had liked hunting, and was very thankful for the game which they had enabled him to kill. He assumed that the good hunting was now over and he would get no more game. The Clowns decided to grant a certain number of days on which this man and all other men in the camp could get as much game as they wanted. A Clown who was near the entrance said that he thought the period should be limited to four days, for there were many men in the camp; he did not want anyone to extend the time beyond four days. They all agreed and sent the young man around the camp to announce that the people had been given four days to hunt. The next day all the men hunted and each killed the game that he wanted. Each day there was plenty of game. On the fourth day a man killed a big moose. He brought it home and held a Clown feast.

He told the Clowns that the feast was a mark of gratitude for their assistance to the people. The Clown told the man who held the feast to

invite his two men. When they arrived, he said that the man had cooked the head of the moose without skinning it and that they must eat it. The other Clowns came. They feasted and sang together, thanking the man who had given the feast. The Clown told them that the four days on which they had hunted were granted by the other Clown. Now they would have his day. If they wished to get game, they should set fire to an oak tree. He said it had been a long time since they had done this; if they did not wish to hunt, they need not do it.

Next morning the two young men who always assisted him set fire to the oak tree. The hunters gathered around the tree until the fire had burned out, then set out. The Clown killed a young deer, brought it home and made a feast for the Clowns. He said he had killed this deer merely to make him happy. He was very glad that the people were getting plenty of game. All the Clowns were glad to take part in the feast that had been held for them. That day all the people got plenty of game. Next day everyone went to hunt. Again the Clown killed a young deer and made a feast for the Clowns. He told them he was not doing this of his own volition, but because someone was instructing him. He was to give four feasts. He had given two and would give two more. The Clowns were pleased, for they knew that there would be two more days of hunting and that they would get more game than at any other time.

The next day the Clown killed a young deer and gave the feast. He announced that he would give one more feast. Four days later they all hunted. The Clown who had brought in the young deer and had given the feast announced that he had done as he was instructed and had held four feasts. When certain long grasses were ripe, he would lead the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. For this reason he was giving four feasts for the Clowns. After the feast, when all the Clowns had gone, he told his brother about the *wAzA'pi* that he was to celebrate when the grasses were ripe [about the first part of August]. As the time approached, his brother repeatedly asked him whether the time had come for him to make this feast. The Clown said that at the proper time the Clown power that wished him to make the feast would inform him. One morning he told his brother that the time had now come and that he wanted his two assistants. They came. He directed them to get a deer and prepare it for

the feast. They hunted and soon returned with a deer, skinned it, cut it into small pieces, and cooked it. [At each sweatbath and Clown feast the Clown had had the Chippewa captive present and had made him dance. He dressed the boy up and made him dance when he (the Clown) sang. He did not let him take meat out of the pot, lest he scald himself; otherwise the boy behaved as the Clowns did.]

When everything was ready, he told the women to add more fuel. He sang and the boy danced outside the tipi. When the Clowns heard the Clown singing, they came from all directions. Suddenly they saw the Chippewa boy and stopped. They were afraid of him, because he was different. As they passed by, they signaled to him to shake hands with them, or they kicked or slapped him [signifying that they were shaking him by the hand]. Then they made him stand at one side. They dug roots out of the ground and blew them into the pots. The leader took the head of the deer out of the pot, ran west with it, and threw it to one of the spectators. He took the lungs, went east with them, and gave them to the young men onlookers. Meanwhile all the Clowns were running about. After the leader had taken these out, they all reached in to get pieces of meat which they gave to the observers. When the Clowns had an opportunity to drink, some of them stuck their heads into the pot and drank. Others sprinkled the liquid over one another, until the pot was empty. They chased the boy until the [managing] Clown signaled him to run to his brother's tipi. The boy ran as fast as he could and had just entered the tipi when the pursuing Clown threw the pot after him. If the boy had not been so agile, it would have hit him and knocked him down. The Clowns then stood about, pointed at the tipi and laughed. The Clown who had thrown the pot said that had he thrown it a little sooner, he would be wearing an eagle feather on his head. The first Clown told the others that the feast was over and they left. He went to his brother's tipi and told him that he was getting tired of the Clown customs. Only one person had gotten him to join the Clowns. He said that until the Clown power permitted him to leave, he thought that he should stay with the Clowns. He wanted to have a long life, and, therefore, did not dare disobey the Clown power. He said he must celebrate two more *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* feasts; these would be the last.

A few days later a man came to this Clown and invited him to his tipi, where he had made a sweatbath for him. When the Clown arrived, the man told him that he had made the sweatbath for him to learn why he could get no game. He asked the Clown for instructions. He was told to invite the other Clowns, so that they might help to ascertain the trouble. They all came. When they had sung, the first Clown told the man that, as far as he could ascertain, there was no serious trouble. The man should go out to hunt next day; if he did not kill a deer, he should come home and make another sweatbath. In the meantime the Clown would try to learn the source of the trouble. The man hunted and almost immediately killed a deer. He took it home and instead of having a sweatbath held a Clown feast. He said he did this to thank the Clowns for their aid. When the Clowns had sung at the feast, they told him that he was now as good a hunter as he had ever been, and that they foresaw no further trouble for him. They told him to hunt next day, and he would kill a deer and an eagle. If he did not get them, they would try again to fathom the trouble. The man hunted and soon obtained a deer and an eagle. The Clowns told him that he was all right and need not fear that he would not obtain game when he hunted.

This Clown went to his brother's tipi. A man went around the camp asking whether there was a good Clown in it and where he could be found. He said that the children were crying for food, because for some days the men had killed no game. He thought there must be a reason for this misfortune. If this good Clown could not discover the cause, he wanted all the Clowns to be invited to try to ascertain the trouble. He rode through the camp, shouting this information.

A Clown found the two young men and told them to prepare a Clown feast. They were directed to put a pot on [the fire], with a little water in it, and put in it a long sharp stick with a few leaves on it. They were to invite the good Clown first and then the other Clowns. The young men did as directed. They first invited this Clown. He came and went to the back of the tipi. He said that whatever they were cooking in the pot must be very good meat for the soup smelled good. He sat down and told them to invite the other Clowns. They all sang. He then told the man that he saw no reason why

they could get no game. He told everyone to hunt that day and try to find game. They would get an abundance. If, however, they did not get an eagle, it would mean that they would have luck for one day only. He said he was willing to do anything that he could to help them, but that sometimes it was useless to try, for no one could help. If they should get the eagle, it would mean that they would be as good hunters as ever they were and have as good luck as previously. He saw the spirits of game all around; the fault lay with the men in the camp, who were not trying to get game. The men hunted and killed plenty of game. One of the young men was told to make a Clown feast; he merely put water in the pot.

One of them killed an eagle. He brought it home and held a Clown feast. They said that someone had killed the eagle by using medicine. While that person was absent, a woman must have knocked down a feather and stepped over it. He saw many spirits of game, but by hiding their tracks from the men, the eagle was keeping the game away. Everything would now be all right and they would have four days of hunting.

When they had brought the eagle home and had given the Clown feast, this Clown collected some weeds, *pēzi ū sota* [which the Clowns use as a smudge for medicine bundles, instead of the sweetgrass or ground spruce used by other medicinemen]. He went about announcing that he wished everyone to bring their guns, bows, and arrows into the middle of the camp. He said they were getting game by using medicine with the weapons, but that someone had been careless with his gun, bow, and arrows. The women had been handling them, using the meat, and stepping over the weapons. He wanted them all, before they went to hunt, to hold their weapons over the smudge. If they did this and were careful with their guns, they would get plenty of game. He told them not to leave their weapons lying around, or allow a woman to handle them.

Next day the men got plenty of game. A young man brought in some of it and held a Clown feast, to thank the Clowns for their help. The Clowns came in backward and faced the tipi flap. They placed their plates upside down at their backs. When their leader began to sing all of them sang. Whenever the Clowns had a feast, the other young men of the camp gath-

ered about, listened, and watched. This time they could not understand what was happening, for each Clown sang a different song, simultaneously. When they were ready to serve the meat, they took their plates, in the position described, and got it. They held the plates in front of them, but continued to face the tipi flap. The man who had given the feast sat at the back of the tipi with the Clowns. As each Clown finished, he went to him and kicked him. Each Clown told the man that they were thankful for what he had done and hoped that next day everyone would get plenty of game. He then slapped the young man's head and went out.

Early next morning the Clown went to the tipi of an old man and told him that he was tired of eating the same kind of meat. He wanted something different. He bade the old man go to two unmarried men and tell them to set fire to an oak tree. The two young men started the fire and summoned all the men to gather around it. When the Clown came, he announced that he was tired of eating the same kind of meat, and that he had had the fire built as a symbol that they would kill a bear. The oak tree burned down and the men went out. The young men were very gay; they called to one another that bears were coming from every direction. One of the men killed a bear and her young ones.

They all had plenty of bear meat. The man who killed the young bears made a feast with one of them. In the old days the people killed so many bears that they now are scarce. The Clown told the man who gave the feast that whenever they wanted something done, they asked this young man to do it, yet no one ever thought of inviting him to a Clown feast. The Clown said that all the Clowns had plenty of feasts and that this time he would invite the young men of the camp. After the feast, he directed them all to hunt and he would provide them with plenty of game.

The Clown went to his brothers' tipi, told them the men were getting bears everywhere, and he did not understand why they had gotten none. He wanted them to hunt the next morning; he would kill a big bear and would give it to them as their own game. Next morning they hunted. The Clown went with them, but they did not know he was with them. They killed a big bear and brought it home. In the evening, when he had not returned, the brothers were

anxious to know why he was staying out so long.

As he was returning, the Clown power told him to say that he had been chasing a herd of moose and had killed many of them. He was to say that he had killed so many that he had not counted them and for that reason was absent so long. When he was near home and was about to enter the tipi, the Clown power told him that he must speak as he had been directed; if he did not do so, something very serious would happen to him. He must also say that he had killed a white moose. The Clown thought it would be easy to say, but in those days they had never seen a white moose. He went into the tipi and repeated to his brothers all that the Clown power had told him. He asked them to announce to the people that they go out and get the moose that he had killed, including the white one. He said the people would get all the meat they could carry.

Next morning the people told him to lead the way to the place where he had left the moose. He went ahead and felt very badly, for all the people were following him and he did not know where he was going. They covered so great a distance that some of the men said it was too far from camp to carry meat home. Then through the bush he saw a large herd of moose. He warned the people; they scattered and surrounded the herd. He said there was a white moose in the herd. Afterward he killed the white moose.

When they had returned from the hunt, a band of Dakota from a different camp came to visit. They said they had heard that a medicine-man wished to hunt and they had come to assist. That night the old man who wished to go on the warpath called a meeting and invited all the old men. They all agreed to send the young men out to fight. The Clown told his brothers to go and he would remain at home. They invited him to be the leader of the party, but he refused. They said they wanted him especially, so that en route he could learn what was going to happen. He said that he wished to stay at home and hunt for his brothers' families. The other men in the camp said it was useless to set out without the Clown. The chief of this camp then invited the young Clown, and finally they induced him to join them. Before they went, the Clown ordered that no one cut the shin of a deer. [They used to do this to get the marrow.] He said that if they did this, they would be

fatigued by the journey and would be unable to fight. This order was given the day before they were to start. That evening he went about singing, to learn whether he could discover something. After he had sung, all the men in the camp gathered about him, as they always did, to learn whether he had seen something or had news. He said a party of Chippewa, consisting of only young unmarried men, was on the way.

The Dakota party started the next morning. The first night was uneventful. The second night he told them that the Chippewa were near and that they should travel no farther, but remain in that place together. That night they sent two men to reconnoiter. Next day they sent two scouts out again. The scouts returned without having seen the Chippewa. In the afternoon they went out again. In the evening they brought back news that they had seen a Chippewa camp. That night the Clown sang. He said that each side would lose many men.

The Dakota were told to attack the Chippewa early in the morning, while they were asleep. This was always the best time to attack. He told his men to keep together, not to try to get ahead of one another, and not to fire a gun, or shout. The men loaded their guns, fixed them ready for use, and put them where they could get them quickly, should they be needed during the night. Nothing happened during the night. They rose early next morning and prepared for the attack. The Clown told them that during the night he had discovered that he had been mistaken about the number who would be killed. He said that many Chippewa would be killed, but only one Dakota would be wounded. He would be injured in the knee. They all decided to be very careful. When they arrived at the Chippewa camp they rushed in. The Chippewa were so frightened that many ran away without taking their guns. One man, however, grabbed his gun as he ran. While the Dakota were inside the tipis, killing the Chippewa, this man, who was outside, fired on them, and broke the shin of a Dakota. Ten Chippewa were killed. The Dakota did not know how many had been in the camp, for most of them ran away.

When the Dakota returned to the place where they had camped the preceding night, the Clown asked whether anyone had broken the shin of a deer. A man said that he had eaten the marrow of the deer, but had not broken the shin to get it. He had shot the deer through the shin,

when he killed it. He had been wounded in the shin. The Clown told him that he had been wounded in punishment for his disobedience; he had heard the order not to eat the marrow or break the shin of a deer and had disobeyed. The wound was a just repayment for his disobedience. If he had not disobeyed, all the men would have returned home unharmed. Now one of them must travel with a broken leg. The wounded man said that he did not wish to delay the war party on their homeward journey. He knew the people in the camp needed the game; they could leave him there and return without him. He said that if his leg healed, he would come home; if it did not, he did not care, for he was ready to die at any time. The leader of the party from the other camp told him that inasmuch as his body was unharmed, this was the wrong way to talk. They would set his leg, take turns, and carry him home. They gathered some straight sticks, shaved them smooth on one side, bound these to his leg with thongs, and carried him home on a stretcher.

After they arrived home, a dispute arose about the scalps. The men from the second Dakota camp had received no eagle feathers, when they were distributed, and their leader claimed that his men had killed some of the Chippewa. The Clown said that it was useless for him to say that, for he knew that the Clown had sung and had brought all the help. Had he known that the other leader was going to dispute this, he would not have allowed his men to join the fight, and he would not have tried to learn anything in advance or to assist in any way. The leader knew that his men would never have returned home alive without the Clown's help. Everyone was very angry. All the eagle feathers were distributed among the men from this camp, and the men from the other camp received none. They left in great anger. Soon after this, an emissary came from that camp and told the Clown that during the absence of the warriors the other men of the camp had tried to supply their families with game. They had been unable to get any game during the absence of the war party. They asked him to come to their camp and ascertain the trouble.

The Clown went to the other camp and told the people to make a Clown feast for him. He instructed them to prepare the ground, make a mound in the center and put a stone on it. When that had been done, the Clown told the man

that he had been taken to the top of a hill and asked whether he would be a Clown and do everything that was demanded of him. When he agreed, he was told to look around. He saw all the earth. He was told that as long as he did everything required of him he could have anything on the earth, whenever he asked for it. He replied that so far he was getting along well and that when anyone gave a Clown feast and invited him he should go wherever and whenever he was asked. The Clown then sang. When he had finished, he said that if there were any Clowns in the camp he would like them to be invited.

When all of them arrived, he told them that they were all Clowns before he was made a Clown, and asked what use they were if they could not help their people. He said that if they could help him in any way he wished them to do so. All the Clowns agreed, saying they were glad to help in any way possible. The Clown said he wished to help the people and would give them four days of hunting, during which they would get all the game they needed. He told the man who gave the feast that he would kill a big deer the following day. He would have this deer for his family. Next day all the men killed plenty of game. The man who gave the feast killed a big deer. Another man killed a deer and held a feast for the Clown, before the Clown returned to his own camp. They told him that they were very thankful for his help.

Next morning they hunted again and a Clown killed a young deer. He made a feast for the Clown who had come from the other camp. Also, he invited all the other Clowns. When they arrived, the man who was giving the feast said that the man from the other camp would sing first. When he said this, the Clown who had come in last began to sing, and thus took the lead. Each then sang his own song. On the second day, the Clown announced to the others in the camp that inasmuch as he had assigned them four days of hunting, they could get along all right without him, and that he would return to his own camp. They asked him whether he knew any way to get bear; if he did, they wished him to permit them to get some. He said that he would stay four days. He told them to have two young men set fire to an oak tree and that all the men were to stand around it until the fire had burned out. They were to add fuel and no one would be allowed to leave until the tree was

entirely consumed. When the men were leaving for the hunt, the Clown told them that this would be one of the best sports, and he would accompany them. He went with them and killed one of the biggest bears ever killed by anyone from that camp. He was staying at the tipi of the man who had asked him to come to that camp; he gave the bear to this man and told him that he had gotten the bear for him. He said he did not care much for bear meat, but liked the sport of killing bear.

While the people were preparing to retire, a man went about the camp on horseback announcing that one man had not yet returned from the hunt. He asked whether anyone had seen him. One man stated that he had seen him early in the day. No one had any later information. Early next morning another man came around to summon all the men to search for the lost man. Snow had fallen during the night. They said that if the man had not been killed by a bear or by some other wild animal or by the Chippewa, it would be easy to track him if he were wandering about. They went to the place where he had last been seen. They found the place where he had killed a deer, but because of the snow it was difficult to follow his tracks. Some thought he had gone in one direction, some in another. It had been blowing south. They said the man would have traveled with the wind while he hunted. They all went south, found another deer, as well as the body of the man, who had been scalped.

They brought the body and the two deer home. That night, however, they did not follow the custom of cooking the meat and having a feast and a dance. They were too grieved over the young man who had been killed. The Clowns, too, felt badly about it, for the previous night they had had a feast, and they should then have learned that this would happen. The Clown from the other camp said that the young man had come upon the Chippewa by chance. He was outnumbered, and, although he had killed one, he had lost his own life. The Chippewa had taken the body of their dead comrade home. He said that if it had been a Chippewa war party he would have known about it, but it was merely a hunting party, which had encountered the young man by chance. He told them to hold a dance, have a good time, and try to forget their sorrow. They gave the dance, but did not have as good a time as usual.

Next day the Clown made a sweatbath and invited all the medicinemen who were not Clowns. He told them he wanted them to go out to fight. He felt sure that if they went, they would kill the Chippewa who had killed their camp mate. One man offered to be the leader. The other Clowns said nothing, for they did not know what would happen. The people could not depend on them at all. This Clown said that he could not protect two camps at the same time. He had tried to help them to get game and at night had watched over his own camp. He believed that the Clowns at this camp should guard their people and not depend on someone from another camp. He predicted that if they went to fight, they would kill the Chippewa who had killed their man; but he himself must return to his own camp. The man who had offered to lead the party held a feast and invited all the medicinemen. They invited this Clown, too. He told them that he had intended to return to his camp, after these four days of hunting, but that he would remain and help them in this fight.

They were all very glad to hear this and thanked him for his promise. The man who had invited him said that before they departed, they would sing four nights, and every morning before sunrise. On the fifth morning they were all preparing to leave, when they heard drum beats and saw a man approaching on horseback. He said they wished to have a war dance before they started. The medicineman who was the leader had foreseen that they would kill all the Chippewa and none would escape. They had a dance and did not start until noon. The Clown told them he did not know how far or how long they must travel; they would learn later, during the journey. He said he would sing the first night. On the second day he learned that they would meet the Chippewa next day. They stayed in that place and sent two men out to reconnoiter. The scouts returned and said they had seen 10 tipis. The leader announced that they would attack in the morning before sunrise. They rose early and departed. All the Clowns attacked and killed the Chippewa in five tents. The other Dakota killed those in the other tents. The Clown who was the leader captured a Chippewa alive, saying that this man had killed the Dakota. They tied him and made him look on while they scalped the dead Chippewa. Then they tied him to a tree, and a

medicineman scalped him while he was alive. When the scalp was off, they shot and killed him.

After the fight, as they were returning home, the Clown was far behind the others. He saw a Chippewa who had run away, after a Dakota had shot at him and missed him. He was hiding. When he saw the Dakota pass, he thought he was safe. He went back and met the Clown. The Chippewa had no weapon. He threw up his arms and the Clown captured him. The Dakota who had reached home were wondering what had become of the Clown. They knew he had not been killed and thought that perhaps some of his powers were delaying him. In the afternoon they saw him coming in with the Chippewa. He took his captive to the father of the young man who had been slain while hunting and gave the Chippewa to him. He told the man he might kill the Chippewa or keep him as a slave, as he pleased. The old man accepted the Chippewa and gave a dance for the Clown. He told the Clown that he was glad to have his son back. To celebrate the return of his son, he presented one of his best horses to a man. He said he would treat the captured Chippewa as though he were his own son. While the people held the War dance, the Clowns had a separate feast. Sometimes the Clowns ran and kicked the Clown who had captured the Chippewa, or slapped him in the face or on the back [signifying that they were pleased with what he had done]. They said they were very glad to have him safely back.

Next day the people hunted and they all killed plenty of game. The man who had the Chippewa boy killed a young deer, cooked it, and told his wife that he would make a Clown feast. When all was prepared, he sent for the Clown who had brought the boy home. This Clown told him to invite all the other Clowns, for he wished them to eat and to sing with him. After the feast, this Clown asked the others whether they had seen something coming into their pots or into the tipi. They replied that they had seen nothing. He asked them what kind of Clowns they were—they saw nothing, knew nothing, and learned nothing. They were no help at all. He was getting tired of being the Clown for these people all the time; someone always wanted him to do something. Had these Clowns helped him, he would not be so tired. He said he had seen the spirit of an eagle and

the spirits of many kinds of game in the pots. If they hunted next day, they would get plenty of game. Next day his prediction was fulfilled; there was plenty of game and they killed an eagle. The men who had been in the fight were glad to get the eagle feathers. Next day, during the hunt, the Clown killed a young deer, made a feast, and invited all the people. He told them that this was his last day with them; he must return to his own camp. Everyone was sorry that he was leaving them and they asked him to stay. He said that the people in his camp needed him and were expecting him. When he came, he had not intended to stay so long.

Next morning a man came from the Clown's own camp and said that no one there could kill any game. Food was becoming scarce and they wished him to return home. He went home. As soon as he arrived, they made a feast for him, after which he told them to go out to hunt. He had seen nothing while he was singing, but while they were hunting, he would try to ascertain why they could kill no game. One or two men returned with game and they made a feast for the Clown. He sang and announced that he had seen the source of the trouble; the spirit of a man was keeping the game away. He asked them to get some long grass, make an image with it, and he would have someone shoot it. When the image was completed, and had been set up, he said it was the spirit of a living man. If someone else should shoot the image, the spirit would continue to frighten the game away. Therefore, he would shoot it. He made a bow and arrow and walked around the image, singing. He then shot it and set fire to it.

A few weeks later they received news from the other camp that a man had died. He was the leader of the war party that had gone with these people, but had received no eagle feathers. There had been a dispute. The leader had been very angry. In revenge, he had been keeping the game away. He was peeved over failing to earn feathers. After he had done this, all killed plenty of game whenever they hunted and after the death of this man they got still more. The Clown assured them that this man had been keeping the game away, and that they need have no fear of a return of the conditions that he had now overcome. He was sure that they had killed the guilty man.

Soon after, they all went out to hunt. The Clown told his brother that he would go too.

The people killed plenty of game, but the Clown killed nothing. Late that evening while he was returning home he saw the Clown power coming to him. This power told him to say that he had killed a great many moose and because of the darkness had not been able to follow the rest of the herd. He was to say that he had killed enough moose to supply meat for all. The Clown did not object to saying that he had killed the moose, but he did not want to say that he had killed a moose with a white head. He had never seen a moose with a white head and he believed that no one else had ever seen one. The Clown power said that he was to do as told, or he would look like this: the Clown power covered his face with his hands, removed them, and told the Clown to look at him. The Clown power then had neither nose, mouth, nor eyes.

When the Clown returned home, his brother asked him why he was so late. He said he had been chasing a big herd of moose and had stayed as long as it was light enough to see. He had killed much game and had come home to tell the people to sharpen their knives and prepare to hunt the next day. He said he had killed a moose with a white head. The people were so excited that some of them could not sleep that night. His brother was surprised at his story of a moose with a white head and was anxious to see the animal. Next morning they started. They told the Clown to lead. He did so, but felt very badly, for he thought the Clown power might deceive him. While he was thinking this, he came to a big herd of moose. They surrounded the herd and killed all of them. The Clown saw a moose with a white head. He shot and killed it. When they had killed all the moose, he announced that this was what he had meant by the story that he had told them. He declared he had not reported these events of his own accord, but had been directed to so do. He was told that a serious misfortune would befall him if he did not do as he was directed, and, therefore, he had deceived them. He said he wished to have a long life, and if he disobeyed the Clown power he would not have it.

After they had gotten plenty of game, a man made a Clown feast. The Clown announced that he tried to learn several days in advance about anything that was to happen to the camp. While he was in the other camp he watched over this one every night to make sure that no misfortune

would visit it. He said he was glad to do whatever his people asked him to do. He wished to help in every way possible; when he did not do as he was asked, it was because he did not have the power. He said he had never made a mistake, because he had never disobeyed the Clown power after he became a Clown. He was sorry that while singing at the Clown feast he had not learned about the young man in the other camp who had been killed while hunting. He said he had not forgotten this and would never forget it. Something must have been wrong. The man who had killed him must have had more power than this Clown had, for he had killed the man without anyone, even the medicinemen, discovering what was going to happen. He told his brother that this was the only mistake he had ever made and he intended never to make another. He said the people should not blame him for that mistake, for none of the medicinemen had discovered it.

A few days later he told his brother that he would like to go hunting, but he felt a little tired. His brother told him to go on horseback. He did so. Late that evening the people saw him walking back, leading the horse. They said that he must have killed a bear and was bringing it home on the horse. When he was closer, they saw that the horse was dragging a rabbit tied to the saddle with ropes. All the little boys followed him and laughed when they saw him dragging a rabbit with a rope. All the older people came out, and they, too, laughed at him. He went on, as though no one were laughing at him. He went to his brother's tipi, tied the horse, and left the rabbit there. He skinned and cut up the rabbit as though it were a bear. He brought the pots and told his brother that he would make a Clown feast.

When the feast was ready, he invited all the Clowns. After they had eaten and had sung, he told them that, while hunting, he had seen a bear in its den with its head toward the opening. He fired at it and killed the bear. He then heard laughter. When the smoke which filled the den cleared away, he looked in and saw this rabbit. He did not intend to bring the rabbit home, but the Clown powers told him to tie it to the saddle and drag it home. He had done this. He had not wanted to, but he was compelled to obey the Clown power. When he had told them this, all the Clowns cried [meaning that they were laughing at what he had done]. As they went

out, each of them kicked him [signifying that they were grateful for the feast which he had given them].

Next morning he told his brother that he would hunt again. He knew that the incident would be repeated and he took the same horse. While he was wandering about in the bush, he came to the bear den he had seen the day before. He looked in and saw a big bear. He fired and killed it. The horse dragged it home. He skinned and cooked the entire bear for a Clown feast. He invited all the Clowns, medicinemen, young men, old men, and young boys who were old enough to understand him. When they had all come in, he sang his Clown songs, served the meat, and sang again. When the songs had been sung, the men finished eating the meat. This man then told them that he had invited all the Clowns, the medicinemen, the young men, the old men, and the boys old enough to understand what he was saying, to tell them something important. The Clown power the day before had told him that he was to celebrate the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* and that the following morning after he had done so his Clown performances would come to an end. He must announce that after this they could no longer depend on him for help. When he had announced this, he said he would like two young men to go to hunt, kill whatever game they first saw, bring it in, and give the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* for him. Next morning two young men went out to get the game, and in their absence the others made all the arrangements for the feast. When all was ready, he told the people that the Thunders were coming from the west to see him give the last *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. It might appear to threaten rain, but they were not to be alarmed, for not a drop of rain would fall on them. When the meat was cooked, he did not, as usual, throw the pieces back over his head, but merely sang. All the Clowns came from their places. A thunderstorm approached, and, when they began to sing, was over them. Some went around the pots singing; others came out, dug roots, and spewed them into the pots. The Clown took out a piece of meat, ran westward with it, and threw it at a young man who was watching. He returned, took another piece, and ran eastward with it. All of the Clowns then came up and took out pieces of the meat. When each had his piece, all played with the soup, until the pots were empty.

After the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*, the thunderstorm

was over. He now told them that he was sorry to announce that he was no longer a Clown. While he had been a Clown he had tried to help all of them as much as he could and had endeavored to do all that the Clowns had told him to do. He had now finished; from this time on, he would behave like any other person.

All the people were very sorry that he had ceased to function as a Clown. The other Clowns acted as though he could perform as in the past. He had seemed to be much more efficient than the others. He said he was sorry that he could not help them as he had previously. He feared that when he stopped he would no longer have power. He lived to be a very old man, deaf, blind, and so decrepit that he could not walk. When he was no longer a Clown, he lived as any other man, as though he had never done anything wonderful.

20. A small band of Dakota were camping. They were starving, because no one could kill any game. A man went around the camp saying he was distressed to hear the children crying for food and to see them starving. He said that next day all the little boys in the camp should make the fire. There was only one Clown in the camp. When he heard this, he was angry. He thought they ought to have a Clown feast for him; instead, he knew that they were ridiculing him. He invited the man over and told him to arrange the ground in the tipi; on the right side to draw the figure of a deer in the earth with his finger, and on the left side the figure of a moose. Then he was to draw the figure of a green snake, *wai yugA dA* [a species of small snake]. The Clown said this *wai yugA dA* was his arrow.

The Clown sang, then said that the Clowns had answered his singing. They came into the tipi and told him to look eastward. When he did so, the Clown shot an arrow east before sunrise. He saw the snake strike the figure of the deer. He was told to look westward. The Clown shot another arrow and he saw the snake strike the figure of the moose. Early next morning they were to make a fire. He went about and announced what they were to do. They obeyed his instructions. They went to hunt before sunrise and killed a deer. Some went westward, killed a deer and brought it to the camp. In the afternoon they killed a moose. That evening a man gave a Clown feast for the Clown. He told

them that everything was all right. From then on, they would get plenty of game whenever they went to hunt.

Next day they went to hunt, and none of the men killed any game. This Clown killed a bear and gave a Clown feast. He said he could not learn why they killed no game. Again he saw a Clown and was told to watch him. He shot an arrow eastward; it killed a deer. He told him to look southwestward. He saw a moose killed. He told him to look southwestward. He saw a deer shot. He saw the Clown pursue the deer and stop to wipe the sweat from his face.

Next morning he went east to hunt. As the sun rose, he saw a deer and shot at it. The deer ran past a small bush. When he got there no deer was visible. They interpreted this as a sign that they would miss it, as the good Clown himself had missed it. Next morning they found the deer not far from the place where the man had turned back. If he had gone a little farther, he would have found it; but he turned back too soon.

Next morning they all went to hunt, but they got no game. The Clown was the last to return. While he was on the way home, the good Clown went to him and told him to say that he had killed two big deer. He did not want to do this but the Clown told him something very serious would happen if he did not do so. He was afraid; therefore he told his wife that he had killed two big deer, and the people were to go the following day and get them. The people were glad to hear what his wife told them.

Next morning the man went with the people. He felt very badly, because he had deceived them. When they arrived at the bush, he saw two big deer and killed them. The other men thought they would have four deer to take home. He told them that he was sorry to fool them, but that he had not said these things of his own accord; another person had told him to say them; these two deer which he had killed were the ones that he referred to the night before.

They had a Clown feast. The man announced that the Clown power had told him that a man in this camp had murdered another. The spirit of the murdered man was keeping the game away from this camp. If they could dispose of the spirit by chasing it out of the camp, they would get all the game they wanted. He was to chase the spirit without any assistance. He told

the people that because the *wakan* Clown knew that he was the only Clown in camp, he might give him power enough to do this alone. Before this all the Dakota had been friends. After this man was killed, the game had disappeared from the vicinity of the camp in which the murder occurred and had not returned. The Clown told the people to get some long grass and make an image about the size of the murdered man. They were told to set it up on the path over which all the people traveled. He said the spirit always came on this path and from that direction. When the image was set up, he moved around it in a wide circle, singing and constantly moving closer to it. When he was near enough to strike it, he knocked it down with a warclub. The Clown announced that the *wakan* Clown ran up and said the spirit had escaped from him, for he had missed it. He shot the grass image with a bow and arrow, then ran westward, and heard the Clown's voice and the cries of a bear and her young ones. When he had finished, he told the people that they could now hunt successfully.

Next morning when the men were preparing to go in the direction that the Clown had taken, he heard the voice of a big bear and her young ones. They all went out to hunt. The first man killed a bear; the others killed all the young ones. They all killed plenty of bear that day; they knew that the spirit had been driven away. The man who had killed the bear gave a Clown feast. There were not many participants. The Clown sang. When he had finished, he told them to hunt the next day. Next day each man killed a deer. Whenever they hunted they killed plenty of game and had no more trouble.

I do not know what the man did after that. When the man was murdered, these people had to leave their camp; they would have starved if a Clown had not been with them. This demonstrates the power of the Clowns. The medicine-men in that camp could not discover the source of the trouble. The Clown learned the cause of the difficulty, drove the spirit away. After that the people were always able to kill game.

FOOLISH CLOWNS

1. A man went out to hunt. He fired at the first deer he saw and killed it instantly. As he ran toward it, he saw another man approach it from the opposite direction. They had a dispute as to who had killed it. Each man declared

he had killed it. The second man repeated that he had killed it with this [touching the rectum of the deer and extracting therefrom a long worm]. The deer, thereupon, began to swell. The second man bade the hunter try to reduce the swelling; his success would prove that he had killed it. If he failed and his opponent succeeded, it would prove that he had killed it. When the challenged hunter had made an unsuccessful attempt to do as he was bidden, his opponent jumped over the deer four times and the swelling subsided. He claimed, therefore, that he had killed it. The challenger then told the hunter that he might have the deer; he had wanted to interview the man previously, but had decided to wait until he could see him alone. He had now encountered him and he wanted to tell him certain things. He advised him to remember all that was told him and obey every order. If he obeyed, he would live to an old age.

The supernatural Clown gave him a bow and arrow, saying he would hit any target he aimed at with them. However, before he killed any game, he would kill a member of his own tribe with it. He might now return home, and on the way he would miss a deer [meaning that on the way home he would kill a deer]. When the Clown stated that he would tell him something at another time, he meant that he would give him instructions in a dream. He told him, also, to cut the tail from any animal he killed and place it and the liver on an oak tree [by "liver" he meant "heart"].

On the way home the man killed a deer. It swelled. He remembered what the Clown had told him to do under these circumstances; he had seen the Clown jump over the deer four times. He did this and the inflation subsided. The Clown told the man he would be a good hunter and a good marksman; that he would kill a Chippewa in every battle. One day when he was hunting, the Clown told him he had killed plenty of deer, but that he had been waiting for some time for the hunter to give a Clown feast. He said it was not through his own power that he was able to kill deer or other game whenever he hunted, but that the Clown sent the game to suitable places where the hunter could kill it. If the Clown had to wait longer for the hunter to give the Clown feast, he would withdraw this assistance and the hunter would be blind during the remainder of his life. After delivering this warning, the Clown assured the

hunter that on his way home he would kill the largest deer he had ever killed. He told him to cook it and invite all his young brothers and sisters to come and stick it up their rectums. As he was returning home he deplored the fact that he had killed no game; he was glad to hear that he would kill a large deer. He met a small deer, killed it, took it to the camp, and then understood everything the Clown had said. The Clown had been teaching him how to talk. He carried the deer home, cooked it, and told his wife he would invite all his young sisters and young brothers; he had brought that young deer home because its flesh was not tough. He went to the entrance of every tipi, thrust in his buttocks, saying that he wished his youngest sister to come to his tipi to eat. He invited all the old men and old women, calling them his young brothers and young sisters. All of them came and ate of the young deer.

He hunted another time. Again he saw the Clown who told him he would kill the largest bear he had ever killed. He was to take it home and again invite all his young brothers and young sisters. On the way home, he killed a small bear. He invited all his young sisters and young brothers. They came and ate all the bear meat.

Another time he was hunting and met the Clown. The Clown told him to hurry home and announce that two young women would be killed by the Chippewa. He thought the Clown meant that they would be killed before he reached the camp. He ran to the camp. When he arrived there, he found everyone safe. The next day two young men, while absent from the camp tending the horses, were killed. When the Clown returned to camp he announced that while out hunting he had seen a person who had informed him that two young women would be killed. The young women, therefore, had remained at home; the men had gone out, believing that they would be safe. Consequently, two men and not two women were killed. The Dakota went in search of the Chippewa, but found no trace of them. Thereafter, they understood the significance of anything the man told them in the Clown manner.

Later, when he was hunting, the Clown came to him and told him that thereafter he desired him to do as he was bidden. The man thought the Clown meant that he must kill a person whom he would be directed to kill. Later the

Clown told him he wanted him to give the Clown feast; if he did not do so, the Clown would kill him. He held the feast. He brought a deer. He stood at a distance from the pot, faced south, and threw the deer's head over his head into the pot behind him. While he was preparing the feast, all the other Clowns were getting ready. When the meat was cooked, they came out of the bush. They ran about and approached the pots. When they were close to them, they blew medicine into them. Their arms were painted gray. When everything was prepared, they picked the meat out of the pots and dashed the broth on one another until the pots were empty. After the feast the Clown announced that he had seen Chippewa join them at the feast. This was a portent. He bade them be ready, for the Chippewa might come at any time. A young man who went out to tend the horses was killed by the Chippewa. The Dakota pursued them and brought home the scalps of all of them. They held a big War dance at which the Clown danced in the Clown manner. After the dance he announced that he had brought these Chippewa to the camp; he did not mourn the fact a great deal, for the Dakota had killed all of them.

Later, while he was hunting, the Clown told him he would kill a big deer and invite all his older brothers and older sisters. On his return he killed a small deer. He took it home, cooked it, and invited to his tipi all the little boys and little girls who were old enough to eat. The fathers accompanied the little girls and the mothers accompanied the little boys. They ate of the deer and returned to their tipis.

Another day, while he was hunting, the Clown came to him, showed him an arrow, saying it was now time to kill that member of his tribe whom he was destined to kill. He said all the men in the west knew about it. He had been directed to inform the man that the appointed time had arrived.

The man felt badly about this. When he reached home, he had entirely forgotten what the Clown told him. He quarreled with his wife. He seemed to be out of his senses. Suddenly, without any recollection of his instructions, he rose, picked up his bow and arrow, shot her in the chest, and killed her. His fellow tribesmen asked him why he had killed her. He said he had quarreled with her, but had not intended to kill her—some power had compelled him to do

so, and if he had not done so, the Thunders would have killed him. He spent his time away from the camp, except at night. He did not participate in the fun in which he had previously indulged; it was impossible to induce him to perform any pranks. While he was in the bush, he saw the Clown who declared that everyone was pleased that the man had killed the person he had been told to kill; she had been directed by the Thunders to carry out certain directions and had failed. They decided to have this man kill her, rather than do so themselves. The Clown told him that he would kill a large deer while he was returning to the camp. He was ordered to invite all the Clowns in the camp, for this was the last time he would be told to perform anything. He predicted that he would be one of the best fighters and hunters and would live to be a very old man, too feeble to walk. While he was returning home, he killed a large deer. He invited all the Clowns whom he knew. All came to the feast.

After the feast he repeated what the Clown had told him. The people listened to him, then returned to their tipis. Thereafter, he did not see the Clown. He was one of the best fighters, one of the best hunters, and one of the best marksmen of those days. He performed no more ludicrous Clown tricks. He died at an advanced age, after he had ceased to act in the Clown manner. He was continually killing deer, and occasionally he held a Clown feast to which he invited the other Clowns. They would attend and return to their tipis after the feast. This man was *Kari'ci'ta*. He was my cousin.

2. Two Foolish Clowns placed calf hides around their shoulders, braided buffalo thongs, tied themselves together with them, and went from place to place, singing. They heard that a man in the camp would lead a war party. They declared they would join it. They went around the camp, singing incessantly. The man led the war party. After it had departed, the two Clowns continued to go around the camp, singing. When the party had been gone a day, they left to join it. They overtook it in the evening of the second day. No one knows how they traveled that distance in so little time. In one day they covered the distance traversed by the others in two days. Whenever the party camped, the Clowns remained some distance in

the rear. They built a shelter of branches and brush, with its entrance facing away from instead of towards the enemy. The party encountered the Chippewa; the Clowns were some distance behind. The other Dakota were close to the enemy, fighting at short range, whereas the Clowns fired at long range. Every shot fired by the Clowns killed a Chippewa. Sometimes a Dakota and a Chippewa were seen fighting with warclubs. The Clowns would shoot an arrow and kill the opposing Chippewa without injuring a Dakota. They shot every Chippewa who attempted to escape. If the Clowns had not joined the party, the Chippewa would have beaten the Dakota. When the party returned, the Dakota held a big dance. Whenever there was a cessation of the War dance, the Clowns assembled and held their dance.

On another day these two Clowns went about the camp, singing. One remarked to the other—they had been tied together throughout the fight and after it—that he wanted to hunt deer and provide a feast for the other Clowns. They held the feast, invited the other Clowns, but performed no feats.

Another time the two Clowns were told to perform a certain feat; if one Clown had a dream, the other knew about it. After this dream each left the performance to the other, saying he intended to carry out the instructions. They postponed its performance several days. One day, when they were going about, singing in front of every tipi, one of them stepped on a sharp bone. They sat down. The people saw them and wondered what had happened. Some men ran to them to learn what had happened, but the Clowns would not permit them to approach. The brother of the injured man asked him what was wrong. He replied that he had stepped on a little weed; it had not injured him in the least; he had merely sat down. Every time the brother repeated his inquiry he received the same answer. The sharp bone had penetrated to the bone of the man's foot. His companion picked up a piece of root which he had dug out of the ground at that place, pulled the intruding bone from the wound, covered the wound with a piece of the chewed root, and tied it up with a bunch of grass. The Clown who was administering the treatment then stood up and sang. When he had finished singing, he removed the grass and bade his companion stand, saying that the wound was

now healed. The injured man rose and was cured. He went about exhibiting the bone and the wound in his foot, but would not say that the bone had caused the wound.

Again the Clowns walked about, singing. They knew that some of the men were setting out on a war party. They remarked to each other that they would go with them. Then they announced to those in camp that a certain man was going out to fight. They knew his intentions before he had uttered them. The others waited to hear the man announce his plan to lead a war party. When he was prepared to go, the men who intended to accompany him made ready and went with him. These Clowns accompanied them. When the party camped, the two Clowns set up a shelter of branches, with its entrance facing away from the enemy camp instead of [in the proper way] toward it. One day they encountered the Chippewa. The Clown who had treated his companion's foot asked to be released from the other during this fight. The other agreed. They unfastened the thong which had bound them together. The man who made this request was wounded in the leg. His companion was in the party, fighting.

When the Dakota informed him that his companion had been wounded, he ran to him, kicked him on the back, and inquired why he was not fighting. He then kicked him on the shoulder, knocking him over. [His question meant, why did he not lie down; the kick symbolized his sympathy.] He dug into the ground, procured roots, mixed them with water, placed them on the wound, and tied them there with grass. He sang, then bade his companion stand up and cease pretending that his leg was sore. The wounded man stood up, but limped. His companion kicked him on the back and knocked him down. [The wounded man had asked that they separate. He was shot because his companion had more power.] After his comrade had kicked him four times and had knocked him down each time, the wounded Clown stood up and was cured. His leg was cured. They returned home. Thereafter they separated only when they went to bed.

After returning to the camp they tied themselves together every morning and went out to make a smudge of *pezio'ta* [medicine grass; a gray grass about 10 inches high]. They held their blankets and the thong by which they had tied themselves together over this smudge.

Thus they walked around from morning until night, singing. One morning the younger Clown went to the tipi of the older and asked whether the latter would go out to sing that morning.¹ The other replied that he was sorry to have to refuse, but during the night he had had intercourse with a woman.

The junior Clown regretted this. The Thunders were constantly watching them and had told them that if they did not appear each day, they would be killed. They sat together all day. The senior bade the other go about, singing. He refused, saying that they had been warned to keep together.

Towards evening the transgressor bade his companion return to his own tipi and sleep, but the Clown refused. He told him a second time; again his companion refused, saying he would sleep there with his senior partner. No one had observed the approach of a thunderstorm. Suddenly, one was immediately overhead. The lightning struck in the midst of the fire and scattered the ashes over the two Clowns. The younger called to his companion by name and asked whether he was still alive. He replied that he was. Neither of them had been killed; the Thunders had sent the lightning bolt to frighten them. If the Thunders had so desired, they could have killed them. The next morning they made a smudge, over which they held their buffalo robes. They stood over the smudge and went out, singing. They said they would go out to hunt. Both left the camp for this purpose. They killed a deer, brought it to the camp, and gave a Clown feast, to which they invited the Clowns. They sang. They appointed a man to pass the pipe around and serve the meat. Each of the Clowns, after eating the meat, held his plate over the smudge and went out. The Clowns then stopped singing.

Following this they again went about every day, singing. One day, hearing that a man in another camp was going out on the warpath, they said they would accompany him. Accordingly, they joined his party. Both were good hunters and good marksmen; they never missed their target. This time they did not act in the

Clown fashion, and did not perform any feats, but fought like the other men. After the battle they sang different songs, declaring these were War dance songs. During the fight they remained together and both were safe. After returning to the camp, they separated only at night.

One of the Clowns did not know that his brother had been killed. When the news reached him, he grieved over his death and was indisposed to sing, but his companion persuaded him to do so. Both sang. One remarked to the other that one day he would give him cause to rejoice. One day, while they were out in the bush, singing, they lost their way. Several days later they were again heard singing in the bush. They were returning to the camp, each carrying a scalp. They had gone alone to fight in order to avenge the death of the brother who had been killed in the previous fight. All welcomed their return and held a feast to which they were invited. The day after the feast they sang again; again, on this day, they lost their way. The following day they returned and each brought a deer. They cooked it and invited some old men who had been Clowns when young. The men who came sang their songs.

After the feast those who had been invited went home. Again the two Clowns went out and sang. One day they gave another Clown feast. When all was ready, the meat in the pots, the ground and the fire prepared, they invited all who had taken part in a Clown feast and all who had not participated in one but had dreamed of the supernatural Clown. Those who had been invited prepared for the feast. They came from every direction. The man who gave the feast announced that the meat was ready. The Clowns who had gone into the bush came from various directions. They seemed to be springing from the ground, instead of coming from the bush. Gradually they approached the pots. One of the two leaders thrust his arm into a pot and pulled out the tongue; the other pulled out the heart. The other Clowns took out different portions of the meat; very slowly they put their bare arms into the pot and felt about until they found the piece they wanted. Sometimes they would pull out the wrong piece. They would replace it and select another. One can observe this behavior at every Clown feast. They gave these pieces to the spectators. When they had

¹ They belonged to different families and one was supposed to be superior to the other. The inferior Clown was in the habit of leaving his blanket and clothes in the tipi of his superior each evening and of returning there for them in the morning.

taken out all of the meat, they splashed the broth over one another until it had all been used.

After the feast the two Clowns, as on previous occasions, went about, singing. One day, as they were walking about, singing, they announced that they had seen a large herd of buffaloes. [Clowns see things before they happen; they know, for example, how many Chippewa will be killed, who will kill them, and what Dakota will be killed. They see all these things while they are going about, singing.] The day after the Clowns saw this herd, all the men went out to hunt; each killed a buffalo and the camp was abundantly supplied with meat. On another occasion, while they were walking about, singing, they announced that they had discovered what would happen, but they refused to be specific. However, they bade every man clean his gun and prepare his bow and arrows, so that they would be ready for the event.

The next morning the people learned that the Clowns had seen a party of Chippewa near the camp. The Clowns told them to be prepared, for the Chippewa might come at any time. They were all ready to receive the Chippewa. On the morning designated, the Chippewa arrived at the most isolated portion of the camp. All the Dakota were alert, however, and hastened to the assistance of those who had been attacked. The Chippewa killed most of the Dakota; every Chippewa was killed. Most of them were killed by the Clowns.

Several days later these Clowns again went about, singing. They were always together, for they had been born at the same time, though in different families. After the War dance they held their dance and prepared to give another Clown feast. After this feast the senior Clown told his companion he had seen that they would kill a duck [meaning that when they went to hunt they would kill an eagle]. Later they hunted and killed an eagle. They gave the feathers to the other members of the hunting party. On another day, when they were about to go out to sing, the elder told the younger Clown to go out and sing, for his brother would make a feast for them. He said that he himself would not go out to sing. That day, therefore, they did not go out to sing.

A son was born to the senior Clown; the

child died. After its death the junior Clown told his father that the child had died because he had failed to carry out his first instruction, namely, to go out and sing each day. They then went about, singing.

Another day they went on a war party. They did well in the fight. When they returned home, they hung up the blanket. It fell down—though the owner was unaware of the mishap—and the dogs carried it into the bush. The owner died in punishment for his failure to take proper care of it. His companion mourned his death. He sickened and died. Before they fell sick, both lost their sight; in each case the illness was fatal. If the Clown had taken proper care of the blanket, he would have been spared longer.

3. A Foolish Clown heard that a certain man would go on a war party. He told his wife that he would go to each tipi and would make the occupants so sad that they would weep. He meant that he would go about, make everybody laugh, and thus cause them to be in good spirits. When he was ready, he sent a young man to each tipi to announce his arrival and to bid them give him nothing. The youth proclaimed to all in the camp that the Foolish Clown had sent him to announce his arrival and to say that they were not to give him anything; in some tipis they might offer him something, but he did not want anything. The Clown set out; a big blizzard was beginning.

He stopped at every tipi, raised the flap, and presented his buttocks, pretending that he was looking in, though he was facing outward all the time. He remained outside the tipi and danced, patting the ground with one foot. He visited every tipi in this fashion. All the people laughed and poked fun at him. Next morning the war party started. The Clown went with them. He carried his bow and arrows but no gun. One of the Chippewa was a fast runner and was escaping from the Dakota. The Clown was behind everyone, pretending that he could not run, though in reality he was fleet of foot. When the fleeing Chippewa was far in the lead, the Clown stopped and shot an arrow at him. The arrow entered the back of his head and killed him instantly. The Clown went up to the party of Dakota and laughed at them. He told them

they could not run fast and added that they should be fleet-footed like himself [who had been behind all of them]; also, they should have a gun like his. That is what this Clown did after his dance.

4. This is a story about a Foolish Clown. Every day the Foolish Clowns go about, singing. The other Clowns hunt, fight, and feast a great deal. While this man was hunting, far from the camp, it began to rain. Lightning struck close to the spot where a few minutes before he had been lying. When he had recovered from the shock, he returned to the camp. That night there was another thunderstorm. The lightning struck the edge of the tipi. The next morning he announced that he thought he remembered having heard a voice, though previously he had forgotten all about it. He said he thought he had heard something.

That night in a dream the *wakan* Clown told him that the man in the west was angry because he had been ordered to do something and had not done it; he must do it early the following morning; if he waited longer, he would be killed. Next morning he invited the men and cooked meat for them. He cut an image of a deer out of hide and tied it to his right shoulder. He fastened an image of a bear to his left shoulder and arranged both so that they would drag behind him. He declared he was very grateful to the Thunders for what they had done; they had twice frightened him; if they had wished to kill him, they would have done so the second time; he thought they wished him to have a long life; he was willing to carry out their directions. He ordered the men to go out next morning and look for the things he had tied to his shoulders [the deer and the bear] and kill them. He gave the feast. The following morning they hunted. They killed a deer and a bear and took them to the camp.

The hunters divided the bear and the deer among themselves. The man went around the camp, singing, and announced that a thunderstorm was approaching. He declared that when the Thunders saw him singing, they would swerve to one side, and not a drop of rain would fall on the camp. Before he had finished singing, the people descried an approaching storm. It looked ominous, but before reaching the camp swerved to the south, and not a drop of rain fell

on them. During the remainder of the day, he walked about, singing, and finished at sunset. While he was walking about, singing, some men filled their pipes and asked him to smoke; others ordered him away from their tipis and told him not to come near them [meaning that he was invited to enter the tipi and partake of food]. He told them he would dance for four days, but would rest first. While he was resting, a *wakan* Clown came to him and announced that the men in the west were anxious to hear him sing. He sang continuously for four days. Some of the men invited him to smoke and to eat. He did not go to his tipi until night. When he was invited into a tipi to eat and was told to sit at the entrance, he went to the back of the tipi [the place of honor]. He had been told by the *wakan* Clowns to continue his singing for a year and intermittently after that.

One day, while he was wearing only a blanket, he was invited to smoke—the Clowns would not allow him to smoke very often. He said he was much pleased to have so many invitations to smoke [meaning that he did not wish to smoke at short intervals]. When winter came he threw aside his blanket, declaring that the weather was too warm. He tied thunderbird feathers to his wrists and fanned himself with them. Later in a dream the *wakan* Clown told him to continue the singing. Two men constantly walked behind him to receive the gifts from the people. One day he asked them why they did not go hunting, saying that they could easily get all the game they wanted. The following day they hunted, and each procured as much game as he wanted. The two men who had accompanied him killed a deer, brought it to the camp, and asked him to give a Clown feast with it. After the feast they ate the entire deer. He announced to those at the feast that there would soon be a fight at another place. He directed that the two men who had provided the deer join the war party and predicted that they would kill a Chippewa. They accompanied the war party and in the course of the fight killed a Chippewa.

One day during a severe blizzard a young man went to the Clown's two assistants and told them the Clown would not like to make fun on a warm day. They reported this to the Clown. He donned thin clothes and canvas moccasins; he declared it was too warm to wear warm clothes. Following these preparations,

he started. He went through the blizzard to each tipi, singing. When something was given him, he backed away and when leaving the tipi picked up the article and threw it away. He went through the entire camp in this fashion, accompanied by his assistants. They cooked the meat he received and made a Clown feast for him. When the feast was prepared, he told them to invite all the old men who had been Clowns. This was done and the feast was held. The following day he hunted with them. They killed a bear and divided the meat. Everybody was glad to obtain a piece of it.

A Clown feast was being given by another man. He went to it and announced that there would be a fight in which he would participate. He accompanied the war party. It was winter. He said it was too warm to wear clothes, removed his clothes and went naked. The others declared he would freeze on the journey. He insisted that they all put on their fighting medicine; he added that he would be wearing his clothes had not the Clown told him not to do so. When they encountered the Chippewa, he ran ahead of the party and killed some of them without firing a shot, by striking them with the end of his gun. The Chippewa shot at him, but could not kill him, though he was among them; they also used their warclubs against him, but with no better effect. He killed two Chippewa with his gun, before the party of Dakota came up and dispatched the remainder of the enemy.

He sent two men to hunt, after telling them they would kill an eagle. They returned with an eagle, informing him that they had killed one. Each of them had killed a Chippewa in the fight; the Clown had given them the eagle, so that they might wear its feathers.

In summer and winter, he went about singing every day. It was now the second summer. He did not sing for two or three days. A thunderstorm was approaching. He was frightened and announced that he wished to give a Clown feast; he added that about this time the previous summer the Thunders had warned him. The people cooked a deer for him; when the feast was ready, he sang. The Clowns came from every direction. They ran about here and there and gradually approached the pots. Meanwhile, the thunderstorm was gradually drawing nearer. When they had taken out the meat and the feast was finished, he announced

that the thunderstorm was approaching because the Thunders wished to watch them having their fun.

One day he inquired of the men why they did not hunt. When game was plentiful, he told them, they did not hunt; and when it was scarce, they were anxious to hunt. He told them they would kill a bear the following morning. They hunted the next morning, killed a bear and much other game. On another day he heard that there would be a fight. The Clown selected two men to accompany the party and assured them that each would kill a Chippewa. They started. When the war party returned, each of these men brought a scalp. Everybody was pleased to see each man returning with a scalp.

One day while out hunting, a Dakota was killed by a Chippewa. The Chippewa took his scalp. A brother of the deceased came to the Clown and asked him whether he could help him kill a Chippewa. The Clown was pleased by this request. The man made a Clown feast for him. The Clown knew where the Chippewa had gone after they killed this man's brother and he went to his tipi. Within sight of the tipi, he removed his clothes. Two families lived in the tipi. A member of one of these families had killed the Dakota. He went into the tipi, killed every inmate, removed the scalps, and carried them home, together with the Dakota scalp which he found there. They were all pleased to see him return safely.

On another day he directed that they all go out to hunt. They did so, returning with much game. Later he sent his two assistants out to kill an eagle. They returned with a large eagle. The *wakan* Clowns, in recognition of his brave deeds, gave him this eagle so that he might use the feathers.

On another day he bade them hunt. They procured plenty of game and gave a Clown feast for him. All the Clowns in camp came to it. One day he went about, singing. When night came, he announced that he had killed something which was not game. He could not decide what it was. He did not announce explicitly that they would kill a Chippewa. As he was going about, singing, a man invited him into his tipi to eat. He said he did not like to eat in the tipis of other people, but inasmuch as he had been invited, he was loath to refuse. He went into the tipi. After he had eaten, he thanked the man for the meal. When he said that he did not like to eat in other

people's tipis, he meant that he liked to be invited to do so. He thanked the man for his kindness: "Some day I will do you a favor."

One day a member of a hunting party was killed by a Chippewa. They pursued the Chippewa and killed one of them. This is what the Clown referred to when he said they would kill something, but he did not know what it would be. After this, he again bade them hunt. He told two men to bring him a deer, and when they returned with it he would make a Clown feast. They hunted and returned with a deer. He told them to cut it up, without removing the hide, and throw no part of it away, but cook it as it was. Accordingly, they cut it up and cooked it as it was. They gave the feast, to which all the Clowns had been invited, and ate all of the food. He announced that he had seen the Thunders approaching, and among them was a man or a woman—he could not tell which, for he or she was whirling about incessantly with the clouds. The Clown said that if anyone had been ordered to do something, he should do it immediately, while the directions were still clear, and before the thunderstorm broke. A man went through the camp, shouting the Clown's admonition, advising that if anyone had been told to perform a certain feat, he should proclaim it at once for if he failed to do so, the Thunders would kill him.

A woman then told her husband that she had been directed to perform a certain feat, had been thinking about it constantly, and wished to perform it then. Her husband would not allow her to do it because he disliked seeing a woman do such things. That night, when all had retired, nothing had occurred; during the night, however, a severe thunderstorm killed the woman. They asked her husband whether he had ever heard her say that she had been told to perform a certain deed. He declared he had not, but many people did not believe him. However, the woman had gone to another tipi and had told its occupants that her husband would not permit her to do what she wanted to do. The following morning a brother of the dead woman came to camp, declared she had been killed by her husband, and said he wished the husband to follow his deceased wife. Then he blew out the husband's brains. Some of the men remonstrated with the woman's brother for killing the husband. Some declared it was wrong; others thought it was right.

In a dream a voice told the man that everyone was killing plenty of game; all his friends, the *wakan* Clowns, were hungry; the men must hunt and bring them something to eat. Next morning he invited an old man to his tipi and related the dream. The old man went about the camp, announced the dream to everyone he saw and stopped at every tipi. The Clown sent out his two assistants. Each of them secured a deer and the other people obtained ample game. They held a Clown feast, to which each man contributed some of the game he had killed. After the feast they all thanked the man for the aid which he had given them in obtaining game. He announced that for four consecutive nights he would please them, so that all would be glad. [By "nights" he meant days.] On the following day, they all went to hunt. Each of his two assistants brought back an eagle. That night in a dream the *wakan* Clowns promised the man that he would displease everybody for four nights; one night had passed; three nights remained; he was to tell all the men to hunt the following night. [This meant that he would please them for four days; "one night passed" meant one day passed; and "go hunt the next night" meant go hunt the following day.] The next day they went to hunt and brought back an eagle. The Clown told him that two nights had passed and there now remained two nights. So far he had pleased them; he should tell the men to hunt the next night, and they would again obtain an eagle. The following morning they went to hunt. During the third night the Clown appeared to him, spoke as on previous nights, and reminded him that four days had been allotted for hunting, and three of them had passed; he had displeased everyone; the following night would be the last time he would displease them. The next day they hunted and brought back an eagle. They were much pleased to have the eagle feathers. They held the Clown feast and he learned that a certain thing would happen. Two young men did the cooking. After the feast he announced that in another place there would be a big battle. He promised two young men that each would return with a scalp if they participated in the fight. After these two men had returned, he bade them hunt and bring him the largest moose they could obtain. They found no moose, but while they were returning to camp the *wakan* Clown came to them, showed them a goat, and said they

should kill it to symbolize the moose. They killed it, brought it to camp, and said the *wakan* Clown had told them to do so. They cooked it.

On another day, after the feast, while the man was hunting, the *wakan* Clown came to him and directed him to shoot at something which appeared to be merely a small pile of mud and to shout four times, as a signal that he had killed a bear. He was close to the camp and all the people ran toward him. When they arrived at the place they inquired who had been shouting. He replied that he had yelled. When they asked him why he had done so, he replied that his gun had gone off by accident when he was about to shoot at a bear, and he had yelled to inform them that he had seen a bear. They ran about, looked for the bear, but found no trace of one and so informed the man.

He confessed that he had deceived them. The next morning he hunted again. The *wakan* Clown again came to him and directed him to shoot at a certain pile of mud. He did so and shouted four times to inform the people that he had shot a bear. Some were indisposed to go to him; those who went got the best portions of the bear. He hunted on another occasion. When he was near the camp he discharged his gun and called to the people to provide some means for carrying the game. Men and women ran towards him to get the meat. When they arrived, he told them he was merely fooling and in high spirits had discharged his gun and shouted. They returned to the camp without the meat.

The next morning he hunted again. On his return, when he had almost reached camp, the *wakan* Clown appeared and ordered him to shoot at a certain tree. After he had shot at it, the Clown told him to yell. Some of the men who heard him went to the spot to learn the reason. When they arrived, he told them that on the journey out from camp he had killed an elk. He asked them where their eyes were and why they could not see it.

He hunted on another day. When he approached the camp on his return, two young men passed him. The Clown came to him and told him to discharge his gun. He did so and said he had shot an eagle. The young men asked where it was. He replied that it was lying where it fell. The following morning he went out to hunt. Near the place where he had discharged his gun the previous evening he shot again and

shouted that he had killed an eagle. When they asked him where it was, he said it had fallen some distance away. They went to the place indicated and found it. He said it was the eagle he had pretended to kill the previous evening. He remarked that he liked to deceive the people occasionally and make them laugh, for he did not wish to see them depressed all the time.

Several days thereafter the people were unable to obtain game. A young man went to the Clown and told him he would make the Clown feast for him. The young man wanted the Clown to ascertain why they were unable to procure game. The Clown sat near the young man, conversing with him. He rose and kicked the young man in the chest, knocking him over. These actions expressed his gratitude. He said he could not do all this himself and wanted other young men to assist him. He bade the young man ask the other young men to assist. They invited all the Clowns. One of the older Clowns told the young man who had provided the meat that when they went out to hunt they would see an old man and an old man's horse [meaning they would see a bear] to the south. Another Clown told him they would find an old woman with her family [meaning they would find an old bear with her cubs]. While the old men were singing, the Clown told the man who had provided the meat to invite all the young men. He invited them all. Each of the old men sang his own song. Those who had been invited went into the tipi and sat in a circle. After the pipe had been passed to them and they had eaten the meat served to them, they went away. Meanwhile the Clowns continued to sing. Looking around, one Clown told the others to stop singing; he said it was useless to sing while no one was coming to eat the food in the pots. They asked whether everyone had come. He replied that the young men had come, eaten what was in the pots and departed. They were pleased by this announcement and said that the young men who had been there should be invited to return. Accordingly, they were asked to return. When they returned, the man announced that they would secure plenty of game on the following day and that the man who had provided the meat would kill two bears and two cubs. This announcement pleased them all.

On the following day they all went out to hunt. They secured plenty of deer. Except for the man who had been promised the two bears

and the young ones, they killed only deer. They held another feast, to which all the Clowns and all the young men were invited. After the feast the man announced that he would hunt. He went behind the tipi, discharged his gun, killed a deer, and brought it back. This surprised everybody. He said that if the deer had not come close, he would have had to travel a long distance for it; but inasmuch as it had come to him, he had not been compelled to go for it. Accordingly, he had shot it in a most convenient place. This brought a laugh from everybody.

Next day he sent his assistant, a young man, to hunt. The man killed a deer, brought it to camp, held a Clown feast to which he invited all the Clowns. An old man came, sat in the entrance to the tipi, and said he was the youngest Clown. He sang there. He wanted to be the leader. He was the oldest man present and had been a Clown longer than had anyone else present. When this old man began to sing, all the others joined in, each singing his own song. After the singing and when the meat had been eaten, the old man announced that all the young men would kill large bears, and some would get deer, moose, or elk; that after their return from the hunt, they must give another Clown feast. All were pleased with the announcement that thereafter they would procure as much game as they wished. They enjoyed their hunting the following day. One of the assistants shot a bear, the other shot an elk. They were all delighted to have an abundance of meat. The day after the feast, the Clown went out to hunt. He returned in the evening, saying he had killed a large bear, much too heavy for him to drag out of its den unassisted.

The next morning he went out to hunt and killed a bear. The Clown told him to cook its back [meaning its breast] and eat it in company with his friends [meaning the other Clowns]. When he entered his tipi, he told his wife he had killed a bear. She did not believe him and said it would be useless to announce this, for he was again merely deceiving the people. He declared that this time he had actually killed a bear.

The next morning they went out and brought the bear in to camp. He cooked the breast and invited all the other Clowns. After the feast they all went out to hunt again. No one killed any game. The Clown preceded the party. The *wakan* Clown came to him and told him to walk

faster. When he arrived at a pile of mud, he bade the man shoot at it, saying a bear was in it. He did so and gave four whoops. When the others heard him, they ran to the spot. This time he had not deceived them. He had killed a bear. He took it to the camp and divided it among the people.

They hunted during the following four days without success. On the fourth day the Clown followed the man and told him to walk faster. He walked faster, the Clown keeping pace with him, and killed a bear. He gave four whoops. The others ran to the place where he stood. They took the bear to camp and divided it among themselves. After returning to the camp he announced that he was growing weary of deceiving the people and of his Clown manners, that he had been a Clown too long and would terminate his career. The other men did not want him to stop. Some thought he said this because the *wakan* Clowns had told him to quit; therefore, they thought it was fitting that he do so. Accordingly, he stopped. One day, while he was hunting, he stepped on a weed which cut his foot. After he returned to the camp, blood poisoning set in and he died. This happened because he had ceased his Clown performances before the *wakan* Clowns ordered him to stop. He thought that no misfortune would befall because he quit. The other Clowns discovered that the *wakan* Clowns were angry because the man said he would cease living as a Clown, when, as a matter of fact, the *wakan* Clowns had not told him to abandon the life of a Clown.

5. A certain Foolish Clown, whenever he fought, could kill whatever he liked to kill. For some time, however, he had not been able to kill any game. He had dreamed that he was to give the Clown feast. He did not give it; consequently he had not been able to kill anything. The Thunders warned him that they would kill him if he did not give the Clown feast. He remarked to some of the Clowns that he was too young to celebrate it. He procured old deer-skins and moose and elk hoofs. They cooked all the inedible portions of the moose and elk, declaring that they were cooking the choice parts of these animals. He invited the Clowns. They came and ate all that he had cooked, with as much relish as if these were the choicest parts of the animals, and remarked to one another

that it was the best meat they had ever eaten. After the feast the leader stated that when a certain variety of grass was ripe, he would give a proper feast. He had prepared this one to demonstrate to the Thunders his willingness to give the proper feast. When the appointed time came, the Clown procured several pots, filled them with water and put in a few pieces of meat. He said he wanted plenty of water so that it could boil well. When he had done this, and the meat was cooked, he came out of the tipi, singing, and told the men spectators to add more wood to the fire. The other Clowns came, digging in the ground here and there in search of medicine. The ground seemed to be filled with medicine, for wherever they dug they procured some. They chewed this and spewed it into the pots. The Clown rolled up his sleeves, ran to the pots, picked out a piece of meat and gave it to an onlooker.

The other Clowns, one by one, followed the same procedure, until they had taken all of the meat from the pots. They held the broth in their bare hands. While two Clowns drank from one pot, another Clown threw boiling broth over them. Some carried a pot around and threw the boiling broth over the others, until the supply was exhausted. After the feast the Thunders told the Clown that when the war party went out, they would kill a Chippewa. A war party from another camp was preparing to leave. The Clown took his gun, went to that camp, and joined it. He killed more Chippewa than all the other members of the attacking party.

6. A Foolish Clown was walking about, singing. He was leaving the camp in company with another man. He directed this young man to go some place and said he would accompany him [meaning that he was going away and wished this young man to accompany him]. He had prepared to leave and was walking about, singing. One started off in one direction, the other went in another direction. One day they met. The young man asked the Clown how they happened to meet, for he had walked straight ahead. The Clown had caused the youth to come toward him, although he thought he was walking straight ahead. They were going to steal horses from the Chippewa. When they arrived at the first Chippewa camp, the Clown

announced that it was not their destination. They arrived at a second camp. Again he said this was not their goal; neither was the third. They came to a fourth camp which was the one intended. A Chippewa Clown in this camp had been warned in a dream of the arrival of the Dakota Clown. The Dakota, throughout the journey, was aware of this fact. The two Clowns had met among the Thunders before they were born; and, after being born on earth, they wished to renew their acquaintance. The Dakota Clown knew the whereabouts of the Chippewa Clown, and the latter knew that the Dakota Clown was coming. When the Dakota entered the tipi of the Chippewa Clown, instead of shaking hands with each other, they fought. The Dakota Clown told the Chippewa he had not come to kill a Chippewa, but to steal horses. He made no effort to conceal his intentions from the Chippewa, inasmuch as the latter was a Clown. The Chippewa assisted him in procuring the horses, because they had known each other well before they were born. The Chippewa discovered that the Dakota had the greater power. He secured all the horses and gave them to the Dakota, who waited for him at a distance from the camp. The Dakota took them to his own camp. A Dakota Clown does not fight alone, but takes other men with him, and tells them that some other [designated] man is the leader of the party. That is what this Clown did.

7. A Foolish Clown was told in a dream that after he had given a Clown feast he must sing all the time. He did not sing for a whole month. Suddenly his child died. For several days after this he went about, weeping [i.e., singing; when they sing, they call it weeping]. Now and then certain men invited him to a meal, after which they conversed with him. He continued going about every day weeping. One day he disappeared. They all hunted for him. They learned that he had gone out alone to fight the Chippewa. One day he returned carrying a scalp. The people had thought he had been killed by the Chippewa, for during his absence they had hunted for him in vain. He had not taken his gun and was wearing little clothing. He must have been concealed near a Chippewa camp, awaiting an opportunity to kill a Chippewa who should leave the camp. That is what a Foolish

Clown did after losing his child; he went away, was considered lost, and returned with a scalp.

8. A Foolish Clown was going to a dance. He wore the usual dress. It was one of the warmest days of that summer. Suddenly, without saying a word, he turned, went back to the tipi, put on his heavy buffalo skin coat, leggings, fur-lined moccasins, wrapped his feet in cloth, and declared it was too cold outside. He announced that he would dance in front of a tipi some distance away, and sent a young man ahead to inform its occupants. The Clown went about the camp and called at each tipi. Suddenly, he jumped to one side and ran away. People went to see what had frightened him and found a large frog. Two of the men who were following him were directed to go to the next tipi and announce his arrival. The Clown had heard that the owner of the tipi expected to go on a war party. He continued to dance. He stopped dancing midway between the two tipis and told the two men to join the war party, for he had learned that it would be victorious. After the return of the war party, the Clown celebrated the Hunting feast. All the Clowns took part in it. A few days later the leader of the war party went out to fight. The Foolish Clown was the only one who accompanied them. The Dakota were hiding in a trench which they had dug; the Chippewa were similarly entrenched opposite them. The Clown sat in the large intervening space. Whenever a Chippewa showed his head, the Clown shot at him, and always killed his man. This continued until he had shot the 10 Chippewa. The other Dakota accomplished nothing. The Clown had been sitting on a high mound. Thus he surpassed all of the other Dakota who went out to fight, and killed all of the Chippewa. He excelled the other Clowns as much as they excelled ordinary people.

9. A Foolish Clown lay in a tipi. Suddenly, without singing or giving any warning, he arose and announced that the Thunders would kill all except one person, and that he [the Clown] would go through the camp. Immediately thunder was heard in the west. He went about the camp, singing, in the hope that the Thunders, seeing him, might be influenced and would travel in another direction. He had dressed in

his Clown garb and had begun to encircle the camp. He went first around the inner circle and then around the outer circle of tipis. The Thunders deflected their course and passed around the camp. Thus the impending calamity was averted. Before dawn the next morning, a storm passed over the camp and lightning killed a man. The Clown declared him to be the one he had previously seen and he assumed the Thunders were very angry with him. The Clown did not know the Thunders would make this second visit. If the Clown had not gone out during the previous storm the Thunders would have killed the man then.

CLOWN WOMEN

A woman may not witness a Clown feast held in a tipi and may not touch a cooking vessel that has been used in this feast. Neither may any portion of a woman's clothes be in the tipi during the feast. These restrictions do not apply to a Clown feast held in the open, where broth-throwing is practised. Women may walk over the place where the broth has been spilled and may handle the pots. In fact, after a broth-throwing feast, a man may carry a pot to a woman and throw it at her. The informant declared that he was perplexed by these distinctions. He thought they might be due to the fact that in the broth-throwing feast the soup is all over the ground; hence, the restrictions which apply to the feast held in the tipi would be difficult to enforce. Feasts were held for Clown women.

1. Whenever the men went hunting they were unsuccessful. They held a Clown feast for a woman named Itehitu and asked her to ascertain why they were always unsuccessful. During the feast she started the songs; the others then joined in and finished the singing. She said a woman had given birth to an illegitimate child which she had hidden in the bush. The dogs had found and eaten it. The child had been destined to become a medicine-man. It was angry and was keeping the game away, so that no one could kill any. They made an image. Itehitu told them to set it up in the path and use it as a target. When the image was completed, she went around it, singing. When she had sung a few songs, the other Clowns shot at the image. Then they burned it. Every time

the men hunted after this, they secured plenty of game—sometimes so much that they could not carry all of it home. [The child becomes the spirit of a grown man and drives the animals away. Men cannot kill the spirit, but can drive it away. Anyone may make such an image. No one except the medicineman or medicinewoman can see the spirit; to him or her it is visible when he or she walks around it. The medicineman or woman does not himself make the image, but appoints someone to do this. There are no requirements of chastity.¹]

2. A tipi in which a woman would hold the Clown feast was erected apart from the others. When it had been set up, she asked a few of the young men to hunt. They returned with game which she cooked. She asked those who had given the Clown feast to participate and finish it for her. Men went in every direction, to prepare for it. When all was ready, she sang, and the Clowns busied themselves getting the meat. Before they picked out the meat, their assistants kindled a large fire. The Clowns sang and dashed to the pots. Each one sang his own song. They went, some in one direction, some in another, procured roots, and spewed them into the pot. The woman held a big feast. They procured more roots and spewed them into the pots. They continued to do this as long as she sang. When she stopped singing, they began taking the meat out of the pots of boiling water. When they had extracted all of the meat, they played with the broth. They took it in their hands and threw it on each other's faces and bodies, but no one was scalded. They did this to ascertain whether any of the participants were merely pretending that they were Clowns. If they are not actually Clowns, they will be scalded. The woman had a grown son. He was to join the men on a war party. They would kill only one Chippewa. She said her son would kill the Chippewa. Several days later her son went out with the war party. For some time, they failed in their efforts to kill the Chippewa; her son then killed him.

3. A certain woman gave no dances, but merely sang Clown songs and held the Clown

¹ Sister M. Inez Hilger reports similar practices and concepts among Wisconsin Chippewa (Hilger, 1936a, 40).

feast. Her predictions were fulfilled. When she held her first feast she informed the other Clowns that the Thunders in the west had told her that she would be a medicinewoman. They said they would not say anything about it to her, but after she was born she would be instructed by the *wakan* Clown. They told her that the earth was filled with *wakan* Clowns. She now intended to give a Clown feast, but the people thought she was too young. Some disapproved of her intention. She told her father she was frightened by every thunderstorm. Her father said he assumed she knew something that made her afraid. She said she wished to announce the message given her, but was ashamed. He told her to have no fear; if she performed the Clown dance, she would live longer [than if she did not]. Her father prepared for the Clown dance. While he was arranging the ground, she said she had seen a great many Clowns. They were weeds; the Thunders had told her the truth; there were many *wakan* Clowns on earth.

When the ground was arranged and all was ready, her father invited all the medicinemen who were Clowns. When they had assembled, they told her to sing. After she had sung the songs, the medicinemen knew that she had told the truth; they knew she would be a great medicinewoman. As she sang, a thunderstorm approached. No rain fell, but they could hear the Thunders passing over their heads. She said the Thunders had come to witness the Clown feast; when they saw that she was giving it, they were pleased.

After the feast she told her father to announce that all the men were to hunt. She foretold that they would kill an eagle, a bear, a deer, and an elk. That was all she specified. Later she said they would kill all the game they wanted. All the people were to eat the game which these men killed.

On another occasion she told her father that in a dream a *wakan* Clown had told her to hold a Clown feast. She was ashamed to tell it, but her father told her she need not be. She cooked for the Clowns and asked them to hunt and provide game for the feast; they would kill an elk. The next day all the men went to hunt and brought home an elk. The young men cut it up, put it in the pots and told her everything was ready.

She wore a white gown and a white cap over

her head and face. She made two birchbark earrings; for the right ear a moose, for the left a bear. She sang. The other Clowns came out and ran about. They gathered about the pots, dug up roots, chewed them and spewed them into the pots. The women picked the elk head from the bottom of the pot and threw it toward the west, to a young man. Meanwhile, all the Clowns went to the pots, picked out pieces of meat and gave them to the men onlookers. After the feast she told the men to hunt and get what she wore as earrings, that is, moose and bear. The next morning they hunted. They all killed plenty of game, including a bear and a moose. After that, however, no one could get any game.

A man decided to give a Clown feast and ask the Clowns to ascertain the trouble. The Clown Woman discovered that a woman had killed her illegitimate child, buried it alive, and that the child's spirit was keeping the game away. Some of the men confirmed this statement, saying that they had seen this spirit. She told the people to get grass west of the camp and make a grass image the size of a boy and dress it in the Clown fashion. They set it up, the woman sang, and the other Clowns joined her. She told a man to strike the image with a warclub which she gave him. He did so, smoke rose from it and it burned. They all shot at it with their guns.

She told her father that she wished to invite the Clowns to a feast. She filled the pot with water, but did not make a fire, put the pot over the fireplace and told them to place some oak leaves on a long sharp stick, put these into the pot and boil the stick. She said: "This will be enough for the Clowns; they do not eat much. It is better that they should eat everything rather than that food be left." When everything was ready, she invited the other Clowns. When all had arrived, she told them she wished to give this feast so that all could secure plenty of game; that all the leaves on the stick represented game animals; and each leaf indicated a moose. She sang; then all the Clowns sang. The next morning they all hunted and killed plenty of game. All of the game was close to camp.

Later the men hunted every day and killed no game. A man made a feast for this woman. She told him to invite the other Clowns. When they had all arrived, they asked the leader of the feast why he had given it. He said he wished the woman to ascertain why they could

kill no game. They commended him. The woman asked the men to help her sing. They told her to sing, as she had done previously. When she had sung, she told them the Thunderbird was keeping the game away. She told them to make her a white gown, cut out of hide, with [? representations of] all kinds of game and tie these about her hood. They did this. She directed them to fashion a Thunderbird of grass. She dressed a boy as a Clown, gave him a bow and arrow, saying that after she had sung she would tell him when to shoot the image of the Thunderbird. When all her requests were filled, she told them to put the grass Thunderbird on a stick and face it toward the east. When they had done this, she began to sing and told the boy to shoot the image. When the arrow struck it, it began to burn and the other men shot at it.

After the feast she told the people to store her hood and gown for she might need them again. Later she ordered all the men to hunt, predicting that they would kill all the animals that ornamented her hood. Next day they hunted and killed all the game they wanted. She told the boy who had shot at the Thunderbird and killed it, that when he attained manhood he would kill a Chippewa with the same bow and arrows. She had forgotten to tell the men who had killed the image of the boy that he would kill a Chippewa with the warclub which he had used; accordingly, she now told him.

Several days later men from another camp came to her and told her they could procure no game. They wished her to ascertain the cause. She went to their camp. They made a feast for her. She told them that inasmuch as she was a woman, she might not discover the correct reason; that some men were as good as she, and some were better; nevertheless, she would do her best. She told them to make her a hood and a white gown and animal image earrings. She put these on, took the rattle, and said she would do her best to find the cause of the difficulty. If she discovered something, she would inform them. She told them to make a grass image of a boy, dress it in the Clown fashion, and set it up some distance away. She told a boy to hit it with a warclub, when she gave the signal. After the image was completed and all was ready, she went about, singing. Suddenly, she told the boy to strike it. He did so and it burned. She told the

boy he had missed it and had not killed it. [She meant that he had struck it and had killed the spirit which had prevented the people from securing game.]

After she had returned to her own camp, in a dream a *wakan* Clown told her to give a feast. She narrated the dream to her father and again cooked a stick and leaves, the latter representing game animals. The people secured much game. A young man who was a friend brought her an elk and asked her to make a Clown feast for the people. She told them to cook the elk. They cooked it and invited all the Clowns. They were to draw [the outline of] an eagle on the ground and surround it with white feathers. They did so. After the feast she thanked them for what they had done for her. She told the young man that next day he would kill an eagle and a deer. All the men procured plenty of game. She announced that four days hence they would fight the Chippewa. She promised the young man and his brother that each would kill a Chippewa and while they were returning home would kill an eagle. Her promises were fulfilled.

The woman was now married, but instead of telling her husband her dreams, she told them to her father. At her next Clown feast she had a vision of a camp in which all the Clowns in great excitement were preparing their bows and arrows. Her father went to each tipi and narrated her vision. Shortly thereafter a young Dakota was killed while hunting. The Dakota pursued the enemy, defeated them, and later held a big Scalp dance.

During the next feast which they made for her she rebuked them. She said the young man who was killed must have forgotten her warning and had not taken care of himself. She asked the other Clowns and the medicinemen where their powers were. Why had they known nothing of the ensuing battle? Why had they depended on her all the time? She did not mean that she was becoming tired of doing her share, but she wanted them to help her.

One day a young man came to her and told her his father was sick. [She was also a medicine-woman.] She went to the patient's tipi, treated him once, told him he had had a dream directing him to perform a certain deed, and he did not intend to do it. She would not tell him what it was, for he knew very well. She said she would give him four treatments. If, after the fourth treatment, he did not tell her [what he had

neglected to do], misfortune would befall him. On the fourth day, after the last treatment, she told him he had been directed to become a Clown and to give a Clown feast. She told him she was going home; she had told him to make a Clown feast, but he was unwilling to do it. He might please himself. When she was preparing to return to her tipi, he asked her to remain. He said he needed her in his Clown feast and wanted her to assist him. After the Clown feast, she told him he was a Clown and must obey all the commands. When she arrived home, she told her father she had dreamed of giving a feast and wished to give it.

Her father asked her what she wanted to cook. She told him to fill the pot with water, put leaves in it and set it over the fire. When her father had invited all the men, she told them the Clown powers had asked her to do this; she was willing to carry out all their directions. She was glad she had obeyed their other instructions and that all were willing to help her in every way. She had seen much game. She directed all the men to hunt, assuring them they would kill all the game they wanted. Every man went out to hunt. She held a Clown feast in her own camp and cooked the stick the leaves of which represented the game. Later, at a medicinemen's feast, a performer had a vision, but it was so indistinct that he could not interpret it. They invited the Clown woman. She donned a grass dress and a grass jacket, shook her rattle and sang. She had commanded that all the men sit quietly in their tipis, lest they confuse her powers. She told them that disaster would strike a neighboring camp and not theirs and bade them go to the assistance of the people in that camp. They got many scalps.

Years later the man whom she had treated and who she said would be a Clown came to her tipi. He told her he would give a Clown feast and asked her to assist him. She directed them to make her another grass skirt and jacket. As a head-covering she wore a cloth without eye-slits. She painted a nose and a mouth on the cloth. When she was ready to assist this man, she looked very formidable. When the preparations were completed, she threw the heart of the elk back over her head into the pot. In the same manner the man threw the tongue into the same pot. They added more water to the pots, then the meat, and then more water, so that it would be hotter. The man and the woman did

all this, but did not invite other Clowns. When the meat was cooked, they took turns in removing it and giving it to others.

She gave another Clown feast in her own camp. She made an eagle [? image] with leaves and put it among the other leaves in the pot. While she was singing at the feast, an old man danced. The next day his son killed an eagle. The old man must have seen the eagle made of leaves, though the others knew nothing about it. He had designated his son to kill the eagle. The others secured plenty of game. The woman announced that they would fight the Chippewa; the young man who had killed the eagle would kill a Chippewa. When they went out to fight, the young man who had killed the eagle killed a Chippewa and brought the scalp home. The father of the boy was much pleased; he had thought the boy was too young to kill a Chippewa and was more liable to be killed himself.

A long time later she gave another Clown feast. She bade her father stick red and white feathers into the ground. The red feathers represented bears to be killed by the participants after the feast; the white feathers represented all other game animals. One day some men from another camp came to her. A young man was sick and all the medicinemen had given up hope; they wished her to treat him. She treated him in the morning and again in the afternoon. Then she announced that if a severe thunder and hailstorm broke just before sunset, the man would live; if this did not happen, he would die. If it came, they should gather hailstones and feed them to the patient. It hailed, the father of the patient gathered hailstones; the sick man ate them. They asked her to treat the man a third time. She did so and announced that she was glad that he showed signs of improvement. She treated him a fourth time and announced that he would recover. She commanded him to hold a Clown feast for her a year from that time.

She went home. Her father asked her how she had progressed and she told him. She asked him to give a Clown feast for her. That night after the feast she dreamed that a large party of Chippewa were coming to fight them. The next morning she related her dream to her father; he invited the most influential men and when they had assembled announced her dream. She foretold that in two nights the Chippewa would come

to the camp and the Dakota must be ready to fight them. A man was sent through the camp to announce to all the people that the woman had predicted the Chippewa would come to the camp from the west and that all the men were to form a line to protect it. Every man able to handle a gun was ordered to be ready. On the second night the Chippewa tried to steal into the Dakota camp. Because they had two days' warning, the Dakota were prepared. The young man who had killed the eagle after the Clown dance was the first to kill a Chippewa. Not a single Dakota was killed. They placed the enemies' bodies together and asked the woman to remove the scalps. She said she had never taken part in a fight and that there were many braves in the camp who could handle scalps much better than she could. These braves, therefore, removed the scalps; because she had foretold the coming of the Chippewa, although no medicinemen knew of it, the people gave them to her. She thanked them, saying she was glad to have them.

One night in a dream a *wakan* Clown told her that people from another camp would come to her, because they could kill no game. A few days later a young man came and said he wanted her to go to his camp and ascertain the cause of the trouble. She went and told them to make her a dress of long grass. She asked some of the men to assist her to drive the spirit away. While she sang, they made the dress. She told them that someone had had fighting medicine in a foxskin bag, but had lost the medicine bag. The dogs had carried it away and women had walked over it. When she had ascertained this, she sang. A medicine Clown helped her. When everything was ready, all the Clowns assisted her in singing. She took a bow and arrow, made a grass fox and set it up facing east. She sang with the men and told them that when everything was ready one of them must shoot the image. She said the boy had missed and the fox had escaped them [meaning that the boy had killed the spirit of the fox and it had not escaped them]. Following this incident, all the men killed as much game as they wished. When she returned home, her father asked her why the people could not obtain game. She told him. Later in a dream she was warned that another man was coming from a different camp. He told her they could get no game. She said

she knew all this the night before and would accompany him. After the woman had done these things, they knew that she was one of the greatest medicinewomen of those days. She forecast future events; she treated people; she always discovered the source of their ailments, and foretold the day and time when the patient would recover.

[She told her father he was to give a Clown feast. As before, she cooked no food for the Clown feast, but boiled leaves. The hunters obtained power for the hunt. Later she cooked a deer and divined a fight with the Chippewa. At another time she participated in a Clown feast given by a man who had dreamed of a fight and gave the feast to ensure his safe return home. At this feast she demonstrated her power to take objects out of boiling water. She foretold that the giver of the feast would kill a Chippewa; on his next war expedition this prophecy was fulfilled. A young Dakota was abandoned as dead. His father was notified, in camp, and a party prepared to go out to get his body. The boy returned alive. He had died and been resuscitated by Bear who told him he had been given another chance to carry out the commands which he had received before birth. Later he became a medicineman. There was a scarcity of game, and the Clown woman divined at a feast that a woman had drowned her newborn child. She shot at the grass image of a boy which she had had set up, and again game was plentiful.]

She had a daughter. She had announced that she would give a Clown feast when the girl was old enough to run about. That time had now come. She invited all the men, and when they had built a tipi apart she sent some of them to hunt deer. When they had cut up the deer, the woman faced west and threw the tongue back over her head into the pot. She then threw the heart into the pot in the same manner. She looked fierce while she was holding this Clown feast.

Again the people found no game. The medicinewoman divined that one member of the camp was angry at another and had prayed to his powers to keep game away from the camp. She said that if she had the power she would chase the spirit which had been sent by the powers. At the Clown feast she had a grass man set up and she sang. She donned a grass dress

and sang again. A man gave the war whoop, in Clown fashion, struck the grass image, and knocked it over.¹ They faced west and sang. She told them everything was now all right and they might hunt at any time. The man represented by the grass image was one of the best medicinemen and an outstanding fighter. When the image was struck down, he admitted that he had a slight headache. Within four days one of the best medicinemen died.² On the day of the ceremony he had had only a slight headache. He had been using the white gull to keep the game away. When he died, the medicinewoman learned this in a dream.

Game was again plentiful. [Again the Clown woman gave a Clown feast of her own and divined another fight with the Chippewa. This time the scalp was obtained by the grandson of the man who had given the Clown feast described earlier; his grandfather had passed his power on to him.] The young man who had been resuscitated by Bear, while on the warpath, gave another Clown feast for the medicinewoman and later asked her to assist him in a Bear feast. When he had sung the songs after her, she told him he would be a medicineman. If a man fell sick, she advised the patient to call this young doctor. She assisted him and the patient was cured. [During another period of scarcity of game she divined at a Clown feast that the scarcity was caused by a hunter who was obligated to give a Hunting feast and had not done so. After the feast, she sent the Clowns to identify the offender, and instructed him to give a Clown feast for her. He protested that the people in the camp were starving and he had no provisions for a Clown feast. She instructed him to prepare the feast as the Clowns liked it: merely to set the pot over the fire and put water and sticks in it. When the water had boiled and everything was ready, she told them to arrange the ground for the feast and stick red and white feathers in the earth. The red feathers represented various kinds of game, the white feathers represented bears. She predicted that they would kill as many bears as there were white

¹ This is a contest between shamans. The narrator explained that if the guilty medicineman's powers had been greater than the woman's Clown power, the grass man which represented the medicineman would have remained standing.

² The grass man represented this shaman.

feathers and that there would be plenty of other game for everyone.

When she had finished singing, she told the man to kill a caribou and cook it for a Clown feast. The Clowns would be pleased to have it and would forgive him. He did this. Thereafter each man could kill all the game he wished. Two young men gave her a whole deer and held a Clown feast for her. They told her they had heard nothing from her lately and that they wanted to know whether she had learned anything more in her dreams. Later she gave a Clown feast and instructed everyone to remain quietly in his tipi while she divined. She foretold an attack by the Chippewa. The camp, therefore, was prepared, and the Dakota killed a Chippewa.]

During the ensuing Scalp dance she saw the spirit of a woman. After the dance she told her husband about her vision, saying it forecast the death of a woman. At the dance the people heard women's [spirit] voices weeping and begging someone not to do what she intended to do. They saw a woman who was angry at her husband and was standing on a limb near the top of a tree. A rope was tied around her neck and she was singing a song. All the spectators pleaded with her not to hang herself. Some young men started to climb the tree to cut the rope, but she jumped and was instantly strangled. After they had cut the body down and buried it, they asked her husband why she had hanged herself. He said she was angry, but he did not know the cause. They did not punish him. The Clown woman had known about this incident before it happened.

One day a man from another camp came to the Clown. He reported that a man was dying, because he had failed to carry out his orders. Accompanied by her husband, she went to this man's tipi, treated him, and told him his illness was caused by his leaving fighting medicine somewhere and that a woman had stepped over it. Unless the man who had prepared the medicine would make amends, the patient would die. They invited all the old men who made fighting medicine. The man who had made this medicine bag agreed to throw it away and get another, but he asked for a year's time. A year hence they were to prepare another medicine bag for him. They instructed the patient, should he recover, to tell his father to paint one cloth red and one with blue spots; to

get a stone and hang the cloths near it, tied to a long stick leaning westward; to fill his pipe as an offering to the Thunders and ask their forgiveness for discarding fighting medicine; to help him recover and give him another chance to live; another medicine bag for fighting would be made for him. The woman and old men planned this and instructed the patient. She was still treating him. When he could walk about he told his father he would take his fighting medicine away. His father went with him and they did as directed.

The next year they all assembled, made him a new fighting medicine [war bundle], and he recovered. One day the woman told her father she wanted to give a Clown feast. She told him to put water and a sharp stick with leaves on it into the pot. She did not hear the people say that when she made a Clown feast she cooked nothing. [She cooked food for a Clown feast only if the young men had given her meat to cook.] She told her father to invite the Clowns and direct them to prepare the ground; they were to indent it with their fingers and put a red or a white feather in each hole. When all the Clowns had assembled, she announced that she had seen the spirits of all the feathers which she had put down to represent bears and other game. She told all the men to hunt next morning, predicting that they would kill an eagle. She had seen the spirit of an eagle fall into the pot. The next morning they hunted. A man killed an eagle, as she had prophesied. Everybody was again well supplied with meat. The Clown woman announced that as long as no misfortune befell them they would get plenty of game. While she was talking to those who had come to her tipi, the man who had killed the eagle brought it in and put a feather from it on the stick in the pot. This pleased her very much; she told him that some day she would do him a favor.

Later she dreamed again and told her father to prepare another feast. She invited all of the Clowns explaining that, in a dream, she had seen all of them running about with their bows and arrows. They all agreed that this signified a fight in four days. They told all the young men to prepare. Those who used arrows were to have a good supply of them in fine condition and those who used guns were to have them ready. At the end of the fourth day, they told the young men which direction to take. They met

10 Chippewa and killed them. The man who had killed the eagle was the first to kill a Chippewa. The woman had adjusted his gun for him before he left and told him he would be the first to kill a Chippewa. This was in return for tying the feather to her stick.

The woman's husband had been in the battle and had killed a Chippewa. When they had all returned, she asked him whether he was glad or sorry that he had killed a Chippewa. She was glad he had done so. He said he was glad. She told him that if he was glad, he should hunt, kill a large moose, bring it home and cook all of it, so that there would be enough food for all the Clowns. The next day he hunted all day, but saw no game. When he was almost home, he saw a rabbit near his tipi. He killed it and decided to take it home for supper. When he arrived home, he told his wife that he had brought only a rabbit, that he had wanted some rabbit broth for a long time. He asked her to prepare the broth with the rabbit he had killed for him. She told him this was the big moose he was to get, and that she, too, wanted it. She admonished him to say nothing about rabbit broth, but to get the big pot, cut the rabbit up, put it in, fill the pot with water and place it over the fire. He did as she directed. When the rabbit was cooked, they invited all the Clowns and told them she had cooked for them and would be glad to have them come. She sang; her husband served the meat. They all drank some of the broth; it tasted like water. They cut the rabbit up, and, although more than 20 men partook of it, they all pretended to be surfeited. One man said he was eating a nice piece of meat but could not finish it, he was satiated. He said he was sorry but he could not eat any more. He asked the woman's husband to eat it for him. The latter agreed and the man passed the plate with only a tiny piece of bone and little more than a spoonful of broth. The man said this was the first time he had been compelled to get someone else to eat his portion of meat for him.

Later the Clown woman's father died. He was a very old man. She wept in the Clown manner, going about from place to place, singing. Sometimes she went around the entire camp, singing, and sometimes went to her father's body [grave?]. When she mourned, she sang but did not weep. When she was angry, instead of scolding she sang and danced, as though she were very happy. One day she told her husband

that she grieved over her father's death. She wished him to go hunting. She predicted that he would kill a young deer and she would cook all of it for her Clown friends. Next day he hunted, killed a young deer and brought it home. She cooked it and invited all the other Clowns. When they had come, she told them she was becoming too young, was moving about easily now, and wanted to cast off all her Clown habits and cease forever being a Clown, for she was tired of it all. In the middle of the following summer, she said she would make a Clown feast for them. All agreed to this.

In the meantime she gave some feasts. The next year, however, as summer approached, she told the Clowns that the time for her to give the big Clown feast was approaching. She said she wanted all who were able to come to be present; she wanted everybody who knew anything about the Clowns. When the time came, she told them to kill the largest deer they could find and cook it. They did as directed; she waited for the Clowns to come. All who knew about them came from various camps. No one was left in the other camps; they all came to witness her last performances. When everything was ready, all the Clowns assembled at the prepared site, drew a large circle and erected an enclosure about the dance ground to keep the spectators outside. It was a very large circle, for many Clowns were present. She had the meat cooked. She told her husband to make her a grass jacket and skirt to wear over her dress. When all the preparations were completed, she sang. When she began to sing, the Clowns emerged from the woods from every direction. Although the enclosure was large, it was crowded with Clowns. They had a big fire. When the Clown woman had finished her song, she took out the tongue of the deer, went westward and threw it to a young man there. She came back, took the heart, ran eastward and gave it to the men there. Then she made the broth so hot that the Clowns could not drink it. They dug up roots, chewed them, blew them into the pot. This always made it feel cool to the Clowns. Meanwhile, she faced westward, singing. All the Clowns tried to cool the broth by blowing medicine into it, but they were unsuccessful. She sang a few songs. When she had finished singing, a big thunderstorm approached. When it was about to pass over their heads, it divided and moved to either side. The other people thought it would rain. After sing-

ing, the Clown woman returned to see whether the pot was empty. All the Clowns were trying to remove pieces of meat, but could not do so. She blew medicine into the pot; all the Clowns ran to the pot, picked out meat, played with the broth, and splashed it on one another until the pot was emptied.

When they had finished, she removed her grass dress and told her husband to hide it where no one could get it. In the evening they all went to visit her to learn whether she had learned anything while they were dancing. She said that every moving thing on the earth had come to witness her last Clown feast. All the Thunders in the east and west had come. Everyone had agreed that she might stop now. She was getting old and could do as she pleased during the remainder of her life. She would die when she was very old, but no mishap would befall her. She told them that the Thunders had informed her that another group of people would come to see her; the Dakota must be ready to meet them when they arrived. They would not injure the Dakota, but would be beaten by them. She referred to the Chippewa. She announced this was her last Clown feast; she would give no more feasts. She wanted all the people to go out to meet the Chippewa. They were all willing, for she had said the Chippewa would not molest them.

The next day they departed. The first night they camped and sent two scouts forward to look for the Chippewa. Soon the scouts returned and reported a Chippewa camp nearby. Some of the people wanted to attack that night, but others preferred to wait for early morning before sunrise. Finally they all agreed to the latter proposal. At the approach of dawn the next morning, they attacked the Chippewa, killed all of them and took their scalps home. They held a big dance, at which the woman announced that, although she regretted to tell them, this would be her last dance. She asked them upon whom they would depend. All of the Dakota expressed regret that she would cease being a Clown; but she insisted that inasmuch as the Thunders permitted her to do so, she wanted to stop, and do as she pleased during the remainder of her life.

She lived to be a very old woman and died several years after her last Clown feast. The largest assemblage ever known among the Dakota gathered to hear her at her last feast. She

was greatly mourned for a long time by many people, for they did not forget her. For a long time they had a great deal of trouble and could get no game, or do as they wished. For many years they talked about her wonderful feats.

4. The Clowns told a certain woman that all the game on earth would belong to her if she would become a Clown. She became a Clown and obtained all the game they had promised her. If a man gave a feast for her, she could promise him any game she felt disposed to offer him. The Clowns learn what game she has promised and next day bring these animals to the young man to whom they were promised.

5. A certain girl, after growing up and learning to speak, talked like a boy. When she was small her parents tried to induce her to talk like a girl, but she always spoke like a boy. One day she told her father she wanted him to make her a little bow and arrow, so that she could shoot small birds and other animals. Later, when she was older and had learned to talk correctly, she told her father that she was frightened by every thunderstorm. He asked her whether she had dreamed of performing a special deed. She replied that she had not dreamed, but was always frightened. Another time, when alone with her mother, she told her that when her father came home that evening she would like to give a Clown feast. When he came home, the mother repeated what their daughter had said. She asked her father to sing the Clown songs. That night he sang them for her and had a little feast alone with the girl. Occasionally, after this, the girl asked him to sing Clown songs to her. She was a very good worker, one of the best sewers in her age group and even among the older women.

When she had grown to young womanhood, she married. One day all the young men went out to hunt. They brought back much game. Her husband, however, killed nothing. She watched him when he hunted and at last discovered that he was a poor hunter. When he returned from the hunt, she told him that all the other men were killing game and inquired why he was unsuccessful. She asked him to hand her the bag in which he carried his powder, shot, and gun caps. She decorated it with beadwork representing heads of various animals and returned

it to him, saying that he would be one of the best hunters in that camp. He went out to hunt, killed two deer and brought them home. Thereafter, he was a good hunter.

One day the woman told her husband to kill a deer, bring it home and she would give a Clown feast. He killed a deer, she cut it up, cooked it and asked her husband to fetch her father. He came and inquired why she invited him. She said she wanted him to sing for her Clown feast. When the preparations were made, she and her father began to sing their Clown songs. When they had finished, she told him that when she was a little girl a person had told her she must become a Clown and be a member of the Clown society. He told his daughter he was very glad to hear these things, provided they were true; that all the people would depend upon her. When she had finished singing, she asked her father to make her a rattle.

The next day, when they all had returned from the hunt, he went about and asked everyone for deer hoofs. When he had enough, he made a rattle and took it to his daughter. When she had prepared the feast and the rattle was ready, she invited all the Clowns. They came. Her father announced that ever since she was a small girl, his daughter had wanted to give a Clown feast. She had always talked in Clown fashion. He was glad she was not to be in their society. He asked all the Clowns to help her as much as possible. He said that she would try to do anything they wanted her to do. When they heard this, all the Clowns were much pleased and promised to help her in any way she might desire. After the feast, her father told her he was very glad she knew so much about the customs of Clowns, saying that she must never be ashamed of being a Clown. He told her this because some women had been ashamed to perform Clown feats and, as a result, had been killed by the Thunders.

Soon the people learned about this young woman and secured her services to treat the sick. A party of Dakota came from another camp in which all the men were good hunters and were killing plenty of game. One of these men was under obligation to make an offering to Stone, but had not done so. Consequently, the other men in the camp killed no game. The only person in the camp who could get any game was the husband of the young woman.

One day a Clown gave a feast and invited all

the Clowns and this woman. When they were singing, the man who was giving the feast asked another man to lead the singing. When they had finished singing, the leader asked them all whether anyone while singing had discovered why they could not kill game. Each one said he had not learned the reason. The woman said nothing; she was a new member; she did not wish to imitate those who want to run everything when they enter a society. Although she said nothing, when she went home she told her father all about it.

One man knew the cause of the difficulty. The others told him they wanted him to drive the spirit away. He said he was willing to try. The girl's father announced what she had told him. He brought her to the assembled men and asked her to help the man who was trying to drive the spirit away. They learned that a man who had fighting medicine had made a foxskin bag and hung it outside his tipi; the dogs had knocked it down and torn it to pieces. He knew what had happened to the medicine bag and had thought of making an offering to Stone in recompense, but had neglected to do so. The spirit of the fox had visited the camp and had done something to all the hunting medicine, so that none of the men could secure game. When they had prepared everything, they induced the woman to lead the singing and persuaded the man to sing when she had finished. They made a long bow and an arrow for her and a warclub painted gray for the man. They drew the outline of a thunderbird and made one out of grass; they also made a fox out of grass and placed it in the path. Then they sang. All the Clowns gathered to participate in the ceremony and encircled these two figures. When everything was ready and all the Clowns were participating, the woman shot the image of a fox and set fire to it. Then the man knocked the thunderbird from where it hung and set fire to it. All the other Clowns ran about, saying they had missed the images. They shot guns at these two images until the fire was burned out. When they all had ceased running about, the woman announced that she was sure they had driven away the spirit which had been keeping the game away. Now all could secure game.

They were pleased and moved to another place to hunt. The first day after they had moved the camp, they killed plenty of game. In the evening a man came to the young woman

and invited her to a Clown feast which he had prepared. He wanted her to take part in it and sing. She invited her father to accompany her and assist with the singing. When they arrived, they told the man to invite the other Clowns; they wanted everyone to be present and to take part in the feast. All the men continued to kill plenty of game every day.

One day a message came from another camp asking for help; they were preparing to fight the Chippewa. All the men assembled and started for that camp. The woman told her husband to join the war party. She said that only one Chippewa would fight and her husband would kill him. She instructed him to carry a small bag for powder and some leather thongs for transporting game, for on the way home he would kill game. He believed her and accompanied them. A few days later the war party returned, singing. The woman's husband carried a scalp and walked in advance of the party. The relatives of the young man were much pleased by his deeds and were glad to see him carrying the scalp. That night they held a big dance.

A few days later the woman told them to hunt buffaloes. If her husband killed a buffalo, she would celebrate the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. He killed a buffalo. She asked her father to have it ready next morning, for she wanted to give the *wAzA'pi*. They sang throughout the night. Early next morning they all assembled. When everything was ready, she told them to get the heart for her. When they had it and were singing, she threw it back over her head into the pot and did the same with the tongue. She then went into the tipi and sat at the back until they informed her that the preparations were completed. She sang, then went out. A thunderstorm was approaching. She said that the thunderstorm would kill her if she failed to hold a Clown feast; she was not afraid of losing her life, for she was not giving a Clown feast.

When everything was prepared, she began to sing. Clowns ran from every direction and approached the pot closer and closer. She took out the heart, ran westward with it and gave it to some young men bystanders. She ran back and took the tongue out. The other Clowns then removed the meat and played with the broth until none was left. She then announced that the Clown feast was concluded; she had been worried about it and was very glad she had finished it without any trouble. They were all glad that

she had finished the Clown feast. She announced that two days hence they would hunt and kill many buffaloes, for a large herd was approaching. Some men left the camp before sunrise. She told her father she dreamed about many people crying and that she surmised an accident would befall one of the men who were to hunt buffaloes; she warned all of them to be very careful while pursuing them. As they talked, a man went about announcing that he had seen a young man running toward camp; this was a definite sign that the party had sighted buffaloes. All the men started out to see whether there were buffaloes. After they had sighted and were chasing the buffaloes, one man could not check his horse, which ran in among the herd. The horse stumbled and broke its neck; the rider was thrown among the buffaloes and was gored to death by one of them. Following this incident, the woman told them this was the accident she had foretold. Subsequently, the people talked a great deal about this woman. She had discovered that the spirit was keeping the game away; she had learned about the fight and knew that her husband would kill a Chippewa; and, finally, that one of the men would be killed in the buffalo hunt.

After this hunt they received word that a man in another camp wished to celebrate the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* and desired all the Clowns to attend. Accordingly, all of them went to that camp. When the meat was cooked and everything was ready, the Clown woman went to the site of the ceremony. She told her husband to stand at the west end; she would bring him the first meat which she secured; he must eat it alone. When all had gathered, one man took some meat, went westward with it and gave it to a man there. As he was going eastward with another piece, the woman took some to her husband and admonished him to eat it alone and to give none of it to anyone. All the Clowns played with the broth, but they seemed to be afraid of this young woman. She looked very fiercely at every *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. They all wished to play with the broth or drink it, but were afraid to approach while she was close to the pot. When she learned that they were afraid of her, she drank some broth and then chased the Clowns with a pot of it. At every opportunity she splashed it over them, until none was left, and the Clown feast was finished.

Some time after this a boy was born to her.

She was very fond of him and predicted that he would live to be a very old man. She made him a cap and sewed the ears of two animals to it. He wore it constantly, until it was too small for him. Many other people observed signs in him that he would be a Clown. Everybody liked him. His mother, too, was always friendly with everyone, and was not proud, as are some medicinewomen. One day she heard that a man planned to go out to fight and wished to give a *wAza'pi*. When he had everything ready and the time had come, he prepared the tipi and the pots. All the Clowns except this young woman were present. He sent for her and told her he wished her to participate. All the Clowns who had feared her previously were again frightened when they learned that she would join them. However, they were under obligations to take part in the feast. As before, she told her husband to stand at the west; she would take to him the first piece of meat which she obtained. When the man came out and started to sing, all the Clowns also came out and began running about as they had always done previously. When they were close to the pots, they started to dig up medicine and blow it into them. When they had done this, the leader took out a piece of meat. Before he had gotten his piece, the woman had taken out a piece, walked towards the west and given it to her husband. She told him to eat it alone and give none of it to anyone. This time she did not intend to treat the men as she had before, when she was only testing them to discover the limits of their power. Now she permitted them to have everything their own way. She was carrying a bow and arrows which she had made. After the feast she told her husband to take care of the bow and arrow and take them with him when he went out to fight; after the fight she instructed him to hang them on a tree. When the time came, her husband sent an old man to announce that he was ready to go out on the warpath and that he wished all who were willing to accompany him to prepare; they would start at once.

The woman's husband took the bow and arrow that she had made for him. She told him to be very careful of them and not lay them down anywhere. She said he would kill a Chippewa with a gun and would strike a Chippewa with the bow she had made. The men departed. The leader announced that the Clown powers had told him he would kill an elk during the first

day, at the first big thicket they reached. When they arrived at the woods, he asked the men to disperse while they went through them, so that they might secure the elk. He hoped they could keep the meat and that it would suffice for the entire journey. They spread out through the woods, killed a big elk, dried the meat and packed it for the journey. They started with plenty of meat for supper. The man did not sing on the first night. They departed early next morning and traveled all day. They held a big feast on the second night. The leader sang. When he had sung, he told them that no one should try to precede the others, and no one should shoot on the following day. He said they might meet the Chippewa at any time; therefore, the party should not scatter.

On the third day they traveled until noon. The leader then delegated two of his best men to go ahead and reconnoiter. They returned and reported that they had seen some Chippewa and many tipis. When they were about to advance, two of the men wanted to reconnoiter to examine the terrain and ascertain the best place for an attack. They departed without the permission of the leader. When they approached, the Chippewa saw them, though they did not see the other two scouts. When the Chippewa were about to retreat, the Dakota rushed at them. One killed a Chippewa with a gun, and the man with the bow and arrow struck a Chippewa with his bow [to count coup]. The Chippewa who had escaped were now some distance away. The man with the bow and arrow halted his horse, aimed carefully and killed the hindmost Chippewa, bringing up the rear. These were the two the Clown had mentioned before he departed. They brought home only two scalps. The man told his wife that everything had happened precisely as she had foretold. She was very glad to hear him say this.

She told her husband that all the men who remained in camp while this last party had been hunting would hunt the next day; and they wished him to join them. She said that if he killed a buffalo on this hunt, she would give a Clown feast. Next morning the party left. Her husband went with them and killed a buffalo. He brought it home, cut it up and prepared it for the feast. When everything was ready, she told her husband she would begin the Clown feast. She held the rattle that her father had made for her, and at first sang alone.

After this feast she did nothing more until late in the fall, when they were ready to return to the woods. [In those days the Dakota lived during the summer on the open prairie; in the fall they searched for a suitable place in which to spend the winter in the woods.] She then told her father she had heard that everyone had been mocking her boy for wearing his cap. She wanted to do something to see whether they would laugh at him again. She then asked him to go out to hunt and kill a deer. When the people were about to move into the woods, her father killed a deer. That night she gave a Clown feast and invited all the Clowns and the other men. She told them she had heard that all of the men had been laughing at her son and his cap. She said she would put the cap on him and he would wear it four days; that while he was wearing it, all the men should hunt; at the end of that period she would remove it; she wished to see whether anyone killed game after the cap was taken off. During these four days each man killed plenty of game. Their young sons carried it home. Most of them also killed bears. At the end of these four days, they were all well supplied with game. She then went to her father's tipi and told him this was all she could do; she had now taken the cap off the boy to see whether they could still get game after having made fun of him for wearing it. Nothing happened for several weeks. Finally, they ate all the meat which they had saved.

A man then held the Clown feast and invited the Clown woman. She went with her father. The man told her that he was giving the Clown feast to ascertain whether she could assist them. They had had plenty of meat and now had no more. They depended solely upon her to help them. The people had asked him to give this feast and to invite her to see what she could do for them. [Whenever they held such a feast they cooked merely enough for the person invited; when they cooked a great deal, they invited all the Clowns.] She sang, then said she would again give them four days to hunt. They were to begin the hunt the next day. They all killed plenty of game for four days. After this period each man would depend upon himself to get game and must do the best he could for himself.

The men tried to get game, but there was none. Soon all the food they had accumulated was consumed; they were in despair. One morn-

ing she told her father she had seen the spirit which was keeping the game away. Every time the men hunted it came from the camp in which they had lived before they went into the woods. She told them that if they would pay her to drive the spirit away, she would try. They all agreed. She told them that the spirit was that of a man who had transformed his head into that of a red fox. She said that this person had more power than anything on earth; she was afraid to attack the spirit, but would take the risk. For this reason she wanted them to pay her for her attempt. When they had discussed the matter, she told them they would begin early next morning, before they did anything else and try to drive the spirit away. The next day she instructed them to make an image of a man out of long grass. When everything was ready, she made a bow and arrow for herself, and went about the camp, singing. She asked the other Clowns to assist, for she said the power of this spirit exceeded her own and she needed their help. They all made ready and went with her. She was the leader. The other Clowns followed her. They circled the camp several times, then went to the place on the path where they had set the image. When they all had circled it, she shot the arrow through it. She then ran away. The other Clowns remained and fired at the image with guns. She then told them that the person symbolized by this image was still living; they had driven his spirit out and he would die. She told them they might go out to hunt, as usual.

Soon afterward they heard that a man in another camp was dead. He had been jealous of the Clown woman because the people were asking her to help them. He took this method of preventing them from getting game and hoped that some of the people would starve. He did not know that her power was greater than his. He was killed. This ended his evil deeds.

All the young men teased the little boy about his cap, telling him that when they went to hunt they killed nothing. This made the Clown woman very angry. She told them that if they teased her boy and made him angry, there would come a day when they would have no meat and no success in hunting. They continued to tease him. One day they went to hunt and killed no game. The young men then agreed among themselves that they should not have teased the little boy about his cap. They now

knew that they must give a feast, invite the woman to it, and beg her forgiveness for having teased her son; they would tell her that they had done it only in fun. They held the feast and invited the woman. She came and announced that she had told them not to tease her boy about his cap; they had disregarded her warning and had continued to worry him. Now that they could kill no game, she did not want them to ask her for assistance to bring back their luck in hunting. While she was singing at this Clown feast she told them that this time she would not specify the number of days, but they all might hunt at any time and procure game. She told the leader of the Clown feast that he and his brothers would kill an eagle which would belong to him, his brothers, and his cousins. The next day they hunted and killed an eagle. They divided its feathers among themselves. After this they hunted every day.

One morning she told her husband that she had had a dream; she would not describe it yet, for she did not quite understand it. The next morning she told her husband she had had another dream. She had dreamed that while the men were hunting, one of them was badly cut by a bear. He was to have made a Bear feast, but had waited too long, and the bears had done this in revenge. She would say no more about it until later, when he himself learned about it.

While the men hunted, one of them shot a bear. The animal attacked him. He fell and the bear tore his leg almost off. His companions brought him home and discussed how to treat the torn leg. They invited the medicinemen to treat the victim and asked the Clown woman to help. When she had treated him, she told him that he was to have given a Bear feast but had postponed it too long. The bear would do no further harm this time; but if the feast were postponed again, the bear would attack him in the woods and mangle him again. The man confessed that a few weeks before he had thought of giving a Bear feast, but had postponed it. He thought no one had heard him plan it and he assumed that nothing like this would happen. She said she wanted him to try the medicine for four days. If by the fourth day it did not benefit him, she directed him to send for someone else. She went out and brought in a piece of earth in which a weed was growing. She cut this up with a knife and mixed it with earth and

water, as a bird makes a nest. She rubbed this medicine over the sore, covered it with some big leaves and tied them with long grass. After she left, the man said he felt no more pain than before she had applied the medicine. Next morning they went for her and told her that the man said he had not felt any pain and wanted her to apply the medicine again. She treated him as before. During her third visit to the patient she observed that the wound was healing. On the fourth day it was further improved. On the fifth day, when she removed the medicine and washed the wound, she found it entirely healed. She now told the man to give a Bear feast before he suffered a more serious injury. She told him to go out to hunt. He walked as though he had no pain at all. He hunted with another man. While they were hunting, he told his companion that he had never seen another woman like her, and was very thankful for her assistance. When he had brought the game home he made a Bear feast, as she had instructed him. She did not attend this feast; but when it was over, he gave a Clown feast for her. She told him to invite the other Clowns, for she wished them to participate. He did so. After the feast he announced that she was much pleased and was grateful for the Clown feast he held for her. She said she was always pleased when this was done for her. She directed him to hunt the next day, when he would kill an eagle, the only game he would get. She promised him that in the first fight in which he participated after returning from the hunt, he would kill a Chippewa. After she cured him, she assured him that he would have no more trouble.

She returned to her tipi and learned that another man had come for her and wanted her to come to his tipi. He had made a Clown feast for her. She went. He told her that he could get no game and asked her whether she knew the reason for this. He wanted her to discover the source of the trouble. She sang, then asked him whether he had any of the weed which the Clowns use in making a smudge. He said he had none, but would get some from his parents. She said he did not need it then, but told him to make a smudge and hold his gun over it. She directed him to leave the gun upside-down during the night and next morning hold it over the smudge again. She said his wife had been meddling with his gun in his absence, but if he did as she directed, all would be well, and he would

get game as usual. Thus she restored another man to hunting trim.

During the remainder of the winter she did nothing unusual. Occasionally they held a Clown feast to which she was invited. Once she herself gave a Clown feast. When she sang at these feasts, she learned nothing. One morning she told her father she had seen something at night. She had seen all the Clowns running about; some with bows, arrows, and weeds; some with only bows and arrows. She had seen something strange. Her father said this was worth announcing. He asked an old man to go about and announce it. She agreed that it might be well to do so, but would ponder the matter. It might be a sign that the Chippewa would attack them. Accordingly, the old man went about and told all the men to have plenty of bullets, repair any guns that needed it, and have everything in readiness should there be need at any time. They all prepared for trouble. Later, when her husband went out to hunt, she told him not to go far, for two women would be killed while he was hunting. She told him to go in a different direction from that in which he had started. He and some other men hunted; some stayed in camp. The two parties alternated each day.

She warned her husband that the trouble would happen that day; that he should not travel any great distance even if he saw no tracks and killed no game. She told him that if anything untoward happened, a man would fire a gun to warn the hunters to return to camp. Her husband had not been away from camp long when he heard the report of a gun from the camp. He ran toward it. When he arrived he found great excitement. His wife told him the Chippewa had killed two women who were far out in the woods and all the men of the camp had gone to kill the Chippewa. She feared that if there were many Chippewa they might kill all of the Dakota. He followed the others. When the men returned from the hunt, she repeated her instructions to each and sent them out to help find the Chippewa. When her husband overtook the war party, they told him they had found the Chippewa trail into the woods. They had searched for other tracks, but inasmuch as they found no others, they thought all the Chippewa were in the woods. The area covered with trees was not very large. They decided to disperse in thin ranks and go through it. They did

so and found the Chippewa. The woman's husband shot a Chippewa and the man who had recovered from the sore leg killed another. That was what she had promised would happen after he had recovered.

They all returned to camp. They brought three scalps. One Chippewa escaped. They held a big dance, invited the woman and told her they wanted her to take charge of the scalps. She said she would never have anything to do with scalps. She thought the medicinemen and the fighters should take care of the scalps. They did not insist, and a man looked after the scalps. She held a Clown dance for herself while they were having the War dance. They all laughed at her, but she danced, disregarding the mockery.

After this dance a man said it was warm enough for them to camp in the open and have a change of meat diet. He said he would like to hunt a certain number of days and then they would move out on to the open prairie. They all agreed.

Four young men held a Clown feast for her, invited her and asked her to bring her little boy. She went, taking the boy with her. She told him to wear the cap which she had made for him. The young men told her they had held the feast for the boy and wanted him to grant them all the game they could get when they went out to hunt. [They meant that they had made it for the woman, but they were reluctant to say so, and instead referred to the little boy.] When they had told her this, she sat quietly for a while. Her father told her to do what these men asked of her, for they could depend upon no one but herself. Finally, she told one of the young men to invite all the Clowns, for she wished all of them to take part in the feast. All the Clowns came and sang together. After the feast she told them she would allot them 10 days of hunting. She predicted that they would kill five big bears during this interval; thereafter, they would kill no bears. She warned them that each man must be very careful and watchful, for during the hunt there would be great excitement. It would occur during the 10 days in which they were hunting buffaloes, but she did not know which specific day. Something would happen and they must be very careful.

On the first day they killed five bears and as much of other game as they could carry. That night the people held many feasts. The second

day they all hunted and again killed plenty of game. On both of these mornings her husband took the little boy into the middle of the camp and made the fire. During the third morning they all again killed much game. On the fourth morning she told her husband to paint the boy's face gray, paint a line of red about his mouth, and do the same to himself. She thought that the event predicted would occur during the 10 days after they had done this. The man painted himself and the boy as she directed. Then he went to the middle of the camp to make the fire. They all were surprised to see how the man and his son were painted, but he did not mention the matter to anyone. After the fire was made, he sent the boy home. They hunted. They went in the same direction and to the same place they had gone the preceding day. There they encountered a Chippewa camp. The Chippewa did not have a very efficient medicineman or leader to forecast coming events; otherwise they would have known that they were near the camp of the Dakota. The Dakota did not hunt, but fought. They killed all except five of the Chippewa, who escaped. They returned home with more scalps than game. After this battle, during the last six days, all of the men went to hunt early in the morning, came home early in the afternoon, and held a feast and a dance at night. When the 10 days had passed, they moved out to the open prairie, for a change, and to hunt buffaloes. They were very glad to be in the open.

One morning the woman went to her father's tipi and told him she had had a dream which foretold that a man would be killed during either the first or the second thunderstorm. She said she did not know why the Thunders would kill him. Her father felt badly about it, but she told him it was not she who would be killed; she had been warned because the victim was a member of the camp. During the first thunderstorm nothing untoward happened, but the lightning came close to the camp, as though to warn a certain man to learn what to do. However, he said nothing. A few weeks later, as a thunderstorm was approaching, the woman went to her father and told him she had seen the spirit of the man among the clouds. The Thunders were whirling him about and yelling. The Thunders grasped him and whirled him about as though they were playing with him. She was now sure that he would be killed. Her father filled a pipe and prayed to the Thunders to do

them no harm and to pass quietly over their tipis. They heard people crying at the western end of the camp, and when the lightning struck the ground they heard them wail. After the storm they learned that a man had been killed at the western end of the camp. Everyone felt sorry for him. His parents said he had been talking of doing something when the *wi'tcapetcA* [a species of grass] was ripe. [About the middle of August.] The people held a Clown feast for the woman and asked her to discover why the Thunders had done this. She learned that the man should have carried out his instructions the previous autumn, and it was now early spring in the following year. He had been too dilatory; the Thunders would not countenance further delay. His parents grieved over the death of their son.

After this young man had asked the woman for a certain number of days in which to hunt, held the feast for her and asked her to assist them in procuring game, she allotted 10 days for hunting. The *wakan* Clowns knew that these things troubled the boy. Moreover, when she contemplated stopping the game, they knew what she intended to do but, before she had expressed her wish, they stopped the game. Until she asked the Clowns to allow the men to kill game, the hunters could procure none, for the Clowns were aware that she wished it stopped. When, therefore, she told the men they might hunt and procure all the game they wished, it was not she but the Clowns who assigned the number of days. They told her that if, in accordance with her wish, they should give these people 10 days in which to hunt, she must perform a certain deed for them. She agreed, and they allowed the people 10 days to hunt. The people thought she was bestowing this of her own power, for they did not hear the Clowns talking to her during the feast. Later she announced that she had not allotted these 10 days for hunting of her own power; they were conferred by the Clowns. In return for the privilege she announced that she would give a *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* for them about the middle of the summer. They were all willing to assist her in preparing the Clown feast. When the time for it arrived, she told her father that each man who helped must contribute the tongue of an animal. Her father announced this. All the men who were to assist in giving the feast went out to hunt. That night each man

contributed the tongue of an animal. Next morning they prepared everything for her. She and the Clowns then prepared themselves.

From every point around the camp a Clown could be seen peeping out. No sooner had she begun to sing, than they were everywhere about the camp. While she sang, she moved about among the pots; the other Clowns appeared to be afraid to approach them. They were using very large pots, each containing a few tongues, but mainly water. She took a tongue out of a vessel, went westward with it, gave it to her husband and told him to share it only with his little boy. She returned to the pot, removed another tongue, went eastward with it and gave it to her father, who was sitting there, observing the proceedings. When she returned to the pots, they were empty. Each Clown who could procure a tongue had done so, and the others had sprinkled the broth over one another. They had not waited for her to return, for they were afraid of her, and wished to empty the pots before she returned. She bade her father announce that while she was singing she had seen something; every man must prepare to fight; she had seen Chippewa who were coming to fight. She told them where to go. All prepared their guns and went in the direction indicated. A few of the Dakota who were reconnoitering saw the Chippewa approach through the woods. A man returned to camp to inform the others of their approach; the remainder of the party remained stationed there. Men from the camp approached the Chippewa from the rear and ambushed them. The Chippewa attempted to break through and escape, but were confronted by a wide and deep lake. The Dakota approached along its shore. Some of the Chippewa sought to escape by diving; but as soon as they rose to the surface, they were shot by the Dakota. Not one escaped. Those who were not shot were drowned.

Later a young man, the only son of an old man in the camp, went hunting with a companion and was shot. He was severely wounded. His companion brought him back to camp. The wounded lad's father went to the Clown woman and asked her to come to his tipi and treat the boy whom he could not consent to lose. He asked her to do everything possible to restore him to health. She said that if her treatment did not restore him, his father need pay her nothing. As previously, she took weeds and earth to

the tipi. After treating him she stated that she would apply this medicine to his wound four times. She put the medicine on his wound, returned the next morning, and again placed it there. After the third treatment she told him he was now better, and she knew he would recover without much difficulty. She said she would apply the medicine for the last time. She gave him the last treatment. On the fifth morning she went to the lad's father and told him that his son was now healed and could go out to fight, hunt, or ride on horseback; he would feel no pain. If he appeared to be sick, that was because he had been lying quiet a long while; he was now completely cured.

When she was taking leave, the man presented her with one of his best horses, in payment for curing his son. He was very grateful for what she had done for him. After she had taken the horse to her tipi, the man asked his son whether he felt better. The lad declared he felt no pain, there was nothing wrong with him, and he asked to have his horse saddled, for he wanted to hunt. He hunted all day, and brought home a deer, which he skinned and cut up. With this he gave a Clown feast to which he invited the woman and all the other Clowns. She announced to the other Clowns that this young man had been wounded and was about to die; she had been invited to cure him; his recovery was due to the Clown medicine which she had used. For this reason he had prepared the Clown feast for her and she had asked him to invite all of the other Clowns. He had given the Clown feast as a thank offering to all of the other Clowns. She said she was very grateful for the Clown feast made for her and was glad the other Clowns had been invited to it.

Nothing of importance happened until a few days later when news came that a man in a camp not far distant would give the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* and invite all the Clowns in that camp to attend. A great many Clowns attended this feast, but she was the only woman. None of the men equaled her in power; all were afraid of her. Each Clown knew very well that he did not have as much power as she; in fact, their combined power was not as great as hers. When the leader began to sing, the Clowns approached from every direction. They dug up roots and threw them into the pot. She was the last to do this. The leader was burned when he took out his piece of meat and the other Clowns could

not endure the hot broth. She stood some distance from them, looking away from them. When she discovered their inability to cope with the meat and the broth, she cried [laughed], took out her piece of meat, and then the others removed theirs. A Clown gave his piece to a young man standing nearby. [A sign that the recipient will kill a Chippewa in the next fight.]

Later, it was decided to move the camp to another place where buffalo hunting would be better. Accordingly, they moved the camp to the northwest. Thereafter, the wind blew from the southeast. The buffaloes could smell the old camp, for the wind was blowing from that direction; at the new camp they could not get buffaloes. A man who was tired of moving about asked the others to assemble food in the middle of the camp; they would ask the Clowns to discover why they could not kill buffaloes. They all agreed to this. Everyone cooked some meat. When all the preparations were completed, the man invited all of the Clowns. They came and sat in a circle. The man filled a long pipe and handed it around the circle to each of the Clowns. When they had all smoked it, he asked them whether they could discover why the buffaloes stayed away and the people could not kill any game. Something, he asserted, must be wrong; otherwise all the buffaloes would not remain away.

The woman asked him whether he wished this done immediately or would wait until the following day. He said he would like to have it done at once. She told the Clowns they must attack whatever was keeping the game away. She and the other Clowns put on their costumes. When all was ready, she led the singing, in which the other Clowns joined. They marched twice around the entire camp. When the song was finished, she declared she had seen the spirit of the dead. They must procure long grass, make an image of the dead man and set it up in the path they had traversed. This was made and placed in the designated path. She walked around the image, gradually moving closer to it. She carried a gun. When she was near the image, she shot it. The other Clowns followed her example. The image caught fire. She then declared they had driven the spirit away and it would not return. Now they might hunt buffaloes and kill as many as they wished. They hunted the following day. The wind had shifted to the opposite quarter and the buffaloes were

approaching. When the people saw the herd approaching, they were much pleased; they were beside themselves with joy. They surrounded the buffaloes, chased them, and killed them all. Before they had arrived at the camp with this game they saw another herd approaching. During the day they killed two herds of buffaloes. That night they were all very grateful; they visited and talked about the hunt and the woman who had procured the buffaloes for them. They declared they had never before known a woman who possessed as much power; she was as powerful as any man; indeed, when men Clowns were assembled, one might hear them disputing which had the greater power; but when she was present, there was no such discussion; all acknowledged her superiority.

Every day after this, each one in camp obtained plenty of buffaloes. During this successful hunting season there was a mild thunderstorm every night. The woman told her father that during every thunderstorm the Thunders were observing the same tipi. She assumed an occupant of that tipi had intended to do a certain thing but had failed to do so, and the Thunders were trying to ascertain whether he was preparing to do it. During the last thunderstorm the Clown woman saw the Thunders trying to take a man; during the next storm, they probably would kill him. Her father went about the camp, related his daughter's dream and warned the people that whoever had been thinking of performing a feat and had failed must publicly declare it, and everyone would willingly assist him.

A man announced that during the winter while he was hunting and was unable to procure game, he had seen a stone in the bush, filled a pipe, and prayed to the stone to assist him in killing game, promising that, if he procured it easily, he would, when summer came, celebrate the *hey'oka wAzA'pi*. He had thought the Thunders would appear to him in a dream and announce the time for performing it. A man asked him whether before his birth the Thunders had given him any instructions. He said he could remember nothing about them. The people assured him the Thunders would tell him nothing, but that he should prepare the feast when the time came for it; it is only when the Thunders instruct an individual to do something that they inform him later in a dream that the appointed time has arrived. The Thunders

do not do this when a person has volunteered something. He said he would do on the following day what he had agreed to do.

When she heard this, the Clown woman bade her father tell the man that the Thunders were coming that night for the last time and would kill the man if he did not fulfil his promise before night. Her father repeated her message to him and added an exhortation that he carry out his instructions before night. They erected a tipi, arranged the interior, made the drum, and informed the man who was going to perform the Clown dance that he should prepare and paint himself, and begin the dance. Several men came and sang for him. Several Clowns helped him with the dance.

The thunderstorm approached no closer, but they could hear the mutterings of the thunder. The woman said this thunderstorm would not come closer. They danced and sang all night, but cooked nothing. Early the next morning a young man came and cooked for the man who gave the usual Clown feast. While others attended to the cooking, the Clowns were out in the woods and could be observed peeping from every direction. First one, then another, and another would be seen, until they appeared from every quarter. When everything was ready, the man sang, and all the Clowns came out. He announced that there were three pieces of meat; whoever obtained one of these would kill a Chippewa the first time he went out to fight; he would not say where the pieces of meat were or who would procure them; this they must ascertain for themselves. The woman bade her husband stand at the east; she said she would pick out a piece of meat and give it to him. The Clowns gathered around. The man took out a piece of meat and the Clowns gathered about the pots. He ran westward with it. The woman then took out a piece, went eastward with it, and gave it to her husband. Again she bade him share it only with their little boy. She then returned to the pots. However, before she returned, no broth was left. All the Clowns were afraid of her, for when she had access to the soup they could not get near the pots.

After the feast she announced that the man's forecast was correct; perhaps it would not be fulfilled as soon as the feast was over, but nevertheless it would be fulfilled. She walked away with her husband, washed off the paint and put on her ordinary clothes. She had told her hus-

band that he would kill a Chippewa in the first fight in which he participated. The leader of the feast gave his brother a bow and arrow, bade him put them where no one could touch them, take them with him on his first fight, and he would kill a Chippewa. He bade his youngest brother take care of the bow and arrow. When the camp had become quiet, the man dreamed that the Chippewa were coming; that all the men should be ready, with guns cleaned, and start early in the morning, so that they would intercept the Chippewa before they came to the camp. They all prepared their guns immediately. Before sunrise the following morning they departed. Late in the afternoon they met the Chippewa. The woman's husband was the first to kill a Chippewa. The brother who had the bow and arrow killed a Chippewa a long distance away, and the other brother counted coup on him. They brought the scalps to the camp and gave them to an old fighter and medicineman to repair. When the scalps had been arranged on hoops, the people danced.

The following day they hunted buffaloes, returned in the afternoon, and danced until late at night. They danced and hunted every day. A man gave a Clown feast and induced the woman to take the leading part. They invited the other Clowns. When all had arrived, she sang. After the feast they asked her whether she had seen something. She replied in the negative, but added that perhaps some of the other Clowns had seen something. They declared that they had seen nothing of importance. They were all glad to hear this, for it indicated that there would be no trouble in the near future.

It was almost autumn; everyone was beginning to save buffalo meat. When all the necessary meat was stored, an old man announced that the time had come to move into the woods and build warm tipis for the winter. Besides, it would be nice to have a change in the meat diet. Buffalo hunting was growing tiresome. They were all eager to move into the woods where they could hunt deer. They prepared to move. Two old Clowns passed around the camp to announce this to the people. They agreed to divide into two parties while in the woods and meet at one tipi for the discussion of important matters. The Clown woman's party took this tipi with them; the other party had no corresponding tipi. After settling in the woods, they contemplated building such a tipi for this old

man. A man circulated through the camp recommending that they have a *tiotipi*. He insisted that they could not get along without one, that if they had one, each young man could take care of himself, for he would always know what would happen. He invited all the men to come to his tipi. They all went to hear his proposal. One day the woman's father announced that they were not killing much game. He said he would give a Clown feast. He invited his daughter to his tipi and so informed her. She bade him arrange the ground for the feast, draw a circle, and place white and red feathers here and there in it. The white feathers would symbolize bears; the others, other game. She told him to invite the other Clowns. He did so. She reported to them what she and her father had said to each other, adding that the white feathers signified bears. She predicted that they would kill as many bears as were represented by the white feathers; the red feathers symbolized other game. She said she wished all of them to assist her in the singing; she was always ready to help them. She would like others to show a similar willingness, so that the people would not continually ask her to help them. She added that they seemed to know nothing and to do nothing to assist the people. They replied that they would help her to their utmost; that she appeared to have more power than they; and consequently, they, like the others, were dependent on her. She said that her father was giving the feast and had asked her to do this. She was as willing to assist anyone else as to help him. After the singing and the end of the feast she announced that they should hunt, and said they would get all the bear and all the game she had promised.

The people were glad to hear her say this. Some of the men were so anxious to go on the bear hunt that they scarcely slept that night. It was the most exciting and welcome hunt they could remember. They all obtained many bears and other game. In the evening the woman went to her father's tipi to ask him how long he wished the hunt to continue. He declared he was an old man and unable to do much hunting, but was fond of bear meat and would like the hunt to continue for 10 days. She agreed to this request. When the news spread, they were pleased to know that they would have so many days to hunt.

They all seemed to be good hunters. At noon

they returned to camp. In the afternoon, fathers, wives, and young brothers went with the hunters to carry home the game they had left in the woods in the morning, because they were unable to bring all of it with them. An old man went around the camp and exhorted them to save as much meat as possible, for the coming winter would be a severe one and game would be difficult to procure. They saved the meat, dried it and packed it away.

One night a man gave a Clown feast to which he invited all the Clowns. After the feast the woman declared she had seen nothing and discovered nothing. The good hunting would continue. Four men came from the other camp to learn how these people were progressing. When they learned that the people were hunting successfully all the time, they were loath to return to their own camp and remained there several days. Later, when the rest of the people from that camp learned of their success, they joined this camp.

Two young men who were inseparable companions brought home game, cooked it and invited the Clown woman. She did not suggest inviting the other Clowns, but sang alone. Afterward she reported to them that she had seen nothing. She told them that she was pleased that they had held the feast for her, saying that if they hunted on the following day, one of them would kill an eagle. She instructed them to divide the feathers among themselves and give none of them away. The next morning they hunted. One killed an eagle. Some of the men asked for the wings and some asked for feathers, but the hunters did not distribute either; they divided all the feathers among themselves. When they were ready to move, these young men said they would go elsewhere, but would learn where the new camp was located and would meet the others on the way here. They moved camp, traveling all day. Late in the afternoon they found a suitable place for a temporary camp. These young men went to a camp of their own. A man went around the camp and bade the people save the meat, for the people in the camp to which they were going were starving, they would find them ravenous for meat. They all went out to hunt. They saved all the game they procured for these people. When they arrived, they were glad to see old friends. They were surprised to find that they had plenty of bear meat and other flesh.

The Clown woman told her husband to take bear meat to the *tiotipi* for those who had recently arrived. She herself cooked meat for them. She and her husband then went to the *tiotipi* to visit those who had come to the camp. All the men in the *tiotipi* were very glad to have the meat and to see their old friends. They remarked to one another that they should not have gone off by themselves, but should have remained with the others, and then they, too, would have had plenty of meat.

After they had visited, a young man gave a Clown feast for those who had joined them and invited the woman to be the leader. After the feast the Clowns from the newly arrived party asked to be allowed to participate in the hunting. She told them not to ask and not to mention it to her, but to hunt as the others were doing. Though she permitted them to join the hunting party, not one of them secured game. The next time they went to hunt they accompanied the other man. Some of the men in this party did not get half as much game as they had been getting previously. The men in the *tiotipi* said that they surmised that a spirit had entered the camp, preventing the game from approaching. If they took no measures to ascertain the trouble, none of them would be able to kill game. The third time the men went out to hunt, they had great difficulty in getting game. When the other party returned to camp, they gave a Clown feast, to which they invited the woman; they told her they were experiencing great difficulty in procuring game and wanted her to discover the reason. They asserted that ever since they had separated from the first party they had had much difficulty in procuring game, and had never had more than barely enough to keep the people alive. She said she would try to learn what was wrong. She sang.

The other Clowns were present. After she had sung, she announced to the Clowns that during the previous summer one of the Clowns in the party which had come to the camp had murdered a man. His spirit was preventing the game from approaching and had done so continuously since the two parties had separated. She made this declaration to the guilty Clown. He felt badly and was ashamed of himself. After the feast the people learned that she had told one of the Clowns that he had killed a man and had intended that the spirit of the murdered man should cause the game to stay away.

The accused man said that he grieved over his deed and was ashamed to be a Clown. After she had made this declaration she asked whether they would wait until morning or should that evening drive away the troublesome spirit, so that they could hunt with the other men on the following morning. She said they could not well drive the spirit away that evening. She directed everyone to rise early. They would drive it away before sunrise. All agreed to this. Then they went home.

Early the following morning they assembled at the *tiotipi*. She told them to make a grass image of a man and set it up on the path which led into the camp. She made a warclub. She bade the murderer hold the warclub and stand close to the image. She delegated another man to help him kill this spirit. She made a warclub for him and told him to hold it standing close to the image. The people were sitting about, expectant. She returned to the *tiotipi* for the other Clowns, who were awaiting her there. When everything was ready, she sang, and encircled the image and the two men. They were afraid they would be killed, for all the other Clowns were approaching, carrying guns. The woman said that at a given signal the man with the first warclub must strike the image, and next, the man who had the second warclub. She approached closer and closer as she walked around the image, and finally signaled the man to strike it. He did so; the other man did likewise. The image fell and the Clowns shot at it. The air was so beclouded by the smoke [from the image] that the two men in the circle were invisible. She told the two men that she had to put them in the center because she thought the spirit was constantly following them. If they had stayed home and allowed the others to hunt, probably the others would have killed some game, but when these men were members of the party, the spirit followed them and frightened the game away. She thought they would have no further trouble in killing game, but if they did have any difficulty, she would try again to kill the spirit before sunrise the next morning.

They all hunted and killed plenty of game. The murderer now killed sufficient game, whereas a few days before he had been unable to kill any; now he was one of the best hunters. The second day, when all had returned from the hunt, the murderer gave a Clown feast to

which he invited this woman and all the other Clowns. When they had assembled, he told them that he was much pleased with what she had done for them; all were thankful, he said, but he especially, for he had been the cause of all the trouble. He said that he was a Clown, had always attended the Clown feast, and had thought he was a good Clown and knew everything that anyone else could know; now, however, he had learned that he could not diagnose his own trouble and he no longer considered himself a good Clown. He thought this woman possessed more power than the other Clowns. (Her name was Ta'tiwaniwī, Wind-walks. She did all this before I was born; I have heard the story.) After the feast, she told them they would continue to hunt successfully. One day an old man went about the entire camp and announced that they must move to another place. He said the days were getting warm, the people would like to travel about from place to place during the summer and return to this camp site to spend the winter.

Early in the morning an old man went about the camp calling the name of the woman's husband, asking where he was, and whether he was in the camp with the other men. The speaker said he was starving for some bear meat; that when they were fighting the Chipewewa they encountered danger; bear hunting, he said, was not so dangerous, yet they would not try to kill a bear. The woman told her husband to build a big fire in the center of the camp and count every man who came to the fire. After the man had come to this fire and the fire had burned down, they would kill a very large bear when hunting. She told him to bring the bear to this *tiotipi*. When the fire had burned down, he told his wife how many men were around the fire while it was burning. She said that some would get young deer and others would get various animals. They all hunted. Every man brought young game to the *tiotipi*. Her husband killed a big bear and brought it to the *tiotipi*, where all the old men were sitting and talking. The old men were much pleased with the bear meat. They had a feast by themselves.

The murderer now made a *hey'oka wAzA'pi* to which he invited the Clowns. He told her he had made a *wAzA'pi* for her. He himself was a Clown, but inasmuch as he had failed to learn about the spirit, he did not have a high opinion

of himself. The woman went to his tipi and sang. She told him that although she had seen that the people were all right, she had not seen anything important. She saw the spirits of many kinds of animals; this meant that they would continue to obtain plenty of game. She believed that no harm would befall the camp. After singing, she told the man to go out and invite all of the young men and distribute the food that he had cooked. She told him she was very grateful to him for making this Clown feast for her. In recompense he would kill a bear the next time he hunted. Every time a mature man gave a Clown feast for her she told him that he would kill a bear the next day. Her prophecies were always fulfilled. When a young bachelor gave a feast for her, she told him that in the next hunt he would kill an eagle. Her forecast was correct. After the feast she told the man to inform everyone he saw that she had seen plenty of game, and that no trouble was imminent. He did as she directed. Soon after this her parents gave a Clown feast for her. They wished her to sing and ascertain whether anything would happen to them on their journey to the open prairie. She sang and reported that she saw only plenty of game and that everyone would be well and happy. While she was saying this, an old man from the *tiotipi* stood outside her tipi and called her son by name; he said they wished the boy to make a fire in the center of the camp, so that they could kill more game. When the woman heard this, she sang all her best songs.

Early next morning she wakened her son and told him to make a fire in the center of the camp. That day the people killed plenty of game. She told the boy's father to go to the *tiotipi* and announce that they were not to ask anyone else to build the fire. Her boy would build it four times. He had already done so once and he would build it three more times. During the second morning that the boy made the fire and the men hunted, the Clown woman told her father to announce in the *tiotipi* that one of the hunters would return with an eagle. Later in the afternoon her husband brought an eagle home. He left it outside the tipi, went in, and told his wife that he had killed an eagle and had left it outside. She instructed him to take it to the *tiotipi* and tell the old men there that he had brought it to them; that they should apportion the feathers among themselves, to wear on their

heads. He gave the eagle to the old man, as she directed. They were pleased to have an entire eagle and the feathers to apportion among themselves.

On the third day nothing special happened. On the morning of the fourth day she wakened the boy and told him that all the old men were depending upon him; consequently, they had asked him to make the fire. Before the father told the boy to make the fire, the Clown woman announced that this was the last time he would build the fire and that they would see some Chippewa this day. She told her husband to be constantly very careful and watchful, and not to go too far ahead of the others. Some of the other men suspected that something important would happen, because she had asked the boy to make the fire.

On other occasions she had allotted them 10 days and at the end of that time they had had a battle with the Chippewa. This time she told only her husband about her dream. She had seen all the Clowns, in the weeds and among the trees, suddenly stoop and pick up their bows and arrows and run about; she was sure this signified a fight with the Chippewa. They had all gone out to hunt. While a man who had killed a deer was skinning it, two Chippewa approached and killed him. The other Dakota saw the tracks of two people in the snow. A man gave the war whoop and pursued them. Everyone understood its meaning and ran in that direction. The woman's husband had disobeyed her and had outdistanced the others. When he heard the noise, he ran back toward them and encountered the two Chippewa. He killed one of them, and his companion, who was close behind him, killed the other. All the pursuers raced up to count coup on the Chippewa and earn an eagle feather. When they returned from the hunt, the friends of the victim of the Chippewa felt badly. All the other people held a dance around the two scalps. The next day, when they hunted, the man who had killed the Chippewa brought home some young game, asked them to cook a piece of it, and told them he wished to make a feast for the Clown woman to ascertain whether she had anything important to announce. When all was ready, he invited her to the feast. She came and sang. They found that there was merely enough meat for her. Accordingly, she took her piece and ate it. Then she sang again. She said she had tried to ascer-

tain whether something important would happen, but had seen nothing. When she was alone with the man, she told him she was very glad he had made the feast for her. She was always glad to do what they wished her to do, for it seemed that every time she sang at a Clown feast she gained more power and a longer life.

She told him to build a fire in the center of the camp early in the morning. Half the men who came to that fire would kill bear in the hunt, and the other half, such game as they wanted. She predicted that the man who built the fire would kill an eagle. That evening she told her father to go to the *tiotipi* and tell one of the old men there that she had selected this man to make the fire near the *tiotipi* in the early morning. Her father told the old man, who made the announcement, asking everybody to be present to hear what he would say and to learn why he was making the fire.

Next morning before sunrise this man rose before anyone else and started the fire in the middle of the camp. When he had made the fire, an eagle flew directly above him. He procured his gun and killed it. This was the eagle that the woman had promised him, but she did not know he would get it so soon. When the other men heard the shot, they rose and came to ascertain what he had been shooting. When they asked him, he did not reply, but pointed to the eagle hanging on the tree. They surmised that he had shot at a mark but not at an eagle. When all the men had assembled, a friend came to him and asked for two of the best eagle feathers. He replied that the woman had told him not to distribute any of the feathers. All the other men also asked for feathers; they told him that one who killed an eagle always apportioned the feathers. He agreed that such was the custom, but the woman who had told him that he would kill an eagle had warned him also not to distribute any of the feathers.

When all had come, they went out to hunt. Half of the men killed bear, the other half various kinds of game. After they had returned to camp, a man who had killed a bear gave it to the men in the *tiotipi* where they were having a feast. Another man used his bear to make a Clown feast for the woman. He invited all the Clowns in the camp to it. When it was over, a relative of the woman invited her to another

Clown feast at her place. Before the Clown woman left, she announced to the Clowns and the man who had given the feast that she had seen only the spirits of various kinds of game. She said that if she had seen anything else, she would have told them. Soon they gave another feast to which they invited her. They told her they were about to move away and would like to have a few days in which to hunt. She sang. They all started to eat. She told them that after she had eaten she would sing again and ascertain whether there was anything worth announcing. When she had finished singing, she told them she had again obtained 10 days for them for hunting, and that any man who wished to do so might make a fire in the center of the camp. The next day everyone went out to hunt, returning early in the afternoon. They said they would start to move the camp. They would hunt in the morning, return early in the afternoon and move the camp. Thus they would soon be on the open prairie. They did not wish to hurry, lest a [snow] storm come while they were on the prairie. They hunted during these 10 days and moved camp every night. Some of the women moved camp during the day while the men hunted, and would tell them where to camp at night. Thus while the men hunted, the women traveled.

One night a young man decided to make a feast for the Clown woman and have her sing. He thought that perhaps she would be able to forecast something—sickness, or perhaps an attack by the Chippewa. He took some young game home and asked his mother to cook it. When all was ready, he invited the Clown woman to his tipi. He told her it had been a long time since anyone had made a feast for her; when he killed young game, he intended it to serve as a feast for her. She was much pleased and directed him to invite the other Clowns; she wished to sing with them. While singing, they too might see something. He invited the other Clowns. When they had come, she sang. Then they ate. She sang again. When she had finished singing, she asked the other Clowns whether they had seen something while she was singing. They had seen nothing. She said she had seen nothing dangerous, but had seen the spirit of an eagle coming to the tipi. This meant that the next day the man would kill an eagle in addition to other game.

The next day the young man went out to

hunt and killed an eagle. His parents were delighted, for it was a fine one with good feathers. When the other young men learned that she had given an eagle to this young man, all of them made feasts for her. They hoped she would foretell that they, too, would kill a Chippewa. She knew they wanted her to promise them a Chippewa, but on each occasion she promised merely an eagle and did not mention the Chippewa. The first time she allotted them 10 days to hunt, saying they would kill an eagle; later she gave them four days, saying they would kill an eagle. They had hoped that this time she would say a Chippewa, but, to their great disappointment, she did not mention the Chippewa.

During this period they all killed plenty of game. On the evening preceding the tenth day a man held a Clown feast. He told the Clown woman he had heard from the others that they would have only 10 days of hunting. He was very sorry they had only one day more, for he was anxious to kill a bear. He had seen plenty of other game, but had paid no attention to it. Meanwhile, he was hunting bear. He was giving this feast for her, to ask her whether she could enable him to kill a bear before the 10 days had passed. She sang. They held the feast. Then she said that she would sing again, to learn whether she could discover something. She told him that when she sang previously she had seen nothing. She went to her father. She directed him to go to the man who had given the feast and tell him to go to her husband and instruct him to build a fire in the middle of the camp next morning. This was the last day of the hunt. Early in the morning, before anything else was killed, someone would kill an eagle. Her father carried out her instructions. Next morning, before anyone else was awake, this man went to the woman's husband and asked him to build the fire. He added that for the last nine days he had wanted bear meat, but had been unable to get any. The woman's husband built the fire in the middle of the camp. Everyone, carrying guns, went to it. When the fire had burned out, they went out to hunt. When the woman's husband entered the woods, an eagle flew over him. He killed it and took it to his tipi. He reported that before he had gone a long distance he had killed an eagle. He did not wish to carry it all day, so he had brought it home and would go out again. He told his wife to tell her father to take it to the *tiotipi*, to say

it was killed by his son-in-law and that the men there should apportion the feathers as they liked. Her father was much pleased by this request. He took it into the *tiotipi* and announced that his daughter had said this would be the last day to hunt. They agreed that when all the men returned from the hunt, they would move again, this time on to the open prairie.

During that day the man who had asked the Clown woman for bear meat killed five bears. Each of the other men killed from one to three. Everyone was pleased and said, when they discussed these, that the Clown woman was the most wonderful woman they had ever known.

The man who had been followed by the evil spirit which kept the game away during the winter used the breast of a bear to make a Clown feast for her. He told her that they were all sorry that the 10 days of hunting were over, and that he was giving this feast to learn whether she had something more to tell them. She said she would sing and try to discover something. When she had finished singing, she said nothing. Then they had the feast. When it was over she said that when she was singing she had seen something, but could not discern what it was. She wanted to sing and learn whether it would be more clearly revealed to her. She then told the man he had been thinking of doing something and had not mentioned it to anyone. When the spirit was following him around and he could get no game, he had determined that if he ever killed game again, he would give a Clown feast. He had told no one about it, but while singing she had discovered this and she thought that he should give the feast. She asked him whether that was true. He agreed that it was. One day, while hunting unsuccessfully, he had determined that if he should get game he would give a Clown feast. The evil spirit was more powerful than he and he had not killed any game. He thought that the Clown power would not relish a feast he gave. Therefore he had not provided one. He was surprised by what she had told him; he had thought the Clown powers did not wish him to make a feast, for they had not given him any game. If, however, the *wakan* Clown wished him to make a feast, he was willing to do so at any time.

The Clown woman instructed him to give a Clown feast about the middle of the summer; if he failed to do so, misfortune would befall him. He said he would give the feast and when he

was ready he would like her to help him. He wished her to be near him, so that if the *wakan* Clowns tried to conceal the appointed time from him, she could help him. She promised to remain close to him.

After the feast an old man circulated through the camp and announced that early the next morning they would move to the open prairie. He wanted four young men to start very early and seek signs of buffaloes. The four men departed before the others were awake. The others moved out on to the prairie, where they would spend the summer. That night the four young men had not returned. The men in camp thought they would return the next day, assuming they had probably gone too far to return that night. They watched for them all day. Late in the evening they saw them running toward the camp. All the men hurried to the *tiotipi* to hear the news. The young men said they had traveled all day and late in the evening had seen signs of buffaloes. They had camped, to be certain that they had actually seen buffaloes. Next morning, from a hill, they had seen a large herd and then had hastened home. It was a good day's journey to the herd and when they had traveled that far it would be too dark to hunt. The old men said that if they started early in the morning, they could go to a certain place and pitch camp and the men could go forward on horseback from there. They did so. Late in the evening they arrived at the camping place. The four young men were sent ahead to reconnoiter. They returned and reported that they had seen two herds. The next day they moved closer and again sent the young men ahead. They returned soon reporting that they had again seen the two herds. An old man suggested that a sufficient number of men should go forward to surround both herds, so that they could kill all the buffaloes. Each man mounted his horse; the party started. They surrounded the buffaloes and killed all of them. Then they all had plenty of meat.

One of the old men complained that this was not a good camping place. He said that the old men in the *tiotipi* had sent him out to ask the people to find a better place to which they could move. The next morning they scouted for a better place. They traveled only a short distance, but some young men went further to find buffaloes. While the others were setting up the tipis, these men returned and reported that

they had seen buffaloes. They hunted and killed them all. An old man went through the camp and admonished them to waste no meat. In the meantime news of another approaching herd was brought. When they received this message, some of the men had scarcely unsaddled their horses. It was a small herd. They killed all the buffaloes.

They now had plenty of meat, but wanted more. By this time, the summer birds were flying about, and the trees were in leaf. Everyone now had plenty of meat. An old man went through the camp and announced that the old men in the *tiotipi* were dissatisfied with the camping place. Water was scarce and difficult to get. They wanted to move nearer the woods, where there would be plenty of fuel. The next morning they went to the woods where they had camped previously. They pitched camp and were satisfied.

That evening the man who was to hold the Clown feast made it, and invited the Clown woman. He told her he had promised to stay near her and wished her to stay near him. He was afraid that the Thunders would conceal from him a knowledge of the time when he was to carry out their instructions. He said he had dreamed the night before. Although the dream had no relation to the feast he was to give, he wanted her to hear it and give her opinion of it. In his dream, he had seen horses killed by wolves. She sang. After the second song, she said that his dream was true. She bade him go to the *tiotipi* and tell the old men that everyone must guard his horse for two or three nights, because the wolves would attack them. Even the young children must be watchful. After the old men in the *tiotipi* heard this, one of them went through the camp and announced it. The old men decided to select one group of young men to guard the horses during that night and another to be on duty the following night. They decided that only in this way could they protect their horses. During the first night the men stayed with the horses until daylight and returned home only when they saw the people waking. They reported that they had seen no signs of wolves and would sleep the next night, while the others watched.

The next night they put all of the horses together. They asked the Clown woman from what direction the wolves would come. She told them. They tethered four or five horses in that

direction and some young men hid in the woods nearby. At daybreak one of these young men saw five men crawling toward the horses. He knew they were Chippewa and intended to allow them to come closer, so that he would have a better opportunity to shoot them. One of the guards thought the Chippewa should be shot at once, for if they came too close to the horses, the Dakota might, by mistake, shoot a horse. Accordingly one young man called out, demanding what right they had to those horses. The men who had been approaching ran; the young Dakota then knew they were Chippewa. If they had been Dakota, they would have replied.

The leader of the Chippewa did not know who had shouted. He ran toward the Dakota and was killed. When the Dakota shouted that the Chippewa, and not wolves, were trying to steal the horses, the other men in camp awoke and ran to the assistance of their comrades. They chased the four fleeing Chippewa. They could see them running, for day was now breaking. They pursued them, overtook them, and took four scalps. Then they danced until nearly noon.

An old man went through the camp, announcing that the old men were still dissatisfied with their camping place. They moved to another site. That evening there was a thunderstorm. The next morning the man who was to celebrate the *wAzA'pi* had a dream. He summoned all of the Clowns in camp and told them that he had promised to hold the *wAzA'pi* in midsummer. The Thunders had told him in a dream the preceding night that the time had come. He said he was depending on the woman for help. He said he would celebrate the *wAzA'pi* now. All the Clowns in camp promised to assist him. That night they brought him food to cook the next day. During the night they moved a tipi to the site for the *wAzA'pi*. Before he became a murderer, this man had been one of most powerful medicinemen in the camp. After the murder he apparently lost all of his power. The spirit of the murdered man seemed to be constantly behind him. In a dream, the Clowns had told him that they would restore all of his power and would allow him to start anew. He said that until the Clown woman so informed him, he had not known that he must begin again. He would give a Clown feast and he wanted everyone to assist him, but he was

depending mainly upon the Clown woman. They all promised their full assistance. During the evening preceding the feast some presented meat, some, tongues, and some, hearts. They prepared everything. The leader said that he would give it very early in the morning, so that it would be over before sunrise. He would be the leader, but he expected the woman to be there all of the time.

Early the next morning all of the Clowns knew that the preparations for a feast were in progress, for they had seen the fire started outside the tipis. They went into the woods to dress and to paint themselves. When they heard the singing, they approached the pot. En route, they dug roots, chewed them, and threw them into the pot to cool the broth. After the feast some of the people went to examine the roots the Clowns had dug. They had dug the roots of all except medicinal plants. Even so, the Clowns used them as medicine. When they approached, the leader sang and faced west, indicating that he would face the Thunders when they came from the west. When he had finished singing, he chose one of the hearts and went westward with it. The Clown woman picked out a heart and walked eastward with it. All of the Clowns then rushed to the pots. Before the leader and the Clown woman returned, each had selected a piece of meat. When they returned, there was neither meat nor broth in the pot.

After the feast the Clowns returned to their several tipis to remove their Clown clothes. The woman and her husband returned to their tipi. She told him that the leader of the feast would lead a war party. She had ascertained that everyone would return safely, and bade her husband join the party. [He joined but never led the Clowns in their war parties, for, though a medicineman, he was not a Clown. He participated in the Clown feasts because he could sing their songs, though he knew very little about them. Participation in a Clown feast enhanced his power. He had been killing no game. He had promised Stone that he would give a Clown feast. The *wakan* Clowns had heard this promise.]

Inasmuch as he had failed to kill game, he thought he would not give the feast; he assumed that the *wakan* Clowns would not punish him for his failure to do so. The Clown woman learned that he must do it and through this

knowledge saved his life. Afterward he depended on her to forecast future events for him and offered to help her. That night after the Clown feast he heard someone beating the drum and singing war songs. After a while the singer came to the tipi of the Clown woman and invited her husband to his tipi. They went to his tipi. The man declared he was very sorry that his actions had prevented himself and the others from finding game. He assumed all the blame. He was glad he had given the feast, was grateful to all the Clowns for their assistance, and now would set out on a war party. He added that he would be pleased to have any man who so desired accompany him. He invited only young men, married and unmarried. He said he would sing every night for four nights; they would depart on the morning of the fifth day. Those who wished to join the war party were urged to provide themselves with an extra pair of moccasins; the warriors who carried bows and arrows must have plenty of arrows and a strong bow; those who carried guns must have a sufficient supply of bullets. He sang every night during this preparation period. On the morning of the fifth day they departed.

After they had left, he announced that while he was singing during the preceding nights, the *wakan* Clowns had come and told him that the members of the party should hunt while they traveled. While on the journey the Dakota and the Chippewa would each kill two elk. Inasmuch as the *wakan* Clowns had made this prediction, they could hunt with safety. They procured no game during the first day's journey. During the second day he declared that they would kill game before sunset. They killed two elk and other game. That night, after making camp, they gave a feast for which they used the elk meat. The leader of the party sang war songs; at their conclusion he forecast that until the fourth day they would see nothing. They would go directly to the Chippewa camp, where they would find their enemies just returned from the hunt and busy cooking a meal. The Dakota would then attack and kill two of them. They would not try to kill more, but would be satisfied with these two scalps. The Chippewa would run on to the open prairie, but no one would follow them.

Soon after starting on the third day, they killed some elk. They traveled until late that

night and then camped. The medicineman knew precisely when and where they would meet the Chippewa. After they had made camp for the night, he sent two scouts ahead, instructing them to return if they saw something unusual. They traveled westward. As soon as they saw the Chippewa, they returned and reported that they had seen them erecting their shelters. The man then warned them to kill no more than two Chippewa. He predicted that they would attack the Chippewa the next day about noon when the enemy returned to camp to cook their meal.

Early next morning they all prepared for the fight. The same men scouted ahead. When they were near the Chippewa, they stopped to watch them. When they saw them returning from the hunt, they returned to their own camp and informed their comrades. Their leader repeated his warning against pursuing the Chippewa, and admonished them to kill only two, even if there were others close by. They attacked as planned. Some of the Chippewa, without guns, fled. The woman's husband killed two Chippewa. When the other young men heard about this, they ran up and struck them, so that they would be entitled to eagle feathers. Some were too slow and were vexed, because they knew they would not earn feathers. Some started to pursue the escaping Chippewa. The leader summoned them to return, but they paid no heed. One of them was shot in the arm with an arrow and his arm was broken. The medicineman had known this would happen, and, therefore, he had warned them not to pursue the Chippewa. The man's arm was broken because he did not heed the warning. After this, the medicineman announced that he had carried out all the directions of the *wakan* Clown. He was very grateful for the assistance of the people. When they arrived home, they danced with the two scalps.

Later the Clown woman told her father that she had been asking the *wakan* Clowns to give the people this game and the time to hunt; she had promised to give another *wAzA'pi* for them because they had done so much for her. She said the *wakan* Clowns favored her and always permitted the young men to secure all the game and eagles which she promised them. They did this because they did not want the people to doubt her promises. She was sure she was doing everything the *wakan* Clowns wished her to do; they were pleased with her and granted her

favours. Consequently, she promised to celebrate the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*.

Afterwards her father asked her several times whether she was ready for the feast. Each time she replied that she had not yet dreamed. She thought that when the Clowns wanted her to prepare the feast, they would send her a dream. Soon after in a dream she saw two Clowns chasing buffaloes, laughing and having great fun. She thought this a sign that the Clowns would bring buffaloes to them. She asked her father to go to the *tiotipi* and tell the men there to dispatch two young men next morning to watch for game.

An old man went through camp and made this announcement. He selected two young men to go to the designated place early the following morning to test the accuracy of the announcement. They went to the hill and returned with information that a herd of buffaloes was approaching. When the men of the camp were preparing to go to hunt, she bade her father request them to save all the tongues for her, because she wanted to give a *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. They brought her all the tongues. She told them they might have the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. She invited all the Clowns, told them there were plenty of tongues, and said she would like them to be present at the feast early in the morning before sunrise. She added that there were many young men who had no eagle feathers for their headdress. She asked the man whom she had helped at the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* to assist her. She directed every man to throw one or more tongues into a pot, each one symbolizing an eagle feather. Her assistant was to throw in two tongues; the others, as many as they desired. She closed with an exhortation that everyone be present early, for she wished the feast to be completed by sunrise.

Next morning they all came. She faced west and sang, then threw a tongue back over her head into one of the pots. She took another tongue, faced east, sang, and threw that into the pot. The man whom she had assisted with the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* did likewise. Each of the other Clowns threw in a tongue. Some of them attempted to throw in a second one, but failed, for they lacked sufficient courage. The participants were not counted, but the tongues cooked averaged one for each, except the Clown woman and her assistant. They wanted each of the men to return from the fight with a Chippewa to his

credit. This meant that everyone in the party would return alive. She intended that there be no dispute about eagle feathers while they were on the war party and accordingly arranged for each man to earn one feather.

When all preparations for the feast were completed, the Clowns came. The Clown woman walked out of her tipi and sang her songs. The Clowns danced, gathered roots, which they chewed, and blew them into the pots. The Clown woman and her assistant each took out a tongue. She went westward with hers, he carried his eastward. The other Clowns then removed tongues from the pot. Those who had never earned an eagle feather were told to keep as close to the Clowns as possible. Several of the young men were given a tongue [as a token that they would soon go on a war party]. After the feast she announced that, while she was singing, the *wakan* Clowns frequently asked her to do certain things; she was uneasy until she had carried out their directions. She told her father she was glad the feast was over.

The following morning she rose early, went to her father's tipi, and told him the *wakan* Clowns had come to her, as before, in a dream. She had seen two Clowns driving buffaloes toward the camp. One of the *wakan* Clowns told her they did not want her to give the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* at once, but inasmuch as she had already done so, it was well, and they would consider it the equivalent of the later one they had intended. It would not be necessary to give another feast after the large herd of buffaloes had been driven to the camp. She told her father she had had the same dream again, and asked him to go to the *tiotipi* and tell the men there to notify all the young men to hunt buffaloes again. The old men were much pleased by this message. One of them went through the camp and told every young man to get his horse and gun and be ready. The woman wanted everyone to participate in the hunt. Everyone was pleased. They all hunted. They found the same number of buffaloes as before. The buffaloes apparently made no effort to escape, but stayed about until all were killed. (I think the *wakan* Clowns prevented them from running away.)

After this hunt some men went out to get wood. They saw three Chippewa fleeing. The Dakota did not pursue them, but returned to camp and informed the people that they had seen the Chippewa. Some men took their guns

and followed in pursuit, but could not find them. Other men who were in the woods did not see the Chippewa. The Dakota in the camp were much excited lest the Chippewa, if not driven away, attack them during the night. One man said they ought to give a Clown feast for the Clown woman and ask her whether she could discover something useful for them.

She came and sang, but what she had seen was not clear. She sang again. After the second song she wondered what caused so much excitement in the camp. She had tried to see even in her sleep, but saw only a fox. She saw no spirits of Chippewa and no signs of them. When she had sung again, she said that a man, while on a fighting expedition, had gone to Stone, offered it tobacco, saying that he wished to be as good a runner as Fox. If he should obtain power from Stone, he would offer meat and a dog to Fox. He had not done this; the foxes had waited too long for him to fulfil his promise. Because of this delinquency, a fox had changed himself into a Chippewa; when they had pursued him, he had transformed himself back into a fox and had hidden. She warned that whoever had done this would make good his promise immediately; otherwise misfortune would befall him. All the men said to one another that whoever had done this should make good his promise at once. The delinquent would regret his failure to fulfil his promise. They asked one another who it was. Finally they learned that it was the man whose arm had been broken. He admitted his guilt. After his arm was broken he thought the Chippewa might pursue them and he would be killed, for he had only one arm with which to defend himself. Everyone told him he must fulfil his promise at once. That evening he secured a piece of meat and killed a dog. He painted both with red spots. He put these out in a certain place with Stone. When he went to see whether they were still there, he found only the bones of the dog, which were clean as though they had been drying there a long time. When the others saw this, they knew that the foxes had taken the offerings.

After this everyone talked a great deal about the Clown woman. It seemed that she could always discover the source of any difficulty, even after others had tried and had failed. She always seemed to know precisely what everyone was thinking and exactly what each

had done. She saved the people from many evils which would have befallen them had she not been with them.

For some time after this nothing happened. Early one morning she went to her father's tipi and told him that she had had the same dream again. She had heard a laugh followed by a war whoop. The sun came from the west and again she heard someone laughing. She saw two Clowns chase a buffalo; one was hanging to its tail, the other stood behind him, laughing. When the first one dropped the buffalo's tail, the other clung to it. His comrade laughed. Then both glanced toward the camp, waved their arms, and laughed. She told her father she had had this queer dream three times; no other persons had had a similar dream. She thought there would be more buffalo hunting.

Her father went to the *tiotipi* and related his daughter's dream to the men there. They decided to send some young men to hunt buffaloes. An old man went through the camp and announced their decision to the young men, who saddled their horses and chased buffaloes all day. That night, when everyone had returned from the hunt, four young men who were chums decided to give a feast and invite the Clown woman. They wished to ascertain whether she could discover anything important which they ought to know. Each of the four provided food for the feast. Then they invited the Clown woman. She came and asked them to invite all of the other Clowns in the camp. They did so. When all of the Clowns were singing, one of them told the others that something strange was happening, because the good Clowns were bringing all these buffaloes to the camp. They must want someone to do something. Then they asked the woman to sing and ascertain whether she could locate any trouble. When she finished singing, she said she had seen nothing, that there was nothing to worry about. They could do nothing but hunt buffaloes and should hunt only when they were ordered to do so. They went home, assured that all was well. That night she dreamed the same dream again. She related it to her father. She was sure the Clowns meant only to assist the people. She bade her father go to the *tiotipi* and ask the men there to go through the camp and make the same announcement as before. After the announcement they all hunted buffaloes. Everyone was now well supplied with buffalo meat.

When they returned from the hunt, all were busy relating their hunting experiences. All seemed happy, for since this woman became a Clown, they had had plenty of meat.

Early next morning, while the people were still discussing the buffalo hunt, an old man went through the camp and announced that the men in the *tiotipi* had decided they could not endure the cold, and wanted to move a day's journey into the woods. While the men hunted buffaloes, the women might move the camp a short distance, and the men would join them at the new camp. They all agreed. When they were about to move, the Clown woman sent a message to the *tiotipi* to the effect that they should remain there three days; this would be the last period for hunting buffaloes. A man went through the camp and made this announcement. The Clown woman announced that they might hunt buffaloes early the following morning. They all went to hunt; they saw more buffaloes than they had seen on any previous hunt. Everyone was supplied with meat, while they followed the Clown woman's instructions. Some declared they had enough for the winter. Others said it was true they had plenty for an ordinary winter, but some winters were very long; the spendthrifts were admonished to discontinue talking in that strain, but to save as much meat as possible, for they did not know how much they would need.

On the first day of the hunt nothing of importance not connected with hunting occurred. During the second day, while the men hunted, the Clown woman went to her father and told him she had dreamed that she saw excitement among the women; that one of them would be injured or killed. She bade him tell the old men to warn all the women in the camp to be cautious, be careful with whom they spoke, circumspect wherever they went and watchful in every act they did. A man went through the camp and repeated her warning. In the forenoon no misfortune happened. In the afternoon some women went out to gather wood. Among them was one whose husband had deserted her and then taken another woman as his wife. He now went to his first wife and besought her to return to him. She refused. The enraged husband then walked to the place where he had left his gun, picked it up and shot her. When the people in the camp heard the news, all who knew the murdered woman were much grieved. (I do not

know why nothing about this deed was ever mentioned to the murderer.) Again all the people talked a great deal about the Clown woman because she had known in advance of the misfortune which would befall the unlucky woman.

No punishment was visited upon the murderer. The people talked a great deal about the woman who had been shot. Some said she should not have left the camp after the Clown woman had warned them. Some declared it was entirely her fault, for she had been warned to exercise great care in everything. The other women had obeyed the injunction to remain in the camp. Not only had this woman left the camp, but she had attempted to induce other women to accompany her. The people discussed this misadventure for some time.

Early in the morning following the murder, the Clown woman bade her father go to the *tiotipi* and ask the men there to announce that a large herd of buffaloes was approaching the camp and that if the men went out to hunt, they would procure an abundance of buffalo meat. This announcement was made and two scouts set out to ascertain how far distant the buffaloes were. They returned, reporting that the buffaloes were beyond the hill. Everyone prepared and, before sunrise, went out to hunt. Before the party started, the woman told her father there was a spotted black and white buffalo in the herd. The Clowns had kicked this buffalo in the sides and had laughed; when it ran, they had kicked it repeatedly, and laughed heartily. She was very anxious that the men kill this buffalo. After hearing this, they went out to hunt. While they were pursuing the herd they saw the spotted buffalo near the center. She had told them, also, that it would be a fast runner, and only fleet horses could overtake it. They killed all the buffaloes, the spotted one last. When the party returned, the woman stated that she had been thinking about these matters all the time. She did not know why the Clowns were continually bringing buffaloes to the camp, but, inasmuch as they had done so, she had allotted the people three days for hunting; those three days were now past. When the men returned from the hunt and the people had learned that for the present there would be no more hunting, they moved from that camp by successive journeys to their camp of the previous winter. Each time they camped, they

hunted, and thus gave the horses a day's rest. The next day they moved on. They traveled in this fashion until they were settled for the winter.

The men could obtain no game. The woman knew the source of the trouble, but she did not want to mention it. They hunted day after day, and killed nothing. She told only her husband about the trouble and bade him tell no one. She said there were enough Clowns and medicine-men in the camp to discover its source without her assistance. Day after day they killed no game. First one and then another man failed. The people thought they had saved enough meat, but their families were so large that soon those who had none were borrowing from those who were still killing game. The latter had no idea that soon they, too, would be getting none. Finally none of the people had any food. Those who had most recently been killing game had sufficient food for only a day or two.

Early in the morning an old man passed around the camp calling the name of the woman's son and asking him to make a fire in the center of the camp. He was depending on him [meaning on the woman] and hoped he could help him. The old man said he was starving and none of the old men could hunt. They wanted nice warm broth, but did not know where to get it. He was now a young man and would have good luck in hunting. The old men wanted him to build a fire in the center of the camp, so that all the people might gather there and decide on how to solve the dilemma.

The woman woke her son, who was now fully grown. He went to the center of the camp with his father. There, before anyone else was up, they started the fire, then went into the woods for fuel. The son saw something flying and asked his father what it was. He said it was an eagle. He picked up his gun and shot it. The father then sent the young man to tell his mother that the eagle had been killed. She told him to take the eagle to the old men in the *tiotipi*. He reported this to his father, who directed him to take it to the old men and tell them to do as they liked with it. He did so.

When he returned, he saw several men around the fire. They asked whether the shooting had been for practice or for some other reason. When they were told that he had killed an eagle, they were much surprised. Some did not believe it; they declared it was too early for

eagles to be flying about. He told them that birds do not sleep until noon, but awake at dawn, or a little before. That morning they went to hunt. When the sun was rising, the woman's husband killed a deer. It was so near the camp that the woman could carry it home; but her husband said nothing. He thought that if the people heard the gun, they would be crazed, for they were very hungry. He went farther and killed a bear. He removed its intestines, threw them away, and carried the bear home. On the way to camp he passed the deer which he had killed, but left it. He went to the *tiotipi* with his son and said that the boy had brought the bear for the men there to eat. They were very grateful for the food. That day everyone secured sufficient food to last for a while.

Again they passed through a period during which they could kill no game. A spirit was pursuing the game and keeping it away. The Clown woman knew that the spirit of the murdered woman was responsible. Had her husband been hunting unsuccessfully, she would have acted, but he was killing game daily. The man had a bag in which to carry the game home. He had been a poor hunter until his wife had made him a good one. He had put his hunting bag away until winter, when they would move out onto the prairie; he now took it out. For a long time after this the men tried every day in vain to get game. Finally, they summoned her husband again and asked him to build a fire in the center of the camp. They told him they were starving and wanted to know whether he could help them to get game. He built the fire. That day they all killed plenty of game. The next day they failed again. Then they gave a Clown feast to which they invited the Clown woman. They asked her whether she would sing and try to fathom the cause of their difficulties.

When everything was ready, she sang. After she had sung, she told them that the spirit of the murdered woman was continuously present and was keeping the game away. They might do whatever they liked to get rid of the spirit. She asked them to find someone else to help them out of their difficulty. A man went through the camp and asked the other Clowns to drive the spirit away, but no one was willing to attempt it. The people were sure that the Clown woman could do it better than anyone else, and that she be persuaded to do it. They returned to the

Clown woman and told her that no one would attempt it and that everyone was depending upon her. She directed them to gather long grass and construct an image of a man; but inasmuch as this was a woman's spirit, it must resemble a woman as much as possible. She said she would do her utmost, but wanted all the Clowns to help her, even though unassisted any one of them could accomplish nothing. She made a club and gave it to the man who had asked her to help him prepare a Clown feast. She gave another club to the woman's murderer.

When all the preparations were completed, she sang, and walked around the image in a spiral, moving closer and closer to it. The other Clowns followed her. When she was quite close to the image, she told the murderer to strike it. He did so and knocked it over. She then ordered the other Clown to strike it. He struck it a second time. It burned. After the ceremony she ordered them to take their guns and hunt. She said they had now rid themselves of the spirit and could hunt. Everyone was delighted.

They hunted and killed plenty of game. After they had returned from the hunt with plenty of game, a man gave a Clown feast and invited the Clown woman. She sang alone. She reported that she had seen nothing important, only the spirits of abundant game. Even though everyone was now killing plenty of game, they still asked her husband to make the fire in the center of the camp, so that this good fortune would continue. One old man said that although they were getting game, he was hungry and did not have enough food. Accordingly, the following morning the Clown woman told her husband to set a white poplar tree up in the middle of the camp and build a fire around it. If he should do this, all the men would kill plenty of deer. For several days after that everyone killed a great many deer.

One morning the Clown woman went to her father's tipi and told him that she wished to give a Clown feast. One of the *wakan* Clowns had ordered her to prepare a feast and she wished to do so. Her father asked her what she wanted to have cooked. She replied, merely some dry oak leaves and a sharp stick. When this was done, she directed two young men to invite all of the Clowns. When they arrived, she selected the best one, and asked him to lead the singing. She was giving the feast, but did nothing herself. She appointed a man to lead. They

all sang. When they had finished singing, she told the two young men to serve the leaves. She told them to remove the sharp stick from the pot, take it into the woods and put it at the base of any tree. When they returned, the Clowns asked them whether they had seen something. They reported that they had seen several spirits enter the pot. They continued to sing and told one another they had seen certain things. The woman had invited them so that they could tell the two young men what they had seen, but instead, they were describing it among themselves and not to the young men. In her dream she had seen a Clown with four scalps. When she gave a Clown feast, he made a sign indicating that he would bring the scalps to the pot. She thought that if she gave a feast, all of the Clowns would see this while singing. The sign was intended not merely for the Clowns but for all of the young men. These two young men heard what she said. Soon all the camp knew that she had seen the scalps of four Chippewa entering the pot.

She said that all of the men might hunt, for what she had seen did not signify that they should fight the Chippewa. She predicted that while they were hunting, they would see four Chippewa. Every man was to take the utmost care of himself, be sure that his gun was in good order, and reload it immediately after firing. She sent a man through the camp to impress this upon them. She predicted that on the morning of the second day's hunting they would kill an eagle. The feathers would be distributed to those who would kill a Chippewa. On the first day after this nothing happened. On the second day they were warned to be constantly on the alert and keep close together. Soon after they started, a man killed an eagle and took it to camp. Late that evening another man killed a deer. He reloaded his gun, laid it near him, and started to skin the deer. Suddenly, four Chippewa were upon him. One shot at him and missed him. He shouted that the Chippewa were shooting at him and gave the war whoop.

When they learned that they had missed the Dakota, the Chippewa fled. When the other Dakota heard the war whoop, they ran to their comrade. Soon they were all pursuing the fleeing Chippewa. They killed all four and brought their scalps home. The woman summoned the man whom she had asked to lead the singing, told him to take charge of the scalps, and see

that they were properly stretched on a hoop. He said he would prepare them himself. The next morning none of the men hunted. They all stayed home and held a big War dance. The Clown woman told her husband to hunt early next morning. She forecast that he would kill a bear and take it to the *tiotipi* for the old men to eat. For some time everyone killed plenty of game; all the men came home early, to dance.

One morning the Clown woman told her husband that one of the men was continually thinking that he wished to "hunt" the Chippewa in the middle of the summer. He had told no one, but was constantly thinking about it. She told her husband not to repeat this to anyone, but to hold himself in readiness to join this man when he went on the warpath. Some time after this, a large party of young men cleared the ground for a tipi. They intended to make a feast for the Clown woman, so that she could sing and foretell any future event. They prepared the feast and invited her. When she came, they said they wanted nothing in particular, but thought that the *wakan* Clowns might tell her something that would happen. They would like advance knowledge of any important event. After the feast and the singing, she told them she had seen nothing important. The man who owned the tipi would kill a bear, the man who gave the feast would kill an eagle, and the feathers would be distributed among those present. All the people would obtain plenty of game every day.

The next day, when the young men went out to hunt, the Clown woman's son wanted to join them. He thought he was able to take care of himself. She told him he was not yet quite old enough. He replied that he would keep close to his father, and, if in danger, would call to him. He wanted very much to go. She promised to permit him to go the next day. That morning she went to her father's tipi and asked him to make a bow and arrows, saying that her son wanted to hunt with the men, and that she would allow him to go the next day. Her father made the bow and arrows and gave them to the boy. The next morning the woman informed her husband that the boy would hunt with them, asking him to keep close to the lad and take good care of him.

During the hunt next day the boy kept close to his father. While they were traveling, they came to a dry lake bed. The father told the boy

to go around one side of it and he would go around the other side. He called to his father from the other side that he had found a bear's den. When the bears heard him shout, they came out. He shot one through the heart with an arrow. Another, a young bear, came out; he killed it. When his father arrived, the lad had killed both an old and a young bear. His father was very proud of the boy for having killed two bears on his first hunt. They skinned them. The father told his son to carry the head of the big bear, while he carried the carcass of the young one. When they were about to leave, the boy wanted to carry both heads. His father then cut off the head of the young bear and the boy carried both heads. As they went through the camp his grandfather saw him and called to his wife that their grandson had killed two bears and was carrying the heads home. They were very proud of him. When he arrived home, he told his mother that inasmuch as she was always singing Clown songs he wished her to take these two heads and give a Clown feast. She was much pleased.

She cooked the two heads and invited the other Clowns to the feast. She asked the man who had previously acted as leader to lead the feast. She told them that her son had killed the two bears and had given her these heads to make a feast. She said she would now allow him to hunt, and thought he should use bow and arrows rather than a gun. All of the Clowns were pleased with this account of the boy. They told the Clown woman that they saw only the spirits of bears coming into the pot while they were singing. They thought this indicated that all of them would kill bears as well as other game.

The next morning they all hunted; each killed a bear. The boy killed a bear as it was coming out of its den. He called to his father. When his father arrived, the boy, shouting all the time, was trying to pull the bear out of the den. The other hunters heard him and came to investigate. He told them he could not get the bear out of its den and had shouted for help. They helped him pull the bear out. The boy had hunted twice and had killed a bear each time.

One day after the men had returned from hunting the woman told her husband that mid-summer was approaching—the time when they would go out on the warpath. She wanted the boy to join the war party. The man said the

boy might accompany him; he would take good care of him. She said the boy should take the cap which she had made for him when he was small and leave it in the woods. Everyone was now getting plenty of game. Every time the boy hunted, each man killed a bear, as well as other game. When the boy was not a member of the party, no one killed a bear.

One day an old man went through the camp and announced that the time had come to move to the open prairie, to hunt buffaloes and have their meat for a change. That night a man gave a feast to which he invited the Clown woman. He asked her whether she could help them to get an abundance of game. They would like to be assigned a certain number of days for hunting, so that they could obtain plenty of meat to take with them; for soon they would move out to the prairie. She told them that inasmuch as her son was now a hunter and everyone secured plenty of game whenever he accompanied the party, she would not assign a special hunting period, but would allow her boy to hunt daily. Then everyone would bring in abundant game every day. This would be better than assigning a definite number of days; for if the boy went with them, all would kill game, including bears. However, if the boy did not hunt, they would kill game but no bears on that day.

The man was thankful to hear this. She told him to announce this to the others. Her forecast was accurate. When the boy hunted, everyone killed game, including bears; when he did not hunt, they killed other game, but no bears. All the men hunted and soon had plenty of meat stored away. In the spring, when the air was warm and the birds returned, the old men directed that the people move at once to the prairie and hunt buffaloes. They wanted to be in the open air and have buffalo meat for a change.

They moved the camp toward the prairie. The first night they camped in a big forest. They made a feast for the Clown woman. When she had sung, she told them that a large herd of moose was in the woods. She wanted them to kill all of the moose before leaving. She knew her son would kill a bear, but she did not mention this to them.

The next morning they hunted and found the herd. By late afternoon they had killed the entire herd. The Clown woman's son killed a bear and took it to his mother, asking her to

give a Clown feast with it. She agreed and sent her husband to invite all the Clowns. When they had assembled, she told them her son had supplied the meat and had requested her to make the feast. This pleased the old men very much. They thanked her and the boy. She was glad to do whatever the boy wished.

During the feast she told the old men to select some young men to scout in advance for signs of buffaloes. She directed them to start late in the evening, travel until they were tired, and then camp for the night. In the morning they were to proceed until they came to a low hill. After the feast the old men chose four young men as scouts. They traveled as she had directed, camped for the night, and continued their journey the next morning until they arrived at the designated hill. From the hill they saw buffaloes, and returned to camp to report their discovery. When the people saw the scouts returning at great speed, they thought the buffaloes were near.

The young men reported at the *tiotipi* that the buffaloes were moving westward and that it would be best for the people to make a day's journey to be near the herd. Accordingly the next morning they all dismantled their tipis and traveled the entire day. In the evening they sent the same four scouts ahead to ascertain whether they could locate the buffaloes. The men were absent that night. Before sunrise the next morning, they returned with the news that a large herd was conveniently nearby. All the men started in that direction and pursued the buffaloes all day. By night they had killed the entire herd. The old men were dissatisfied with the camping place, complaining about the scanty supply of fuel and the necessity of using it sparingly. They wanted the people to move the camp nearer the woods. They sent an old man through the camp to announce this. The people agreed. They moved to a site which pleased the old men, because it was near the woods and close to supplies of fuel.

The next day the men hunted buffaloes. At night, when they returned, they wanted to give a Clown feast. They invited all the Clowns and asked them to ascertain whether they could cause the wind to change its direction so that the buffaloes would move with the wind while the people traveled west. The Clowns promised to try their utmost to accomplish this. A man led the singing. The Clown woman offered to

help him if he could not accomplish anything. When he had finished singing, they served the meat to each Clown and held the feast. The man sang and the Clown woman helped him. He announced that thereafter it would be easy to kill buffaloes, for a *wakan* Clown had decreed that hereafter they would travel with the wind. His predictions were fulfilled.

One evening the Clown woman went to her father's tipi and told him she wished to give a Clown feast. He asked her what she expected to cook. She directed him to fill the pot with water, place dry oak leaves in it, and keep a hot fire around it. He should then invite all of the Clowns, especially the man whom she always asked to lead the singing. The men assembled. She told them that her father was giving the feast in order to learn what would happen during the summer. When the man who led the singing had finished, he called two young men into the tipi, asking them to get some of the weeds used by Clowns, and with them make a smudge in the back of the tipi. They understood and made the smudge in the entrance. (In those days many Dakota were Clowns; hence, the young man understood Clown talk.) When the smudge had been made in the entrance, the leader sang again. After the feast the Clowns discussed what they had seen. The woman said that she had heard a noise outside her tipi the night before. She went out and saw a *wakan* Clown, who instructed her to give a Clown feast. Accordingly, she had complied. The leader then announced that the *wakan* Clowns had told him to look eastward. When he did so, he saw all of the *wakan* Clowns running toward him, holding up Chippewa scalps. The woman reported that she had already told her husband that in the middle of the summer a man was to go out to fight. The Clowns were now warning her that the time was approaching. She knew all about this, although the medicinemen had not mentioned it. All of the men were to get ready. She was the only one who knew which man was to go out to fight. All the people wondered about her foreknowledge.

For a long time nothing of consequence happened. Then one night they heard someone beating a drum at one end of the camp. Everyone listened. They heard the leader of a war party giving a War feast and singing war songs. After this, all of the young men went to the Clown woman's tipi and invited her husband

to a feast. He went. The leader continued to sing. When he had finished singing, he proclaimed that he would repeat the feast four times, but would make no announcement until the third time. On the third night he told them that something important had to be done and he needed their help. The time was near; consequently, he was holding the feast on successive nights. He expected to announce during the fourth feast what he wanted them to do. The woman's son was invited to the fourth feast. He went. When he returned to his tipi, he reported that he expected to join the war party. His mother asked him whether he had heard when they would set out. He replied that the leader had said that they would have two more Fighting feasts, and would set out on the morning of the third day. He asked his mother to make him a pair of moccasins and a small bag for food. Having stated his willingness to join the war party, the boy was intensely eager to start. He assured his father that he could take care of himself in the fight.

Early next morning, before either his mother or his father was awake, the boy went to his grandfather and asked him to make him about 10 more arrows. His grandfather offered to lend the boy his gun, if he wished to take it. The boy replied that he could shoot five Chippewa with five arrows in the time it would take to reload a gun. His grandfather told him that 10 arrows were too many to take, for he could not run well while carrying so many. The boy replied that this would not be a race, but a fight; he wanted to take 10 arrows and get a scalp with each. His grandfather went into the woods, cut 10 sticks, and made 10 sharp arrows. That night he was ready. No one else in the camp was prepared. They would not start for another day. However, the boy thought something might cause them to change their minds about the time and he wanted to be ready should they start earlier.

That night the man gave another Fighting feast. He invited the boy's father, but not the boy. This disturbed the boy very much; he was afraid they would take his father and leave him at home. He told his father that he had previously promised to go and now he was afraid he would not be taken. Although he had not attended the feast, his father might go to the fight. His father said that the medicineman had promised to take the boy and could not violate

his word. The boy said he would go to the feast and would report to his father what the men said.

After the feast the man told all to be ready. He intended to give one more Fighting feast; they would start on the following morning. The next day the man invited all who were ready to the final feast. He announced that they would start next morning before sunrise. When the Clown woman's husband returned from the feast, she told him she would meet the Chippewa that night and ascertain how many he would kill. The next morning she rose early to get her son ready. She told her husband that the *wakan* Clown had promised her the leader of the feasts would kill four Chippewa families; her son, unassisted, would kill one family.

The war party started. After they had camped the first night, the leader said they would not sing, for they would not see the Chippewa for three days. He said it would be safe to hunt and they must try to kill an elk. The leader of the Chippewa band which they expected to fight had among his medicine bags a god who thought himself an elk. When the Dakota encountered the Chippewa, the leader would run fast and escape. Should the Dakota kill an elk, it would be a definite sign that they would also kill the Chippewa; but if the elk escaped, it would be useless to try to kill the Chippewa.

Early the next morning some of the men hunted. They soon returned with an elk. Half of the war party stayed in camp and half hunted. The medicineman said that the danger was past; now that they had killed an elk, every man would be safe and no one would be wounded. The next day they continued the journey. Some of the men had saved plenty of meat and the second night they held a Fighting feast. The man told his companions that all was well; the Chippewa were going about as usual, unaware of any impending danger. When they had camped after the third day's journey, the leader sang fighting songs. Suddenly he stopped; he announced that a *wakan* being had halted him to tell him the Chippewa were very close, near enough to hear him. All the people were admonished to keep quiet and were assured that before morning they would kill the Chippewa.

The next morning the leader chose two scouts to ascertain whether the Chippewa were in the open or were close to the woods, and to plan

the attack. They returned soon, reporting that the Chippewa tipis were a short distance ahead, stretched out along the edge of the wood. They waited a little while. When they heard a Chippewa cough in one of the tipis, they thought the occupants were getting up. The leader ran ahead and the boy followed, to the last tipi at the east end. When the boy arrived there, the leader discharged his gun. The boy shot an arrow in the Chippewa's head as he thrust it out of the tipi. He heard a woman crying inside and shot her through the breast. He then shot an arrow into the heart of a little boy lying asleep in the back of the tipi. Thus the boy accounted for the family that had been promised to his mother. They killed all of the Chippewa and departed homeward, traveling back in one day. When they approached the camp, all the people came out. When the woman saw the boy carrying three scalps, she was so happy that she did not know how to express herself. She sang the Clown songs and held a War dance by herself. The boy had worn the cap which was given him when he was very young. On the homeward journey he left it in the woods. The people now held War dances every day and were very happy. The boy's grandparents were very proud of him.

Early one morning the Clown woman went to her father's tipi. She told him she had heard Clowns laughing in the east and had seen two Clowns driving buffaloes toward the camp, as they had done the year before. Ever since her son had returned from the fight with the Chippewa, she had wanted to give the *wAzA'pi*, in gratitude to the Clowns. She supposed the Clowns would bring her some buffalo meat to cook. She requested her father to go to the *tiotipi* and ask the old men to direct the young men to hunt. Then all the young men went out on a buffalo hunt, killing a great many buffaloes. Her father asked her whether she wished to save the tongues. She replied it was not yet time to give the *wAzA'pi*. One morning she rose early, went to her father, and repeated the story about the Clowns chasing buffaloes. This time, inasmuch as the herd was approaching close to camp, she wanted them to save the buffalo tongues. She was now ready to give the feast. He went to the *tiotipi* and informed the old men there. They dispatched the young men, who killed the entire herd of buffaloes and saved all the tongues.

The Clown woman decided it was then too late to give the feast; she preferred to do it in the morning. She told the Clowns that inasmuch as there were more tongues than she would use, they might take some and hold a feast for the young men. These young men often gave feasts and invited the Clowns; she wanted the Clowns to reciprocate. Accordingly they gave a feast and cooked some of the tongues. They ran about, went to the respective young men, grasped them by the shoulders, and pretended to put food into their mouths. Some of the young men were invited by three or four Clowns.

They did not have a regular feast, but merely cooked some tongues, for they had saved more tongues than the Clown woman wanted. After the feast she told the young men that she wished them to rise early and help her prepare for her feast. She said that she wanted to finish it by sunrise. They promised to help her. They came early the next morning. Some built the fire, while others prepared the tipi. Finally, they told her everything was ready and she began to sing. While she sang, all of the Clowns came out of the bush and approached the pots.

When she had sung the last song, they began to dig roots, chew them, and spew them into the pot. Before she went into the tipi she told her husband to stand at the west with the young men who were looking on. She wanted to take the first tongue to him. After singing, she circled the pot once, removed a tongue, and ran westward with it. A Clown pursued her and tried to take it away from her, for she carried it over her shoulder. He thought he could snatch it without her knowledge. When he touched it, it burned him. She paid no attention to him and gave the tongue to her husband. She then selected another tongue and went eastward with it. When she returned, the pot was empty. They were afraid of her and had emptied the contents on the ground. Some of the Clowns had no chance to get any of the meat. After the feast she saw the Clown who had tried to take the tongue away from her and laughed at him. He was ashamed to be seen. She told her husband there would be a severe thunderstorm immediately after the feast. Some Thunder Clowns who had never been there would come to see the place where she had given the *wAzA'pi*. She directed her father to go to the *tiotipi* and tell the old men to warn the people

to anchor their tipis firmly, for a severe thunderstorm was approaching and would reach them soon.

He did as she requested; the people were warned. Everyone in the camp anchored his tipi securely. The woman then asked her husband to fill a pipe for her, for she wished to offer a pipe to the Thunders who were approaching rapidly. The offering was an inducement for them to come more gently and do no damage in the camp. When the pipe had been filled, she took it and went out. Instead of going westward, toward the Thunders, she traveled east. She told the Thunders not to look at her pipe, not to listen to what she said, not to have pity on her, but to come with all their power and tear the entire camp down. Her husband sat in his tipi and heard every word. He was frightened; he thought she was urging the Thunders to destroy the entire camp. When she came in, he accused her of this, saying he thought she had intended to ask protection, not destruction, for the camp. She merely laughed at him, told him she had asked protection and added that he did not always understand what she said.

The next morning she told her father the storm had come because the Thunders were happy that she had given the *wAzA'pi* in their honor and in gratitude for their having given her son power to kill an entire family of Chipewa. The night before the fight the Thunder Clowns had promised her son this power if she would pledge the *wAzA'pi*. The Thunders had come to see her son and the place where she had celebrated the *wAzA'pi*. She told her father that in a dream she had heard someone laughing toward the east. She looked in that direction and saw two *wakan* Clowns chasing buffaloes toward the camp. Her father took this information about another herd of buffaloes to the *tiotipi*. The old men dispatched two young men to search for signs of the herd. They went to the top of a hill, then waved their arms. The young men in the camp mounted their horses and pursued the buffaloes. They killed a great many; everyone in the camp had plenty of meat. They cooked it and held a big dance. The woman said the Clowns did not demand anything from her in exchange for bringing this herd of buffaloes; they merely wanted to help the camp.

One day she was summoned to treat a young man whom all of the medicinemen had at-

tempted to cure in vain. She treated him four times, and he recovered. He then gave her a keg of liquor which she instructed her husband to carry. She herself carried the other gifts from the patient. She was intoxicated, when on the way home they arrived at the place where a man was holding a No-Flight dance. She walked to the center of the dance site and told the people to sit down in a circle. They obeyed. She asked who was giving the dance. They told her it was the man who was sitting on his heels. The Thunders had ordered him to cut the hair on one side of his head. He was reluctant to comply and had merely combed it down flat and plastered it with gray earth. The Clown woman went to him and told him he looked like a medicineman with much power, which, however, would be useless when he needed it. She asked him why he had not cut his hair as he had been ordered. She told her husband to bring the keg of liquor and a large can which she filled with the liquor and gave to the leader of the dance. She told him the liquor was made in the east, where the Clowns resided. The Clowns drank the liquid and did not care what they did or what happened. She played pranks to make the people laugh and did not care whether or not they offended anyone. All the *wakan* Clowns drank such water. She had been drinking it and wanted him to try it. She filled a cup and gave it to him. She then gave him everything which she had and left, telling him he might do as he liked with the water she had given him. He took another drink, then passed the cup around to the others. Before the end of the No-Flight dance, all the members were irresponsible. She was not afraid, for she had more power than the medicinemen, and they would not dispute her word.

The Clown woman could talk like a man, or change her voice to sound like a woman, a boy, or a girl. She could talk with infants and understand what they said. She warned the people that the Clowns would not continue to bring the buffaloes to them, but that they must depend upon themselves to find them. The hunting would be no more difficult than usual, and they must hunt. For several weeks nothing unusual happened. One day she went to her father and told him she had dreamed again that the Clowns were driving buffaloes toward the camp. He went to the *tiotipi* and asked the old men to send out two young men to scout for

buffaloes. They did so. The scouts returned and reported that the herd was moving directly toward the camp. All the men went out and killed buffaloes the entire day. At night, some of the animals escaped in the darkness. The next day every man, woman, and child who could work was busy all day, cutting, drying, and packing the meat. Some of the old men from the *tiotipi* went through the camp saying that they were tired of staying in the same camp and wanted to move. The men went to the Clown woman and asked her whether they would get as much game elsewhere as they were killing at this place. She predicted that they would kill plenty of good game wherever they were. Accordingly, when the meat was well dried, they moved camp.

Soon after this a man gave a Clown feast for the Clown woman. When she arrived, he said he wished to ascertain whether they would continue to get plenty of buffaloes. She sang. When she had finished singing, she reported that she had seen the spirits of many buffaloes and thought there would be plenty of game wherever they camped. One day, while all of the men were out hunting, the Clown woman fell asleep. When her husband returned, she asked him to go to the *tiotipi* and request one of the old men there to go through the camp, to inquire whether anyone had been thinking of carrying out the instructions of the *wakan* Clowns and had failed. She had dreamed of a thunderstorm and wanted to know whether for any reason they would be visited by one. She said that the Thunders were coming to kill the person who had not accomplished what he was told to do. Her husband did as he was bidden. When the old man had gone through the camp, all the young men professed ignorance.

These events took place toward noon, when the storm broke. Rain fell and lightning struck close to the tipi of a young man who was stunned by it. When he recovered, the people asked him whether he had neglected to perform some deed. He replied that the *wakan* Clown had instructed him to give a Clown feast and sing a song. He thought the Clowns would notify him of the proper time, and, as he had had no dream, and previously had always had such a dream, he thought the appointed time had not arrived. When the old man passed around the camp the young man did not imagine that he himself was the delinquent

person. He thought the old man's message referred to another young man. The Clown woman came; they discussed the incident. She had known all the time that this would happen, but was loath to mention it. She knew what he had been told to do, and thought he could manage his own affairs. She asked him whether he was now willing to carry out the instructions. He replied that he was very willing and had meant to do so at the appointed time. He did not know how to proceed and asked her to instruct him. She warned him that no time was to be lost, for another storm was approaching; if he had not obeyed the instructions before the storm reached them, he would then be killed. He told them to arrange the tipi, give a Clown feast, and cook something. The men erected a tipi for him. When everything was ready, and they had cooked the meat, they invited all of the Clowns who came to the tipi. The Clown woman brought the rattle which her father had made for her first feast and gave it to the leader to use when he sang. After he had sung the songs he had received in his dream, the other Clowns sang. Then they painted his face gray. The Clown woman told him to go out and face the coming storm. When the Thunders saw him standing there, the storm would end. He went out, faced westward, and sang. When he had finished singing, he went into the tipi. He painted a calfskin gray, saying it was for the Thunder. After the feast he hung it up in the bush.

Soon after this the same man said he wished to give a *wAzA'pi* two days hence. He asked the men to hunt the next day and save all the tongues from the game which they would kill. They all agreed to help him. After the hunt next day, two young men went to each tipi and asked for the tongues. They took them to his tipi, cleaned them, and cooked a few of them. All the Clowns were then invited. They came and sang together as they approached. When they had finished singing, he told them he needed their help while he was giving the *wAzA'pi*. He said he wanted to give it early in the morning and would like to have it finished by sunrise. All agreed to help him. He asked the woman to come to the tipi, for he especially desired her assistance.

Next morning, when they were together and saw two young men cooking the tongues, they prepared themselves. The woman went to the

tipi where the feast was to be held and helped him dress. She also brought the rattle for him to use when he sang. When everything was ready, she told him to face west and sing. He painted himself gray, stood outside the tipi, sang, beating time with the rattle, then faced east. When they heard him singing, the other Clowns gathered around the pots, chewed roots, and spewed them into the pots. When he had finished singing, he took a tongue out of the pot, ran westward with it and gave it to a young man. He took another tongue and ran eastward with it. All the other Clowns then came up, each removing a tongue. They continued to extract the tongues until the pots were empty. After the feast he said this was what he had been ashamed to do and had not wanted to do. For this reason he was very glad that he had finished it. After this Clown feast the woman told her father that the Clowns had brought her more buffaloes and that the men should hunt again and would kill the entire herd. They departed early next morning and killed all of the buffaloes that were near the camp.

After they had all returned from this hunt one of the old men went through the camp and told the people it was getting too cold there for the old men; they would like to go into the woods where it was warmer. They all agreed. The woman told them they would have another day to hunt buffaloes. This would be the final hunt for that year. The men hunted all day and killed buffaloes. That night she told her father to go to the old men in the *tiotipi* and tell them that this would be the last buffalo hunt of that summer. One of these old men then went through the camp and made this announcement saying that the people might move now. Accordingly, the tipis were pulled down, the goods were packed, and the people began to move into the woods.

One day, while en route, they came to a broad path where they met another band of Dakota, who were also moving into the woods. They asked the members of this party where they were going. They replied that they had been on the prairie all summer and half of their band preferred to remain there through the winter and live on buffalo meat. The others said that on cold days buffaloes were difficult to secure; therefore, they preferred to go into the woods where they could get many kinds of game during the winter. Accordingly, two bands

decided to move into the woods together and live there until spring. After they went into the woods, they all secured plenty of game.

Soon they asked the woman's husband to build a fire in the center of camp. They had plenty of game, but wanted buffaloes too. She told her husband to build the fire; she predicted that the men would get plenty of game and each man would kill a buffalo. Her forecast was realized. They all secured plenty of game, including buffaloes. Her husband killed a large buffalo and took it to the *tiotipi*. All the old men there were very thankful; nearly everyone in camp had gotten a buffalo, but no one else had taken even a piece of game to them. They were much pleased. After he had returned to his tipi a man came and invited him and his wife to attend a feast which they had prepared for the Clown woman. Both went. The leader told her he had prepared the feast for her because he wished to know whether they would continue to get game as they had done that day. After the feast she told them there would be an abundance of game. Next day they secured plenty of game, as she had predicted.

Again they moved camp. When they were settled, the woman told her father she would like to hold a Clown feast again and asked him to prepare it. He asked what food she would cook. She replied that he always knew what food she would cook. Accordingly, he secured the pot, put water, then dry oak leaves, and sharp sticks in it. When all was ready, she told her husband to invite the other Clowns, and she would sing with them. They came, including the man who was usually the leader. She invited him to be the leader this time. After the singing she asked two young men to make a smudge. They did so. She sang again and told the Clowns she had seen the spirits of something in the pot, but she did not understand [the significance of the vision]. She sang again, to try to discover the meaning of her vision. Then she announced that the young men would see Chippewa while hunting. This news spread through the camp, and as soon as the feast was over, some young men came to her and asked her to verify it. She said it was true; they would encounter Chippewa while hunting. They returned to the *tiotipi* and reported this. An old man passed through the camp and warned the men to have their guns, arrows, and bows ready. The Clown woman told her husband not to go far away,

and be constantly on guard, for they might meet the Chippewa at any time while hunting. After hearing this news, all the young men were eager to hunt, for if there were Chippewa in the woods, they wished to earn eagle feathers when they hunted [that is to say, they hoped to kill a Chippewa].

They went out to hunt. One morning a Dakota and a Chippewa saw each other simultaneously. There were four Chippewa and only one Dakota. Therefore the Dakota ran, and gave the war whoop. The Chippewa thought he was alone and pursued him. The other Dakota heard the war whoop, surrounded them, and killed them all. While one of the Dakota was in the woods, a Chippewa passed by in the open. The Dakota shot him in the back with an arrow. He fell. Another Chippewa passed. The Dakota shot him. The arrow penetrated his back and emerged at the chest. Then he killed two of the four Chippewa, and another Dakota killed the other two.

When they returned to camp with news that this man had killed two Chippewa, the men held a War dance. The news was taken to the *tiotipi*, and an old man went through the camp proclaiming that the hunting party had taken scalps and the people would hold a War dance as soon as the hunters returned. The women were directed to cook food in preparation. The party returned to camp before the announcement had been concluded. They brought much game and four scalps. They danced during the remainder of the day and throughout the following day. The scalps were fastened to hoops. The next day a man from the *tiotipi* announced that the people were hungry and that the men should go out to hunt, and dance upon their return. That morning they hunted. When they returned, they resumed the dance and continued it through the remainder of the day. During the dance the Clown woman danced apart with some of the Clowns. She set hoops up from which she suspended the scalps which her son had taken.

A few days later a man was very sick. None of the medicinemen was able to diagnose his ailment. Instead of giving the Clown feast they gave another feast, invited the men, and told them to bring pipes with them. The Clown woman sang and then announced that the spirits of the stones were approaching. The men were instructed to fill their pipes. They did

so. Suddenly they heard a voice proclaim that it liked tobacco and wished to receive tobacco from all the men. Each man filled his pipe, held the bowl down, and watched it. The owner saw fire in each pipe. When the fire burned out, all the tobacco disappeared from the bowl. This was a greater feat than some of the medicinemen or the Clowns could perform. They considered this a wonderful feat. While they were treating this man, the powers that came to him declared there was nothing wrong with him; they were merely angry with his relatives. He would recover. The woman told his father and his mother that nothing was wrong with him and he would recover. Later he recovered. She announced that while she was singing she had seen certain things, but could not understand their meaning. She told her husband that upon her return home she would give a Clown feast. Accordingly, she celebrated a Clown feast. After giving the Clown feast and singing, she announced that spirits of Chippewa accompanied by other spirits were present in the camp. Unless these were the spirits of dead Chippewa, the vision betokened that the Dakota would again kill Chippewa. Perhaps the Chippewa were preparing to attack them in revenge for the four who were killed by the Dakota. The presence of the spirits signified one of these two possibilities.

They discussed her declaration, and decided to give another feast in her honor, at which, it was hoped, she would ascertain more definitely the import of her vision. When they had prepared the feast she came to it. They requested her to attempt to discover more about these spirits. After the conclusion of the feast she declared it was now very clear that spirits of Chippewa had come into the camp to keep the game away. A message was sent to the *tiotipi* requesting all the men with guns to assemble. They went into the center of the camp and discharged guns; they discharged them again behind their tipis. Then they pointed the guns upward and discharged them a third time. She sang again. At the conclusion of her song she declared that all of the spirits had been driven away, and the men would now obtain plenty of game. They were much pleased by her accomplishment. They hunted and procured as much game as at other times. That night a man who had killed a deer gave a Clown feast to which he invited the Clown woman. He told her he had

prepared the feast in the hope that she would grant them several days of successful hunting. She bade him invite the other Clowns, for she wanted to sing with them. After she had sung, she announced that she could not assign them a number of days in which to hunt; the earth was now filled with game; every day would continue as it had been, whether or not they asked for a specified number of days for hunting.

Everyone procured an abundance of game—each man as much as he desired. A man in the camp suddenly became sick. He asked the medicinemen to treat him, but they could not learn what ailed him. The man was very sick. Everyone wanted to know the cause of his indisposition and asked the Clown woman to treat him. His relatives told her the other medicinemen could learn nothing and they asked her to diagnose his illness. When she had sung, she declared the man had promised to give a certain present to the dogs, provided he was not killed while he was hunting. She declared he had deceived the dogs. They were angry with him and had caused this sickness. The only road to recovery was to send his father or his brother to hunt, and give the dogs any game they killed. They killed a deer and left it in the woods near the camp. They painted a circle of red around the mouth of each dog. The man suddenly rose from his bed and went about the camp, singing. As soon as he began to sing, the dogs, from young pups to old dogs, followed him, unbidden. He led them to the slain deer. Before the completion of the song, the dogs had eaten all of the deer except the bones, and even these were as clean as though they had been scraped with a knife. From that moment the man felt better and walked about as though he had never been sick. The Clown woman had ascertained the cause of his illness. If she had not discovered this, he would have died. None of the medicinemen could cure him. When he had recovered, he joined the hunting party. The hunters procured plenty of game every day.

Early one morning an old man went around the camp shouting the name of the woman's son, declaring that the speaker was hungry for bear meat, and asking the woman's son to build a fire in the center of the camp, so that they might procure plenty of bear meat. The woman bade her husband help their son build the fire. When it had been kindled, other men gathered around it, to inquire who had done so. When

they learned that the woman's son had built the fire, they were sure that everyone would procure plenty of bear meat. They hunted that day and brought back an abundance of bear meat. As the woman had promised, every day they got a good supply of bear meat.

For two days a certain man had killed no game. He went to the *tiotipi* where some young men were listening to the conversation of the old men. He bade the young men give a Clown feast for the Clown woman. If something were amiss, she would learn the cause of the difficulty and would tell him why he was unable to kill any game. Two young men gave a Clown feast in her honor. They told her that they were giving the Clown feast merely that she might tell them something worth hearing. She expressed her appreciation, but added that she did not want the feast merely for herself, but that she would like all of the other Clowns to participate. Later, she declared she had seen nothing worth announcing, but that whenever a young man holds a Clown feast for her she gives him a bear, or an eagle, and sometimes tells him he will kill a Chippewa. A few days ago she had said that the man who had given a Clown feast for her must kill a bear, and another must kill an eagle. The two young men who were giving the Clown feast were pleased with these remarks. She then announced that there was nothing wrong with the young man who had been unable to get game. Next morning the men went out to hunt. Of the two men who had given the feast for her, one killed a bear, the other an eagle. They knew that every time they had her husband build a fire in the center of the camp, they would later be able to kill a bear.

When they hunted, the eagle was killed first, then the bear. Though many men had killed bear, none of them thought of taking the meat to the *tiotipi*. One of the two men who had given the feast took some of his bear meat to the *tiotipi*, and presented it to the old men there. All the old men were pleased with this gift. Every time this man killed a bear, he took the meat to the *tiotipi* and not to his own tipi. The man who had hunted without success now killed a bear, as did the others. The woman was very glad that all of the men, her husband and son included, procured game every day.

In the evening another young man went to her saying he had prepared a Clown feast for

her. She went to the place where the feast had been arranged. Upon her arrival she declared that she was pleased every time they held a Clown feast for her, for it was not she who was doing these things, but another; every time she was invited to a feast the *wakan* clowns were pleased. All Clowns were pleased whenever a Clown feast was given for them or they were invited to one. Accordingly, she bade them invite all of the Clowns; she would like to sing with them. When the Clowns had assembled, she bade one of them lead the singing; they had depended upon her for everything, and she would like them to try to do something for the people. She now bade the man who always participated in the singing to take the lead in it. Accordingly he led the singing. After the singing she announced that she had seen two spirits of certain things. They symbolized the two men who had given the feast, and betokened that each of them would kill an eagle on the following day when they hunted. These two men went out to hunt and each killed an eagle. Every day now all the men could procure plenty of game. One morning, while they were preparing to go out to hunt, a man went through the camp and warned the people not to hunt, but to remain in their tipis because a young man was dying in his tipi. They all remained in camp. The young men gathered about the tipi of the dying youth. All of the medicinemen and medicinewomen treated him, but could not cure him.

The parents of the sick man sent for the Clown woman and told her that all of the medicinemen and medicinewomen had failed to discover the source of his illness. She sat near the patient and looked at him. At any moment he might draw his last breath. She bade his father fetch her rattle. When the rattle had been brought to her and she had sung, she announced that two spirits were hovering about the patient, ready to take his spirit. One was the spirit of the Chippewa he had killed; the other was the spirit of a dog. The spirit of the Chippewa was hovering about because the men who had been treating the scalp the patient had taken had left portions of it on the ground in the woods and a woman had stepped over it. Moreover, the patient had placed some medicine on the arrow with which he had killed the Chippewa, and later had shot a dog with the same arrow. Afterward, women had walked over

the blood from the dog's wound. The Clown woman believed that she had now driven the spirits away and that on the following day the man would be able to hunt; she had seen a *wakan* Clown come, shoot the spirit of the Chippewa with an arrow, and kill it. The same *wakan* Clown had taken another bow and arrow and killed the spirit of the dog. The woman declared the *wakan* Clown had done this for her; she was sure the man would recover. When the patient sat up in bed, she explained that it was not she but the *wakan* Clown who had held his arm and supported him in a sitting position. Should the man hunt on the following day, he would kill a large bear. She had given him the bear.

He hunted, killed a bear, and used a portion of the meat to give a feast for the Clown woman. He told her he was very grateful for her help; he wanted no favors, but was giving the feast to demonstrate his gratitude. After the feast the Clown woman informed him he would not be sick again; he had recovered completely and could hunt every day. She then bade him invite the other Clowns. He did so. When they arrived, he announced that he had given the feast for all Clowns who were alive; that it was intended for the *wakan* Clowns as well as for those walking about in the flesh. They all declared their gratitude. After the feast the Clown woman told the young man that the bear he had killed was not given him by her but by the *wakan* Clown who had effected his cure. The *wakan* Clown had agreed that the man should kill a deer the following day.

Before sunrise the following morning, an old man shouted the name of the man who had been cured by the Clown woman. He declared that the people were starving and wanted meat and a Chippewa scalp. He made this announcement because he knew the Clown woman would assist him in getting whatever he wished. As this old man was walking past the tipis, another man started from the *tiotipi*, proclaiming the name of the Clown woman's son, and declaring that he [the shouter] was hungry for bear meat. She said she was insulted because they were calling out the name of the man she had cured and her son's name. She bade the latter build a fire in the center of the camp. She predicted that he would kill a bear that day. When he had brought it to the camp she instructed him to take it to the men in the *tiotipi*. He obeyed, lay-

ing it down in the *tiotipi*. He declared it was for all of the men there. The other young man brought a deer and left it in the *tiotipi*. All the old men were much pleased. They had received the very food for which they had been longing. Now that all had plenty of meat, an old man went through the camp and announced that they would move camp two days later. He wanted everyone to hunt the day before camp would be moved. They hunted. The following day, when the old men were about to announce their departure, a man came to the *tiotipi*, stating that a woman in the camp was sick and did not want the camp to be moved until she had recovered. All agreed to this, and they remained at that camping place.

Nearly every medicineman and medicinewoman treated the sick woman. They declared they could not diagnose her ailment. One of the patient's brothers invited the Clown woman. He told her that none of the medicineman or medicinewomen in the camp could benefit his sister. He asked her to come and try to help her. The Clown woman went to the tipi to see the patient. She inquired when she became ill. They replied that two days previously she had gone out to collect wood. Upon returning she felt sleepy and lay down. When she awoke, she was too sick to move. The woman inquired about the whereabouts of the patient's father. [He had always led the singing at her feasts.] They brought him to the tipi. She asked him why he had done nothing to aid his daughter's recovery. He answered that he had treated her ever since she became sick, but had been unable to cure her. The Clown woman wanted to sing, so she bade a brother of the patient fetch her rattle. He brought it and she sang.

When she had finished singing, she declared that some of the spirits to which the old man was obligated were angry with him because a few days previously he had promised them he would give a feast, but, at the appointed time, had broken his vow. She declared that as long as he failed to give the feast the spirits would be angry with him and his daughter would be sick. If he did not give the feast, she would die. He promised to give it. The Clown woman declared it was a prerequisite to his daughter's recovery. That evening the patient's father was heard singing. He invited the young men, including the son of the Clown woman. When all the young men had assembled for the feast, he sang

again. After the feast the Clown woman's son returned to his tipi and stated that the man had painted two elkskins, two small deerskins, and two or three other hides. The place was filled with hides, which were offerings to various spirits.

The man said he had intended to do this a few days previously, but had not done it. He was certain his daughter's illness was due to his failure to give the feast. Two days after the feast his daughter had recovered. Another person had saved her from death. She owed her life to the Clown woman. All the other medicine people had despaired of curing the patient and had declared they could not effect a cure. They did as she had bidden. The next morning the Clown woman went to inquire about the patient's progress; they asked whether she still refused food, or whether she now had an appetite. The patient's mother said that as soon as the medicinewoman had left the tipi, the patient had asked for food and had eaten everything available. She had asked for fresh meat and her father had gone out to hunt. The medicinewoman declared that the patient would recover, and, for a long while, would not be sick again. She bade the patient's mother tell her husband, when he returned from the hunt, that he must always fulfil his promise to the *wakan* beings promptly, lest, some day, all of his children die as a result of his disobedience.

On another occasion a band of Dakota arrived at this camp. They were looking for another party of Dakota, and could proceed no farther, because a young man in their party was fatally ill. They were welcomed to the camp. The strangers said they would remain as long as the lad was sick, until he recovered or died. All their medicinemen had treated the youth, but he had not been benefited. They asked the Clown woman to treat him. She left, making no response to their request. When she returned to her own tipi, she told her husband she had been at the tipi of a sick man whom she had treated. No sooner had she said this than the people returned for her. She treated the patient again. When she had finished singing, she announced that he would die. About three nights before the visiting Dakota arrived at the camp she had known that she would treat this youth, and that he would not recover. She had seen the spirit of this young man before they arrived in the camp. There was no hope for him. The spirit had left

him; he might die at any time. She declared that he must have fallen and received an internal injury when a child. This internal trouble was aggravated by much horseback riding and running while he grew; it had penetrated his entire body. Had he not ridden horseback and exerted himself, his life might have been spared. Now, however, the ailment had spread beyond control.

The Clown returned to her tipi. Soon they came for her again. She returned and treated him again. She declared that after returning to her tipi she had continually tried to think of some means of saving his life, but could think of no remedy. She had previously told them the situation was hopeless; but inasmuch as they had sent for her again she would make another attempt. When she treated anyone who was sick she used her power to cure to the utmost, for she did not like an ailment to have more power than herself; in this case, however, the disease had progressed beyond control. If he had come to her when he first became ill, she could easily have cured him. Now, however, the ailment had spread throughout his body and it would be useless to send for her again. Soon after she had returned to her tipi she heard that the man had died. All who talked about this thought she might have effected his recovery if she had had an opportunity to treat him soon after he contracted the fatal disease. They exonerated her of all responsibility for his death; they said that the disease had progressed too far before she had had an opportunity to treat him.

For some time nothing of importance happened. The visiting Dakota in the camp remained there. All of the young men hunted, but some of them were unable to get game. Each day they procured less. The people in the camp were not killing as much game as before these visitors came. They declared that a spirit was keeping the game from the visiting party. They talked a great deal about it every day. In a dream, the Clown woman saw two Clowns approaching the camp. Arriving at her tipi, they pointed to the visitors' section of the camp, gesturing as though they disapproved of their presence. She revealed her dream to her husband, but warned him to say nothing about it. He obeyed her injunction.

Another night she had the same dream. She went to her father and bade him go to the *tiotipi* and announce to the old men there that a

spirit was keeping the game away from the people. While they were discussing the incident, some of the men from the visiting party arrived at the *tiotipi*. The visitors were told that the Clown woman had had a dream instructing her that a spirit was following the party and was withholding the game from them; if nothing were done to rid them of the spirit, soon no member of the camp would be able to get any game, and everyone would be in need of food.

The visitors said they wished the person who had had this dream would try to assist them. The old men stated they had been getting plenty of food, thanks to the Clown who had been supplying it. Should they offend the *wakan* Clown, they would be helpless and would starve. They had done all that the *wakan* Clowns had asked of them, as best they could, for they tried not to displease them. They had been unable to kill game since the arrival of these visitors; they were responsible for this misfortune.

They arranged to have the Clown woman attempt to drive the spirit away. She bade them invite the other Clowns and inform them of what was to be done. They all agreed to assist her. She appointed an early hour in the morning for the performance. On the preceding afternoon she bade them hunt, to provide meat for the feast. They hunted early in the morning, brought back game, and made a feast with it. When all the Clowns had arrived, the woman sang. When she had finished singing, she bade them make a grass image of a man. This was the spirit. It was taking the road traveled by the visitors when they came into the camp. If the spirit should come into the camp, they would be unable to kill game. The wind was blowing from the spirit toward the game and was barring it. Although the spirit had not yet arrived at the camp, all of the game had been driven away. She instructed them to set the grass image up in the path by which the visitors had come into the camp. She made a bow and arrows for herself. Two of the Clowns had clubs. She walked around the image, singing. When close to it she shot her arrows into it and the two Clowns struck it with their clubs. She declared they had now driven the spirit away.

Among the visitors in the camp was a man who had subsequently killed a Chippewa and after removing the scalp had treated it in an unbecoming manner. He had cut off a piece, left it

on the ground and a dog had eaten it. It was imperative to kill the newcomers' dogs. The spirit of this Chippewa had been troubling them. They had driven it away and now might get game. Everyone, including the newcomers, were much pleased by what she had accomplished. She said that the spirit was now driven off and they might get game at will. All went out to hunt and everyone procured plenty of game.

The Clown woman told her husband that she was now tiring and wished the time would soon come when she would no longer be required to do these things. She did not intend to stop until the *wakan* Clowns agreed, for she feared her disobedience would be punished by a calamity that would befall her son when he had grown to be a good hunter and was actively participating in the pursuits of manhood. She would, therefore, continue until the *wakan* Clown permitted her to stop. No sooner had she said this than a man entered the tipi and invited her to a Clown feast. During the feast she invited all of the other Clowns. She quarreled with another woman. The quarrel started thus: During the feast a woman addressed all of them but applied her remarks especially to the Clown woman, asserting that one woman among the visitors possessed a hide which, when waved by her, would bring death to anyone whom she wished to kill. She could fulfil every wish through that hide. No matter who might think he had greater power, she could do anything she wished to that person.

The Clown woman heard this, but seemed to pay no attention. She wanted the feast to end as soon as possible. After the feast she went to the woman who made these claims. They quarreled as to who was the stronger. The Clown woman asserted that if the other woman thought she was more powerful, if the people agreed, they would hold a contest in the middle of the camp, to determine who was the stronger. The Clown woman's opponent was a powerful and dangerous medicinewoman; she did not use her powers to assist people, but, on the contrary, often killed them; she had many enemies. The Clown woman had decided it was immaterial which one of them survived. The people agreed that they have the contest. The stranger thereupon remarked that she would like to see the Clown woman walking on the following day. The Clown woman replied to

her sarcasm, using the same words. Neither one declared outright that she would kill the other. The following morning the visitor felt badly, but did not know what ailed her. About noon she died suddenly. Before her death she sent a message to the Clown woman asking forgiveness; she declared she had not intended to harm her. The Clown woman replied that she did not know what her opponent was talking about, but was not angry.

When the Clown woman foretold an event at a Clown feast, or elsewhere, the *wakan* Clowns heard her. They assisted her by ensuring its accomplishment. Therefore, she declared that she could alter nothing; the other woman must procure the assistance of her *wakan* protectors. In consequence, the woman died without having secured assistance from anyone; she had no friends. The people declared this was another wonderful accomplishment by the Clown woman. All of the Clowns feared her now more than before. All of the people now procured game as they had previously.

The woman who had died had previously had a test of power with a man. She had power to do certain things and prayed to her *wakan* protectors to deprive her opponent of the power to procure game. Before her death she had changed her mind and decided to allow him to kill game. Nevertheless, the man continued to get none. He then gave a feast for the Clown woman and told her that each day he had been endeavoring to get game, but had failed. His child was starving; he was compelled to secure meat from other people, and even so he was unable to obtain the required amount. He asked her to assist him, so that he could secure game. She sang, saying she would do her utmost to ascertain the cause of his failure. After singing again, she declared the dead woman had been displeased with him and had interfered with his success in hunting; before she formally forgave him, she had forgotten her intention to do so, and had died. The Clown woman promised to help him as much as she could.

After the feast she sang again. When she had finished singing, she bade the man procure a calf hide, paint it gray and hang it in the woods. Thereafter he would have no difficulty in securing game. He followed her instructions, hunted, and secured game. He killed a young deer, brought it home, and with this made another feast for the woman, in gratitude for her

assistance. After the Clown feast, which was held at his tipi, she told the man she was very thankful for it. Because he had given it, he would kill an eagle early the following day. After the Clown feast he wished continually that the next day would come soon, for he was extremely anxious to kill the eagle. During the night he awoke frequently, made a smudge and went back to sleep. As soon as the smudge burned out, he awoke, made another and again lay down to sleep.

The woman went to her father's tipi and told him she was becoming weary of performing the functions of a Clown. Her son could hunt and fight; she wanted him to live; that was why she was obeying all the instructions of the Clowns. The *wakan* Clowns had appeared in a dream and told her she might quit whenever she liked. Her son had now arrived at the age at which they had desired her to do these things. Until now, when her son had passed the appointed age, she had done all that they had desired her to do. She would quit during the following summer; but not entirely, for she would attend Clown feasts for herself and for others, and would apportion eagles and other game. Her father replied that her son was now strong enough to take care of himself and that it would be well for her to terminate her Clown career. As he was saying this, she heard some people remark that the man to whom she had promised an eagle the previous evening had killed an eagle and also a young deer.

While she was at her father's tipi, an old man announced that they must soon camp on the open prairie; the days were growing warmer, and, for a change, they must soon hunt buffaloes on the prairie. While he was walking around, making this announcement, he looked into the tipi, saw her, and invited her to a Clown feast. She attended the feast. She bade the man invite all of the other Clowns to sing with her. He did so. They sang with her. The man who gave the feast asked her whether she would grant them a few more days of good hunting before they moved out to the prairie. She replied that this concerned the other Clowns and she would ask them. She then said she would allot five days for hunting to everyone in the camp. This was the last time she would grant them good hunting days. She wanted to treat them all impartially. When the Clowns had assented, she told the man she

would allow everyone five days' hunting. This was the last time she would help them. After this, they must induce someone else to help them. The man was pleased by the number of days granted them, but everyone was sorry to hear that this would be the last occasion on which she would help them, and that thereafter she would not use her *wakan* powers. During five days they traveled for a day, camped for the night, and remained at the campsite for a day. They procured all of the game they wished. When they were ready to move again, they traveled for another day, and so on until they arrived at the permanent camp where they had their final hunting day.

The woman bade her son build a fire in the center of the camp. She said the people craved bear meat; that all the old men in the *tiotipi* yearned for it; that they depended wholly on him; and, consequently, she wanted him to do this. She told him that if he complied, he would kill a large bear, but warned him not to bring it near the camp. After he had built the fire, all the people, her son included, hunted. While walking along the dry basin of a pond, her son came to a mound. He saw a bear peering out of its den among the bushes. When it was about to emerge, he shot it through the head with an arrow, killing it. He dragged the bear to the top of the mound, sat down near it, fastened a thong to the carcass, placed the thong about his shoulders, and then, with difficulty, rose to his feet, and carried the bear on his back to the camp. He went directly to the *tiotipi*, threw the bear onto the ground, saying it was for all of the old men there. Whenever anyone does this, the old men are pleased, for they cannot hunt or walk about, but sit in the *tiotipi*, telling stories and eating. Accordingly, they are always glad when someone, particularly a young man, brings them food.

The following day the woman told her husband to go to the *tiotipi* and announce that this would be the last day on which she would help them with the hunting. He went to the *tiotipi* and made the announcement. Everyone was sorry to hear this; but they said it was not her choice; when the *wakan* beings ordered her to do anything, she must obey; if they had ordered her to end her career as a clown, it was no fault of hers.

All the people in the camp were sorry to receive this news; but they knew the woman

could not do otherwise and that henceforth they must get along as best they could. They declared that they depended on her for one more thing, namely, the midsummer buffalo hunt, and until that time they would depend on her assistance. The woman replied that she would send two young men to scout for buffaloes. They went, returning with information that a large herd of buffaloes was moving north. The old man said that the northward movement of the buffaloes signified their future scarcity, and that the hunters would be unable to get much buffalo meat. The herd was larger than those usually encountered. [If the herd had been moving westward, it would have signified that there would be plenty of buffaloes.] All prepared to hunt.

During this period, while the people were getting an abundance of buffaloes each day, the Clown woman visited her father and informed him that the two *wakan* Clowns who had previously given her directions had brought the buffaloes. She had heard them laughing. When she looked around, they were running alongside some buffaloes, and were striking their sides with their bows. The buffaloes would then kick their heels in the air and the Clowns laughed merrily. The Clowns were bringing the herd of buffaloes to the camp. They told the people to hunt early the following day and kill buffaloes, for the herd would then be close to camp. The people must save the tongues of all the buffaloes they killed, and the Clown woman would celebrate the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi* with them, for the time had come when she must cease acting as a Clown woman. Her father went to the *tiotipi* and announced this. When the old men heard that she was ready to quit, they felt as if the end of the world was coming.¹

Early the following morning the men went out to kill buffaloes. They returned late in the evening. Two men went to the tipis and collected all the tongues. The woman bade them build a tipi apart from the others, in which she might give the *heyo'ka wAzA'pi*. They erected the tipi and cooked some of the tongues. Every Clown was invited. After the feast the woman said she wished that the remaining tongues be

cooked early the following morning, for she wanted to finish the feast by sunrise. She invited all the Clowns to participate. Her directions were followed; when there were signs of dawn, everyone was present. The singing of the Clowns could be heard in every direction. They came closer and pulled up roots, which they chewed and spewed into the vessel. During the singing, the woman took a tongue from the vessel, went west with it, and presented it to someone nearby. Each Clown removed a tongue and gave it to someone. Thus they emptied all the vessels.

After the feast the Clown woman proclaimed to the assemblage that this was the last act which the *wakan* Clowns had directed her to perform before she quit. Now the end had arrived. She would live for some time and might still treat the sick, but could not assist the people to secure game, or promise them certain things. Although she could not serve in those capacities, or forewarn them about the Chippewa, she could treat the sick as effectively as ever. Her last promise was that they would kill four Chippewa while hunting buffaloes. Killing the four Chippewa would be the fulfilment of her final promise. Her son had now grown to young manhood. She had promised the Clowns that she would do everything they directed, for she feared that otherwise some mishap would befall her son. The time had now come when, they said, she might stop; henceforth the people could not depend on her for game. All the men were sorry to hear this, but they could not ask her to continue, for they knew she had done her part. Nevertheless, they grieved over her words. That night those who were not Clowns united in making a Clown feast for her in gratitude for her service. They said they were sorry this would be the last time they would make a Clown feast for her. She, too, regretted that the time to quit had come, but she could not alter the fact. During the remainder of her life she would do her utmost for them by treating the sick. She lived a long time. She could not assist them with any phase of hunting, but in treating the sick she was as efficient a medicinewoman as ever.

That is the end.

¹ Phraseology probably of European inspiration.

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