

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS**  
**OF THE**  
**American Museum of Natural**  
**History.**

**Vol. XI, Part II.**

**DANCE ASSOCIATIONS OF THE EASTERN DAKOTA.**

**BY**  
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**NEW YORK:**  
**Published by Order of the Trustees.**  
**1913.**



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## INTRODUCTION.

The data here presented on the dances of the Eastern Dakota were collected during two very brief visits, one in the fall of 1911 to the Santee of Santee, Nebraska, and the second in the fall of 1912 to the Sisseton and Wahpeton of Ft. Totten, North Dakota. At Santee I was able to secure but a single good informant, and at Ft. Totten the number of old men and women competent to give information was also very small. Accordingly, the statistical method of determining how individuals were affiliated with different dances at different periods of their life could be applied only with moderate success, and altogether the data are less satisfactory than those presented in this volume for other tribes. The gaps left in the objective description of the dances have in some measure been filled by quotations from older authorities that are not readily accessible. As the data on the organization of those participating in a dance are in part contradictory, a survey of this subject is best deferred until after all the concrete information shall have been presented.

At Santee my interpreter was Captain Young, and at Ft. Totten, Mr. Buisson, both of whom are part Sioux and have lived with the Eastern Dakota for many years.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

February, 1913.

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## DANCES.

### KIT-FOX DANCE.

According to Whale (Santee), those performing this dance (tokā'ta watci'pi) numbered from twelve to thirty. An old man acted as herald, all the others were young men from twenty years up, though they might continue to perform as long as they lived.

One man always got up the dance; and he would appoint two men to select possible incumbents for the two military offices of the association. The persons filling these positions did not expect to survive the next war party, for they were in duty bound to be especially brave in a fight. Some were actually killed, while others succeeded in getting out alive. If an officer was wounded in battle, he was permitted to resign.

The two men delegated by the leader set out, each carrying twenty-four black and red sticks. With one pair of these they would approach one of the guests to be invited, who took either stick — it did not matter which <sup>1</sup> — in token of acceptance. When all the sticks had been distributed in this manner, the two delegates reported to the leader, and after a while the guests arrived at the dance-ground with their invitation sticks. Two songs were sung, then the two delegates rose and danced. Next the two resigning officers rose and danced about, selecting from among the guests the bravest fighter and swiftest runner, whom they seized and made to sit down in the middle of the place. This indicated that he was to fill the position to be vacated by one of them,—in other words, that he was to encounter great danger and would be doomed to die. Accordingly, while no guest ever declined the honor, his female relatives regarded it as a sentence of death and began to wail in anticipation. When the second new officer had been selected in the same way, a song was sung, and the two newly-chosen warriors rose to recite a warlike deed, such as striking a coup. Then they sat down, and the former officers sharpened knives and shaved their successors' hair, leaving a central roach, which was waxed with buffalo tallow. Their bodies were painted red; the face and the shaved part of the head, blue. They were presented with a belt of buffalo skin with a fringe of dried kit-fox tails, beaded on the outside. As an emblem of their position they also received a crown of cloth or skin decorated with a large number of

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<sup>1</sup> Riggs (b, 133) explains, in another connection, that red sticks and black sticks symbolized respectively those tribesmen who had, and those who had not, killed enemies. But compare this paper, p. 134.

kit-fox jaws. At a dance these officers wore no leggings, only a breech cloth. They sprinkled ashes on their foreheads. The other performers might dress as they chose.

As soon as any one announced that he was setting out on a war party, these two officers joined him. They would charge the enemy's camp. If the enemy charged the Santee, they went in advance of all their fellow-tribesmen. Only after one of them had been killed, the other warriors might advance as far as they pleased. On the other hand, the two Kit-Foxes had the first chance to strike coups. If they came out of a battle alive, they became chiefs (wi<sup>n</sup>tcácta yā'tapi).

Such a selection of officers as that described might sometimes take place but once in twenty years. The men invited but not selected simply went home. At other times the dancers might meet simply for amusement. The dance somewhat resembled the Grass dance.

No payment was required for joining in the dance, nor was any fee demanded for the officers' regalia. However, the relatives of those newly chosen for office would give away horses or large amounts of property to some old man or to a good young man who was in want of a hunting-horse, — all this in honor of the officer-elect.

There was nothing sacred or secret about the Kit-Fox dance. Members were not permitted to join in the napē'cni dance.

Among the Indians of Ft. Totten, very little information could be obtained regarding this dance, here called "*tokā'na watcī'pi*," which my interpreter translated "coyote dance." Little-fish, a Sisseton, declared that the young men not belonging to the napecni danced the tokana. There was no special dress or paint, but members wore a headband decorated with the upper teeth of a coyote and had their hair roached in the center. When a member had slain enemies he would stick one feather in his roach for each man he had killed. There was a single leader and a crier to announce the performance of a dance. The dancers were young and middle-aged men. At their dances they were wont to "throw away" women and horses.

Cipto-duta (Red-heads) a Sisseton, saw the tokana dance but once. He did not want to have his hair pulled out, because he thought it looked very ugly.

#### NO-FLIGHT DANCE.

The founder of this dance among the Santee said that he had originally been born to the right of the sunrise but that he was re-born with a mission to go to the sunset. When he had completed the journey, he called upon the Thunder as his "grandfather," and the Thunder responded, showing



him the *napē'cni* dance. Some of the people participating in it were painted red, others blue. Some had red spots on their temples, with lightning lines running down the face. The mouth was painted red, with black paint above and below. Streaks of lightning were marked on the arms. The dancers carried large war clubs. "These," said Thunder, "are the kind of people you must dance with." They were all Thunder people, and the founder took them back with him. From time to time they would strike the ground. When the visionary had returned home, he was ordered to organize the dance before he got married, but first he was to perform some heroic deed. The Thunder told him that enemies (Ojibwa) were dwelling between north and south and that he must go and destroy them. Accordingly, he set out on a war party and in the guise of a Thunder being, killed some enemies, then resumed human shape, and came back. After his return he went to the woods with several young men who had been on a <sup>1</sup> war party, and for several days taught them his songs. He made a promise that he would never retreat from the enemy.

The latter part of this origin narrative merges into the account of what a leader of the dance was expected to do after his first war expedition.

If the leader was successful, then four years after the first war party he would again set out on an expedition. The scalps brought home were used at the dances, but were kept only for four months. During this period they were painted four times on the inside, and all kinds of trophies, such as eagle feathers, bells, or beads, were tied to them. After the fourth painting of the scalp, which work was the privilege of the four men who had counted coup on the scalped enemy, the members prepared to bury the scalp. All the members of the war party then went to the burial site selected for the purpose. The fourth coup-counter dug the hole and buried the scalp.

The leader of this society had the power of making the war medicine known as "*wō'tawc*," though others who were not members of the association might also have this power.

If any of the Thunder's regulations were disobeyed, the Santee believed that the offender would be killed by lightning. When the United States took away the lances of the people after one of the Sioux uprisings, the Thunder was angry and many people were killed by lightning.

John Kato, one of the oldest living Santee at Santee, Nebraska, belonged to the *napē'cni* in his youth, and was leader.

Whale identified the *napē'cni* with the Brave Heart (*ca<sup>n</sup>te t'i<sup>n</sup>za'*) dance.<sup>2</sup>

Hepana, a Wahpeton informant, independently said that the *napecni* originated in a Thunder revelation.

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<sup>1</sup> His?

<sup>2</sup> See this volume, p. 25.

Little-fish, a Sisseton, said that he was about twenty-two years of age when he entered the dance, but another Sisseton, Red-beads, gives his age at joining as eleven, and says that all the members were young boys. This seems somewhat improbable, unless a boys' imitation of the napecni is referred to.<sup>1</sup>

Little-fish enumerates three officers, to whom might be added a fourth who acted as crier. The three officers would appoint the time of a performance and had it heralded round the camp by the crier. All three had a feather transversely across the crown of the head, flanked with owl's ears, and wore a weaselskin cap on the back of the head with a beaded fringe falling down. Two of the officers were leaders and bore long sticks with two feathers at the top and an iron point at the bottom. The third officer carried a whip or tomahawk, and whipped those who would not dance at a performance. In war these were the only weapons carried by the three officers. If they got killed, it did not matter to them, for that is what they were officers for. In battle the whipper took a position in the rear to whip on any of the members whose courage might fail. The officers were appointed in a general assembly of the society and remained in office until such time as they chose to retire, when others were chosen to take their place. The privates did not wear any special costume, but all had rattles, which they shook during a dance, there being no drum.

There was no initiation fee, but the membership was limited by the obligation to be very brave in battle. Little-fish sets the number at from thirty to forty, Red-beads at twenty. Any member might have a feast prepared and then invite his fellow-members. There was a public performance of dancing round the camp. Red-beads and Little-fish agree that those belonging to the napecni did not participate in other dances.

Red-beads says that the members had quill-worked strips of deerskin in the back and that each wore a red flannel sash. According to him, two officers bore straight flannel-wrapped sticks with alternating white and black feathers; two others carried hooked sticks wrapped with otterskin.

Riggs points out the close association between the napecni and military activity:—

In the organization of an army and its preparation for effective service a large amount of drill is found necessary. Something very like this, in its objects, is resorted to by the Dakota war captain in preparing the young men and boys for the warpath. It is called the "No flight dance." This gathers in the young men who have not yet made their mark on the battle field, and drills them by the concerted motions of the dance, while, by the recital of brave deeds, their hearts are fired and made firm for the day of battle. The instructions given are lessons in Indian warfare.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wissler, this Volume, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Riggs, (a), 225.

## RAVEN-OWNERS.

The full name given for this dance was *kari<sup>n</sup>'yuhā ōkō'daktcīe watcī'pi* (Raven-owners' meeting dance). I did not even get the name at Santee, but a few data were supplied by Hēyóha, a Sisseton living near Ft. Totten.

The members of this organization are said to have numbered over a hundred. Only one of them owned the drum of the society, and there were four singers, who also acted as leaders. Two members bore gourd rattles. The last-mentioned officers crossed each other's path at the commencement of a performance, which was the signal for all the Raven-owners to begin their dance. The members were naked except for a breechclout, and were painted black. They wore beaded necklaces and had skunk skins tied round the upper arms. There was no set time of the year for a dance, nor was a performance restricted to either the daytime or the night. It took place whenever victuals had been prepared for the society.

## BADGER DANCE.

Hēyóha, a Sisseton, thought that this dance, called *íexoka* came from the Arikara. It was danced sometimes in the daytime, and sometimes at night. The members chose the officers. There was one drum owner, but no singers. Two men carried, holding the central part, straight sticks about three feet in length, wrapped with flannel and decorated at four points with pairs of eagle feathers. Two members carried long hooked sticks wrapped with otterskin and decorated at three points with pairs of feathers. A third pair of officers bore sticks about three feet long, wrapped with otterskin and decorated with a feather at each end.

The Oglala (this Volume p. 31) derive the society from the Crow, but say that the tobacco used in the dance originated with the Pawnee and that the Crow received their tobacco from the Arikara. The Dakota word translated "badger" closely resembles the word (*íexuxka*) for the Kit-fox, which is the name of a Crow society. It is therefore conceivable that the Oglala adopted both the Crow name and the Crow society and afterwards reinterpreted the meaning of the name according to their own language. Wissler's data on the Badger society are not sufficient to establish a definite relation with the Crow. However, the feature of the four women singers in the Oglala organization occurs in the same form in the Arikara and the Hidatsa Kit-fox societies, and the Hidatsa word for Kit-fox is "*íexoxka*," thus resembling the Dakota term for "badger" even more closely than the Crow word.

## OWL FEATHER DANCE.

This dance (iha'' cu<sup>n</sup> watci'pi) was revealed to the Santee by the buffalo. Whale saw one performance of it. The head man proclaimed the dance, gathered many young men together, and taught songs to them. In inviting these he sent out two men with 48 red and black sticks to be distributed among the prospective guests. When the supply of sticks had been exhausted, the two delegates returned and began to sing, and the guests gathered at the place of singing. The head man selected two brave men, then these chose others to come towards the center. All those chosen sat with bowed head, while their relatives gave presents of horses to some poor old people. Those in the center then rose. All who had received sticks gave away property on their own account. During the dance the leader said: "Late in the fall I wish you to find two little birds; kill them and bring them to me." The birds meant were the owl and the crow. Sometimes they killed about 150 crows, enough for decorating forty-eight headdresses. These consisted of buckskin caps; the crow feathers were marked with little strips of weasel skin. The owl feathers were put together in a bunch and quills were painted red. The Sisseton and Wahpeton were both requested to save owl feathers for these headdresses. Further, each member had a whistle made of a long swan's wing bone and a rattle composed of a wooden stick enclosed in a buckskin envelope, to which deer hoofs were attached. A sash (cináca, named after red blankets) was prepared by sewing together a strip of red cloth and another of black cloth, and leaving a loop for the neck, the rest of the sash falling down the back. At intervals there were attached to the sash wooden bars decorated with porcupine quills and feathers. All the performers decorated themselves with vermilion paint.

The leader spoke mournfully and sang a song, which he declared was a mourning song,— the kind sung when a person was dying. Among a tribe called Head-Cutters (pā'baksà) there was a man who was seriously ill. The chief of his band, Wā'nata<sup>n</sup>, invited the Owl Feather dancers to visit this sick man before he should die. All the members accordingly went there in single file. When their hosts saw them, they raised up the bottom of the sick man's tent and supported it with sticks. The dancers surrounded the tent, and sang a song. During the second song the patient died. He had said that if he saw the dance first he should be willing to die. Then the two braves of the association told their deeds. They pulled out their knives, seized each of the dancers, raised a portion of their skin and ran blades through it. The head man said, "It matters not when or where one of your number dies, run a knife through your skin in token of mourning."

The mawátani<sup>1</sup> dance is said to be related to the Owl Feather dance, though there was no special occasion, such as the death of a tribesman, for its performance. Robes were worn over the costumes, which consisted of buckskin shirts with fringed sleeves, and handsome leggings with fine strips of beadwork or quills. As soon as the members got to the dance ground they doffed their robes, displaying their dress. Some had straps with little bells below their knees. A bunch of owl feathers, supported by a stick, was worn at the back of the head. While dancing, the members remained in the same place, only one or two moved up and down in the center.

When the napecni dance had been abandoned by the Sisseton, the same men who had performed it joined the Owl Headdress dance (iha<sup>n'</sup>ca<sup>n</sup> wapáha watcí'pi). Little-fish was about thirty years of age at the time. According to him, Pta-hā'na (Otter-skin) who was not a napecni, originated the dance as the result of a vision and gave all directions as to dress and activities. He personally invited men to join the dance. "He invited me because I was fit to join." There were forty members, grouped in two divisions of equal number and rank. All wore caps of owlskin, with the tail hanging down and red plumes stuck in all over. But the men of one division, who painted their bodies red, wore headdresses of the natural color of the owl, while the other twenty men painted both their headdresses and their bodies black. My informant belonged to the division using red paint, affiliation with either group being a matter of choice. When a member died or was killed, a new one was chosen to fill his place. All wore a sash of red flannel trailing down in the back and decorated with quill work. A little whistle was fastened to the flannel in front and blown during the dance. The performers wore leggings, moccasins, and a clout, but no shirt. There were two drums, one being held in the hand, the other hung from two sticks and beaten by two musicians. Another instrument consisted of a stick inserted into the skin of a deer leg, with the hoof left on, and decorated with porcupine quillwork. During a dance this stick was moved up and down and finally planted into the ground. I do not know how many members had one of these rattles. There were four leaders, including the founder of the dance, and one crier.

Tawateihe-homini joined the Wahpeton mā'tano<sup>2</sup> dance at the age of sixteen. He said the dance did not originate in a dream. Only brave men were expected to join, but there were four women singers. There were about sixty members, twelve of them officers.

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<sup>1</sup> The name of a Dakota band.

<sup>2</sup> This was the form of the word employed by several informants, though Hepana, another Wahpeton, used the term mawā'tani found among other Dakota groups. The translation given by my interpreter at Fort Totten was "Mandan Dance."

Of the officers, four wore a crown of red flannel; down the back there was a streamer that was decorated with owl feathers. These men were the leaders proper, and if any member of the dance had done something to be ashamed of they might throw him out, in which case he was not permitted to return. They were called *iha'cu wapáha ita'tca*, "leaders with owl headdresses."

A second quartet wore sashes of red flannel, with trailers decorated with owl feathers like those of the leaders. In front the sash was decorated with a strip of buckskin, which had a quill work decoration of the size of a hand. These men were called *má'tana wi'tcítake ita'tca*, "leaders with sashes." If any tribesman was wounded or killed in battle, it was the duty of the sash-wearers to rescue him or his body even at the risk of death. If the Wahpeton retreated from the enemy, the four must always remain in the rear, nearest the pursuers.

A third quartet had a stick about three feet long, wrapped in quill-worked buckskin and tipped with an eagle feather at one end. Below the handle there was a strip of buckskin three or four inches wide and trimmed with tin cones. These officers were called *má'tana itca'bu yuhā'pi*, "drumstick-owners." Their function was to adjust quarrels in the camps. If the disputants did not obey, the drumstick-owners struck them with their sticks, sometimes even killing them. In the latter case the relatives of the slain man had no redress but received horses from the officers.

The rank and file wore at the back of the head an eagle feather with a stripped owl feather attached to it.

The officers were chosen at a big gathering. First four electors were appointed by the assembly, and the electors then chose the twelve officers, taking into consideration the bravery and uprightness of possible incumbents. If satisfactory, officers would fulfill their functions indefinitely.

There was a drum hollowed out from the section of a tree and suspended from four sticks. The six drummers sat in the center of the lodge, which was formed of two ordinary tipis, and the four women singers sat behind them.

In dancing one foot was alternately made to glide in front of the other.

The members were expected not to be jealous if other men courted their wives. If a member did exhibit signs of jealousy, he was regarded as disgraced and was dismissed from the dance.

## ELK EAR SOCIETY.

The native name of this organization is *upa<sup>n'</sup> nakpa' ō'kodaktciè*.

Red-beads, a Sisseton, joined the society after leaving the *napecni*. There were about thirty-four members, including my informant's father and about five men, all told, of his father's age. Red-beads remained in the organization for nine years. At the end of that period an accident happened to one of the members through the accidental discharging of a gun, and for this reason the society ceased to perform its dance. It was intended to do this only for a limited time, but somehow the dance was never resumed.

There were no leaders in this body nor any distinctive articles of costume. All the members used elk ears to carry their tobacco in. The musical instrument consisted of a big drum made from a hollowed-out log covered with a rawhide head; the singers sat round it. If strangers came to camp, this society would entertain them.

## HĒYŌ'KA.

The *hēyō'ka* ceremony figures prominently among both the Eastern and the Western Sioux.<sup>1</sup> Its mythological associations vary somewhat according to different accounts, but everywhere the idea seems to be uppermost that the performers imitate some supernatural being or beings acting in a way contrary to nature and custom, so that possibly "*heyoka*" should be construed as a generic term covering all who indulge in such activity. Thus, Mrs. Eastman speaks of "*Haokah*" as a single giant, while Riggs (quoted by Dorsey) defines him as existing in four varieties, "all of which have the forms of small men." But both authorities agree that *Heyoka* feels cold in the summer and warm in the winter. The most remarkable ceremonial expression of this "contrary" character consists in the performers' plunging their arms into a kettle of boiling water without being scalded. This trick, it should be noted, was also practised by the Ojibwa *Wabeno*<sup>2</sup> and the Hot Dancers of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara.<sup>3</sup> Whether the Dakota *heyoka*, like the clowns of some other tribes, expressed the reverse of their intended meaning, does not seem certain. In answer to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. O. Dorsey, (a), 468-471; Mrs. Eastman, 206, 243, 255-257; Wissler, this Volume, 82-85. Dorsey quotes from recondite papers by Riggs, Pond, Lynd, and from the Bushotter manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Tanner, 135.

<sup>3</sup> Maximilian, II, 144.

a leading question my Santee informant stated that, while "backward speech" was called *heyoka eyapi*, it was not necessarily connected with the heyoka performers; Red-beads' wife said that the Sisseton heyoka did not practise "backward speech"; and Hepana replied that the Wahpeton heyoka did practise it during their dance.

All sources of information connect the heyoka ceremony with thunder or lightning. Among the Eastern Dakota disregard of a vision ordering the performance of various ceremonies was believed to be punished by death through the thunder deities, but in the heyoka the association between disobedience and punishment of this form was perhaps even more strongly accented, and this was certainly true of the Oglala. A Sisseton told me that a heyoka dreamer must perform the dance lest he should be killed by lightning. According to a Santee informant, a heyoka dreamer once thus addressed his fellow-performers: "You have saved my life. Thunder-storms have been passing over us frequently, and I was terrified. I made offerings of beef, but the next time I suppose I should have been killed." This man had disregarded two admonitions by the thunder beings to conduct the ceremony. He had often sung heyoka songs, and the other people had been wondering why he did not give a dance.

Dorsey speaks of the Heyoka *society*. Wissler tells us that all members had experienced dreams of the same type, on the basis of which statement the heyoka would by some writers be classed as a "religious" society. The impression received from my Eastern Sioux informants is somewhat different. According to Whale (Santee), the person giving the dance had had a vision and would send red and black invitation sticks to others, but it does not appear that these were necessarily also heyoka dreamers. Whale himself once accepted a stick sent him and participated in the ceremony, but he says nothing of having had a vision. In addition to the hot water performance the heyoka had no feasts or meetings, in other words, they did not constitute a permanent organization. For the Wahpeton, Hepana made a still more explicit statement. Only one man would dream of the dance and those who joined him were not thereby prevented from entering other dances. The same individuals repeated the performance in successive years, but there was nothing to prevent anyone else from joining if he so chose. The small number of performers according to some versions is noteworthy. Hepana recalls seeing as many as ten: Red-bead's wife (Sisseton) never saw more than two men performing together; and another Sisseton remembers heyoka performing singly or in pairs. Possibly these statements do not refer to the scalding ceremony, for Lynd's and Mrs. Eastman's accounts of Eastern Sioux heyoka performances give the impression of a fairly well-sized assemblage, as does also the account of my Santee informant.



Recollecting that there may have been differences in the matter of organization even among the different groups of Eastern Sioux, we may perhaps interpret the data as follows. The hot water performance was undertaken, at the instigation of a special vision, by all who had ever dreamed of the heyoka, but others might and regularly did join. The number of heyoka dreamers was small, and without forming a definite organization they would from time to time act in a clownish way, singly or in concert, quite apart from their joint participation in the heyoka ceremony.

Thus, Tawatcihe-homini once saw a heyoka enter the Sun Dance with a mock whistle. Instead of facing east like the performers he looked toward the west. At this stage none of the dancers had as yet been pierced, but two men told the leaders to pierce the clown's gunnysack raiment and suspend him from the pole. The clown, however, got wind of the plan and made his escape unnoticed. Men acted thus as a result of a dream. On another occasion the same informant saw two heyoka, wearing their hair unbraided and tied in front, with their heads decorated with red, white, and blue plumes. A black cloth tied over their heads fell down in front so they could only see what was on the ground. They were joined together by a buffalo hair rope. By sleight-of-hand they crossed over and changed the position of the ends of the rope,<sup>1</sup> the spectators not understanding how it was done.

Little-fish (Sisseton) recalls one or two heyoka going through camp, blowing whistles and acting in a foolish manner. Their quivers held a crooked stick for a bow and straws for arrows. Among the Santee, the heyoka played a part when the elk and Two-Women performance took place (see pp. 117, 118), which indicates, of course, that there were men recognized as heyoka apart from the ceremony of that name.

For the ceremony itself, it will be best to quote Mrs. Eastman's account and then add a few details obtained from other sources of information:—

The dance to the Giant is always performed inside the wigwam. Early in the morning the dancers were assembled in the chief's lodge. Their dress was such as is appointed for the occasion. Their hats were made of the bark of trees, such as tradition says the Giant wears. They were large, and made forked like the lightning. Their leggings were made of skins. Their ear-rings were of the bark of trees, and were about one foot long.

The chief rose ere the dawn of day, and stood before the fire. As the flames flickered, and the shadows of the dancers played fantastically about the wigwam, they looked more like Lucifer and a party of attendant spirits, than like human beings worshipping their God.

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<sup>1</sup> I failed to get a clear notion of just what the trick consisted in.

Markeda stood by the fire without noticing his guests, who awaited his motions in silence. At last, moving slowly, he placed a kettle of water on the fire, and then threw into it a large piece of buffalo meat.

Lighting his pipe, he seated himself, and then the dancers advanced to the fire and lit theirs; and soon they were enveloped in a cloud of smoke.

When the water began to boil, the Indians arose, and, dancing round the fire, imitated the voice of the Giant.

"Hah-hah! hah hah!" they sung, and each endeavored to drown the voice of the other. Now they crouch as they dance, looking diminutive and contemptible, as those who are degrading themselves in their most sacred duties. Then they rise up, and show their full height. Stalwart warriors as they are, their keen eyes flash as they glance from the fire to each other's faces, distorted with the effort of uttering such discordant sounds. Now their broad chests heave with the exertion, and their breath comes quickly.

They seat themselves, to rest and smoke. Again the hellish sounds are heard, and the wife of the chief trembles for fear of the Giant, and her child clings closer to her breast. The water boils, and, hissing, falls over into the fire, the flames are darkened for a moment, and then burst up brighter than before.

Markeda addresses the dancers — "Warriors! the Giant is powerful — the water which boils before us will be cold when touched by a friend of the Giant. Haokah will not that his friends should suffer when offering him a sacrifice."

The warriors then advanced together, and each one puts his hand into the kettle and takes the meat from the boiling water; and although suffering from the scalds produced, yet their calmness in enduring the pain, would induce the belief that the water really felt to them cool and pleasant.

The meat is then taken out, and put into a wooden dish, and the water left boiling on the fire. The dancers eat the meat while hot, and again they arrange themselves to dance. And now, the mighty power of the Giant is shown, for Markeda advances to the kettle, and taking some water out of it he throws it upon his bare back, singing all the while, "The water is cold."

"Old John" advances and does the same, followed by the next in turn, until the water is exhausted from the kettle, and then the warriors exclaim, "How great is the power of Haokah! we have thrown boiling water upon ourselves and we have not been scalded."<sup>1</sup>

While Mrs. Eastman speaks of the dancers' leggings, Lynd says they were nearly naked and my Santee informant that they wore only a breech-cloth. Lynd describes the hats as tall and conical; my Santee says the dancers put white powder and bladders on the head to simulate baldness. According to Lynd, the skin of those who plunged their arms into the water had been deadened by rubbing with a certain grass. Little-fish (Sisseton) says the dancers chewed roots in the mouth and blew them over different parts of their bodies. Whale (Santee) states that only the head man knew the medicine and he would not reveal the secret to anyone; he it was that chewed the medicine and put it on the performers' arms. Hepana (Wah-

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Eastman, 255-257.

peton) says the dancers blew whistles as they moved in their places; two of them carried little drums, the heads of which were not tightened, so that they were merely able to produce some sort of noise. According to Whale, twelve kettles of water were suspended over the fireplace, and in one of them beef tongue and heart were kept boiling. Two of the heyoka went in search of the boiling meat, dipping their hands into the boiling water until they found the tongue and heart, which they threw backwards over their heads.

#### THUNDER DANCE.

A Wahpeton man dreamt of the Thunder, who bade him perform the dance lest he should be killed by lightning. The members danced in their places, flapping their hands up and down. All of them were naked except for a breechclout and moccasins. Their bodies were painted yellow and round the neck they were painted gray. There was only one leader.

#### ELK DANCE.

Long ago a man might go about imitating the actions of an elk and would make himself a tent in the wood. He declared that, if shot, he should be able to cure himself. As soon as others who had had elk revelations heard his song they would join him. Sometimes there were as many as five of these, and they would go round the camp singing. The heyoka, bear dreamers, and persons with other visions, all went in pursuit of the elk. Many acted like dogs, scenting the tracks. My informant also imitated a dog. Of the five Elks only three left footprints resembling elk tracks, so the pursuers gave chase only to these three. The Elks had their medicines in a hole under the tent poles. The heyoka searched all over the tents, but could not find the medicines. One Elk had a looking-glass and some *peji'xō'ta* (sage?). The mere fact that they were overtaken would kill the Elks, but those that really had had Elk revelations were able to revive.

What may be a related ceremony is described by Mrs. Eastman:—

In the dance Ahahkah Koya, or to make the Elk, a figure of thunder is also made and fought against. The Sioux have a great deference for the majesty of thunder, and, consequently for their own skill in prevailing or seeming to prevail against it.

A Sioux is always alarmed after dreaming of an elk, and soon prevails upon some of his friends to assist him in dancing, to prevent any evil consequences resulting from his dream. Those willing to join in must lay aside all clothing, painting their bodies with a reddish gray color, like the elk's. Each Indian must procure two long saplings, leaving the boughs upon them. These are to aid the Indians in running. The sap-

lings must be about twelve feet in length. With them they tear down the bark image of thunder, which is hung with a string to the top of the pole.

All being ready, the elks run off at a gallop, assisted by their saplings, to within about two hundred yards of the pole, when they stop for a while, and then start again for the pole, to which is attached the figure of thunder.

They continue running round and round this pole, constantly striking the figure of thunder with their saplings, endeavoring to knock it down, which after a while they succeed in accomplishing.

The ceremony is now ended, and the dreamer has nothing to fear from elks until he dreams again.<sup>1</sup>

### TWO-WOMEN DANCE.

The Two-Women are mythical characters renowned for their feminine accomplishments; accordingly a woman who has seen them in a vision becomes expert at women's work. Such visionaries also learned the Two-Women's songs; they were expected to perform a dance (*wi<sup>n</sup>'ya<sup>n</sup> nū'papi watci'pi*) and to exhibit special powers. Some men would sing for them.

Men also might have visions of the Two-Women. Sometimes a man would come to a tent and see them singing there. A cousin of Whale's had a dream in which he came to a tent and entered. There were butterflies on one side, and eagle feathers on the other, and a path on each side. After some deliberation the dreamer decided to take the right-hand path, where the eagle feathers were. Then the Two-Women told him that if he had chosen the other path he would have become a berdache. In a vision these Two-Women rebuked the same person for not fulfilling his promise. He could not recollect what he had promised. They rose with their hair streaming down over their face and body and looked like skeletons. They told him that if he did not fulfill his promise he would die. Some time after this incident he was at a lake, when someone began to throw balls of clay into the lake. At first he could see no one. Finally he caught sight of the Two-Women above him, and they again admonished him as before. Then at last he recollected his original dream and he invited all those women that had had a revelation from the Two-Women, as well as many other women visionaries. The women visionaries came, holding ropes, one of them at each end of the rope.

The organizer of the performance then took bunches of variously colored porcupine quills and buried them in the ground in places unknown to the approaching Two-Women visionaries. Some of the other women invited had had visions of the elk, grizzly, and also of other animals, though the two mentioned were the most important. Accordingly, the organizer had a

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Eastman, 264-265.

piece of rawhide cut into effigies of these animals and buried them also in the ground. The women knew nothing about this beforehand. There were heyoka and three other kinds of dancers who joined in the performance. Those who hid the effigies and quills declared that the women dancers had no powers. Then the dance began. Suddenly someone said that he<sup>1</sup> had dreamt of the elk, stooped down, and got the elk effigy from below the ground in token of the truth of his statement. Two-Women visionaries established their character as such by digging up the buried quills.

During these proceedings the heyoka performed their antics outside the dance ground. The heyoka usually dreamt of elks, though any other person might receive a revelation from the elks. Once a frog effigy was buried in place of the elk effigy, and then the heyoka would not come near at all, because they were afraid of frogs.

Elk effigies were buried only at the Two-Women performance.

#### BUFFALO DANCE.

Among the Santee, the men performing the Buffalo dance (*tata<sup>n</sup>'k watci pi*) had had visions of the buffalo, though apparently the sons of such men were also entitled to join.

One man might dream that he was a buffalo and had been shot by an arrow so that he could barely get home. The arrow continued to whirl round in his body. He dreamt that the only way for him to recover was to go into a sweat lodge. First he asked for one of four different kinds of earth to mix with water, drank the mixture inside a sweat lodge, and then recovered. Such a man painted himself vermilion to represent the trickling down of the blood. Another man dreamt of being shot with a gun. Such a one would act out his dream during a Buffalo dance. A third man dreamt that a bullet pierced his eye and came out at the back of his head. He announced his dream, and shortly after that he was actually shot in that way. Still another man announced a dream to the effect that he was shot through his temples, and this also came true.

While dancing, dreamers would call on outsiders to bear witness to the truth of their statements about such experiences. Once a heyoka challenged a dreamer's account, saying that no man could recover from a wound of the kind described. Straightway the dreamer offered to be shot by the clown, who shot a bullet through him. The wounded man staggered off, went to a sweat-lodge, and actually recovered within a few days.

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently, then, men also had an opportunity to exhibit their powers on this occasion.

David Whale's own brother took part in a battle against the Gros Ventre while in Canada, had his hand shot off, and was scalped and killed. When found on the battlefield, he had neither scalp nor hand. The Sioux left him and went homewards, reaching their camp after three days and three nights' journey. On the third day they were very hungry. They saw a buffalo galloping down the valley and lay in wait for him. When he was within range of their guns, they discovered that it was none other than Whale's brother, unscalped. He said to them, "Do not touch me; if you do, you will die, for I am not quite alive. But it is I, the same that you left on the battle field." They let him go, and he retraced his steps homeward. He had dreamt many years ago that the only way to save himself from the enemy was to turn into a buffalo, and had acted accordingly.

There was an old saying that if any one constantly had the Buffalo dance on his mind, yet failed to have it performed, the thunder would strike him, or a buffalo would trample him to death, or some other unnatural form of death would befall him.

Whale mentioned a man who did not himself perform the dance, because he felt unprepared for it, but exhorted his son to do so after his death. Those who had witnessed his brave deeds, he said, would naturally participate in the performance. When Whale was a young boy, a Sisseton named Standing-buffalo revived the ceremony.

When the cherries were ripe and the Sioux were on a buffalo hunt they would propose to have a Buffalo dance. The regalia consisted of forty-four headdresses prepared preferably from the heads of buffalo killed on the same day. The heads were cut off, stuffed until they were dry, and then served as masks. These headdresses could not be bought, but if one of the forty-four members died, his son inherited the mask and the membership privilege. Obviously one who was not a regular member might sometimes take part in a performance, for my informant did so four times as a substitute for a sick member. In addition to the forty-four dancers, there were four singers.

For a performance the members either painted themselves with vermilion or blackened themselves with mud. They hooked one another and otherwise imitated buffalo. The people had prepared for them large buckets of sweetened water, and the Buffalo would bend down and drink.

All those who had belonged to the organization fled to Canada after a massacre in the Sioux war, and there they sold their headdresses.

According to Whale, the organization did not meet for the sake of mere amusement, but only to perform their dance. However, if many lodges were camped together, they would circle round the camp, singing here and there and receiving gifts.

The Buffalo dance as described by Little-fish was rather different in character, the esoteric elements being apparently absent among the Sisseton.

Standing-bull is said to have originated the performance before my informant's day, and his son kept up the dance. The headdress consisting of a buffalo head, with all the hair and the horns, was worn by all participants, and each had a buffalo tail fixed in the back. Some had little feathers on the buffalo head, and others little shells. Each member prepared his own headdress, slicing down the skin lest it should be too heavy. The paint differed with different individuals. There were no officers and about twenty members. Only good singers were asked to sing. The society does not seem to have been especially connected with warlike activities. At the close of a dance the members bellowed like buffalo, and a large tub of sweetened water was put down for the dancers to drink from.

Red-beads (Sisseton) said that he never joined the Buffalo dance because no one made a headdress for him. The dancers might be of all ages provided only that they could get the headdress. During the dance they held a painted disc of rawhide over the left shoulder, for the visionary had dreamt of the use of such shields.

#### BEAR DANCE.

The Bear dance is recollected by Whale to have been performed but twice by the Santee,—once long ago and the second time at Red-otter's initiative.

The head man ordered each of the dancers to prepare a little two-foot hoop and a wooden knife, which was painted blue and held by each man in the same hand as the hoop. The latter was crossed by strings attached in the position of the spokes of a wheel. Eagle feathers were fastened to the strings at each point of attachment to the hoop. During a dance the performers would stoop down and touch the ground with their hoops. The head man said to his company, "I have never told you the meaning of these feathers. I am going on the warpath. If I kill an enemy, you will have the right to wear an eagle feather."

The head man set out on the warpath. After several days he got to the enemy and captured one or two scalps. A man who had struck a coup was entitled to use an eagle feather and a deer-tail headdress. The old people got together and discussed the doings of the war party, saying, "The Bear dancer now has what he desired." This added to the renown of the company. Only the head man was permanently associated with the dance. Anyone wishing to join his war party, might do so, but only those with hoops were regarded as his men.<sup>1</sup> Before setting out on the warpath, the feathers were detached from the hoops and taken along.

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<sup>1</sup> This statement is apparently contradicted by another that anyone might take a hoop and join the party.

Before going on the warpath, Red-otter bade the people make a big den for him in the woods. He got into it. The people went there and pretended to hunt "the bear," Red-otter having painted himself the color of the animal. When the people were close, he scented them, thrust his head out a little, and on sight of his pursuers withdrew it again. Four times he scared the hunters away, returning to his den after each time. Finally he abandoned his place of refuge and began to flee. The people gave chase, and he ran away as fast as possible. Finally, they closed in on him and captured him. To the man who first laid hands on him the impersonator of the bear said: "You will kill an enemy because you have been the first to touch me. You will kill an enemy and get an eagle feather." A prophecy of this sort always came true. When Red-otter's prediction turned out true, the Santee said, "Now, we must all learn his songs."

During a dance presents were given away freely. Sometimes the performers killed a dog, threw it into the center of their meeting-place, and ate it raw. When they had eaten all of it, they would perform one or two dances. They were in the habit of dancing at the lodge of a chief. Their paint was yellowish-red.

A Sisseton informant said his tribe did not practise the Bear dance, but he knew of it as a Santee performance.

#### HORSE DANCE.

My Santee informant saw this dance (cúñka waka<sup>n'</sup> watci'pi) performed only once. Red-bird (Zitā'taca') had been initiated into the ways of horses. The horses were also believed to be related to the Thunder, and Red-bird informed his relatives that he should get killed unless he performed the dance. Accordingly, they helped him with the performance. There were from twelve to sixteen men on horseback, and several afoot. The horses were decorated with blue or reddish paint. The horses seemed to understand the dance and galloped in time to the beating of the drum. The performers all held their guns downward and fired as rapidly as possible while circling round the drummers. The horses jumped down. The head man was afoot among the singers. He was painted red, wore a red blanket tied in front, and carried a blue whip. At the close of the singing he said, "hi<sup>n</sup>, hi<sup>n</sup>!" He seemed very eager to have the dance brought to a conclusion. Then both he and his followers received numerous presents.

Hepana (Wahpeton) says the Horse dance originated in a dream. A horse told the dreamer that if he did not perform the dance he would either die soon or suffer all his life for it. Accordingly, the visionary pre-



pared a feast and organized the dance. There was no particular costume. The performers made a galloping step, holding hoops with rawhide over them. There was one leader. My informant has seen the Horse dance about ten times.

#### RAW-FISH-EATERS.

The person who got up this dance (*hosā'ka wō'tapi*) was a Thunder worshiper; he believed that if he did not eat raw fish and go on the warpath he should be killed by the Thunder. He announced his intention to perform the ceremony and withdrew to the woods, where he erected a tent, singing and drumming all night. As soon as he struck the drum, he heard many voices around him. He heard a voice saying, "I wish you to go to war, but first you ought to have *hosā'ki*. Send canoes manned by two young men armed with long unfeathered arrows into the lake, where they will see big shovel-nosed sturgeon. Perhaps the sturgeon will be floating on the surface nearly dead. Let them shoot them, and bring them to me. Then get up the dance. If you do not obey me, the Thunder will kill you."

When the fish had been secured, the young men would join the dance in order to be able to go to war afterwards and obtain eagle feathers. Sticks were put together to represent a cormorant's nest. The head man painted all the dancers black, with a white collar round the neck, so that they resembled the cormorant. For this bird lives on raw fish and was therefore to be imitated by the dancers. They went round the nest, acting as if they were flapping their wings. The head man also circled round the nest, singing, and approached a pail of boiled water. He put his mouth into the vessel, filled it, and blew the water on the dancers. Then he threw himself down and took the first bite of the fish. After him anyone might eat of them. They danced round the fish, each dancer biting off a piece. Somehow even the fish bones were made away with. When all the fish had been eaten, the head man said, "In four days we will march against the enemy. There is a tent in the wilderness, and there is one whole band there. I shall make a circle of all of them (*i. e.*, I shall kill five of the enemy)." If any of the Sisseton or Wahpeton heard of the expedition they also joined so as to make a large party. They were desirous of getting eagle feathers.

A good objective account of the ceremony by an early observer may well be reproduced here:—

Some days since, an Indian who lives at Shah-co-pee's village 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 on 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 hoops 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 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 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.<sup>1</sup>

#### DOG-LIVER-EATERS' DANCE.

One man had the power to start this dance (cunk pi'yutapì watci'pi). David Whale never saw the dance itself, but only the party coming to perform it. All the men were holding guns and powder horns. They would circle round a spot where four dogs had been killed and their livers placed in a pan. After dancing for some time, the participants ate the four livers raw.

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Eastman, 77-79.

Fortunately this performance has been described by white eye-witnesses, and one account follows:—

This dance is peculiar to the Dacota tribe, and takes its name from the fact that the raw liver of the dog is eaten by the performers. It is not often performed, and only on some extraordinary occasion. The performers are usually the bravest warriors of the tribe, and those having stomachs strong enough to digest raw food.

When a dog-dance is to be given, the warriors who are to take part in it, and all others who desire to witness it, assemble at some stated time and place. After talking and smoking for awhile, the dance commences. A dog, with his legs pinioned, is thrown into the group of dancers by any one of the spectators. This is despatched by one of the medicine-men, or jugglers, with a war-club or tomahawk. The side of the animal is then cut open and the liver taken out. This is then cut into strips and hung on a pole about four or five feet in length. The performers then commence dancing around it; smacking their lips and making all sorts of grimaces; showing a great desire to get a taste of the delicious morsel. After performing these antics for awhile, some one of them will make a grab at the liver, biting off a piece, and then hopping off, chewing and swallowing it as he goes. His example is followed by each and all the other warriors, until every morsel of the liver is eaten. Should any particles of it fall to the ground, it is collected, by the medicine-man, in the palm of his hand, who carries it round to the dancers to be eaten and his hands well licked.

After disposing of the first dog, they all sit down in a circle, and chat and smoke awhile until another dog is thrown in, when the same ceremonies are repeated, and continued so long as any one is disposed to present them with a dog. They are required to eat the liver, raw and warm, of every dog that is presented to them; and while they are eating it, none but the medicine-men must touch it with their hands. Women do not join in this dance.

The object of this ceremony is, they say, that those who eat the liver of the dog while it is raw and warm, will become possessed of the sagacity and bravery of the dog.<sup>1</sup>

### FIRE-WALKERS' DANCE.<sup>2</sup>

Suddenly a man would say, "I will have the fire-walking dance (*pē'ta na sn'pi watci'pi*) performed." Then many young men wished to take part. He selected four of them and bade them sing. "In the north," he said, "there are twelve real buffalo that ordered me to get up this dance. It does not amount to anything, but they bade me get it up on pain of death from buffaloes. If I disobey, they will harm me. They say they have two kinds of weapons with which to injure me. I suppose they mean that if I go to war I shall be wounded."

The performers removed their moccasins. They piled up wood high, to the length of thirty feet. Before the fire-walk the head man would

<sup>1</sup> Schoolcraft, II, 79–80.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "they extinguish fire with their feet."

inspect the wood pile, and in my informant's opinion, he sprinkled some medicine on it, probably the same as that used by the heyoka (see p. 116). He would say, "Let some one set the wood afire. No one need be afraid, you cannot burn yourselves." He selected twelve men for fire-walkers. "The twelve buffalo told me that no one should get hurt by going across the fire." The men chosen mixed tallow with vermilion, and rubbed it on their bare feet. They waited until the wood was kindled into a blazing fire. Then they fell to singing and drumming, and the fire-walkers started across the fire, three abreast. The head man merely looked on. They went the entire length of the fire, then they retraced their steps. Sometimes they succeeded in putting out the fire on the second trip; it never took more than four trips. After the last walk neither ashes nor any other trace of the fire remained visible.

The fire-walker's dance was performed when there was a great gathering of people. David Whale witnessed it only twice. On both occasions the same person acted as head man, for the native theory was that only the man having the appropriate vision had the right to have a dance performed.

#### ROUND DANCE.

A man who had had a revelation from the Thunder would organize this performance (*yumi'ni watci'pi*). He would sing all night, while others constructed an unroofed circular brush enclosure, about eight feet in height. As the leaves were allowed to remain on the branches, it was impossible to look through the enclosure. At the beginning of each quadrant, there was an entrance, the four entrances together symbolizing the Four Winds. In the center of the enclosed space the people planted a straight tree, leaving on it some of the branches near the top. High up on this center pole there was tied a piece of birchbark cut into the shape of an eagle. Inside the fence a large pit was dug.

The head man painted his face black with lightning streaks, and covered it with a veil of black beads. He wore a hairy robe and a crown of sluegrass, with feather quills rising from it like horns. He hid in the pit, began to sing, and raised himself halfway above the pit. In this position he remained throughout the ceremony. He looked fierce as he appeared above ground; children were afraid of him, and even grown-up people trembled before him. He sang slowly at first, then more rapidly, and at the same time beat his drum. Then young men and women came rushing in by each of the four doors, and all began to dance round in a circle. As soon as the head man ceased to sing, the dancers dashed out of doors at top speed.

Then the head man sang slowly, tapping his drum in accompaniment. After a while he beat it faster again, then all the performers, and possibly some who had not participated in the first dance, rushed in again, and began to dance. There were four of these dances. The third time the men coming in gave the warwhoop. At the close of this third dance, the leader said, "Once more." The fourth time the men brought their guns. As soon as they had done dancing, they shot at the string by which the eagle effigy was tied to the center pole. It was believed that the one who hit it would capture a scalp. As the image dropped, all tried to strike it, for it represented the enemy. The one who shot it down and the one who struck it assumed the honor marks associated with the actual performance of the corresponding war deeds.

A Sisseton told me that the yumini was a Santee dance not practised by his own group.

Mrs. Eastman's account of the performance follows:—

U-mi-ne-wah-chippe is a dance given by some one who fears thunder and thus endeavors to propitiate the god and save his own life.

A ring is made, of about sixty feet in circumference, by sticking saplings in the ground, and bending their tops down, fastening them together. In the centre of this ring a pole is placed. The pole is about fifteen feet in height and painted red. From this swings a piece of birch bark, cut so as to represent thunder. At the foot of the pole stand two boys and two girls.

The two boys represent war: they are painted red, and hold war-clubs in their hands. The girls have their faces painted with clay blue: they represent peace.

On one side of the circle a kind of booth is erected, and about twenty feet from it a wigwam. There are four entrances to this circle.

When all the arrangements for the dance are concluded, the man who gives the dance emerges from his wigwam dressed up as hideously as possible, crawling on all fours towards the booth. He must sing four tunes before reaching it.

In the meantime the medicine men, who are seated in the wigwam, beat time on the drum, and the young men and squaws keep time to the music by first hopping on one foot, and then on the other — moving around inside the ring as fast as they can. This is continued for about five minutes, until the music stops. After resting a few moments, the second tune commences, and lasts the same length of time, then the third, and the fourth; the Indian meanwhile making his way towards the booth. At the end of each tune, a whoop is raised by the men dancers.

After the Indian has reached his booth inside the ring, he must sing four more tunes as before. At the end of the fourth tune the squaws all run out of the ring as fast as possible, and must leave by the same way that they entered, the other three entrances being reserved for the men, who, carrying their war implements, might be accidentally touched by one of the squaws — and the war implements of the Sioux warrior have from time immemorial been held sacred from the touch of woman. For the same reason the men form the inner ring in dancing round the pole, their war implements being placed at the foot of the pole.

When the last tune is ended, the young men shoot at the image of thunder which

is hanging to the pole, and when it falls a general rush is made by the warriors to get hold of it. There is placed at the foot of the pole a bowl of water colored with blue clay. While the men are trying to seize the parts of the bark representation of their god, they at the same time are eagerly endeavoring to drink the water in the bowl, every drop of which must be drank.

The warriors then seize on the two boys and girls — the representations of war and peace — and use them as roughly as possible — taking their pipes and war-clubs from them, and rolling them in the dirt until the paint is entirely rubbed off from their faces. Much as they dislike this part of the dance, they submit to it through fear, believing that after this performance the power of thunder is destroyed.

Now that the water is drank up and the guardians of the Thunder bird are deprived of their war-clubs and pipes, a terrible wailing commences. No description could convey an idea of the noise made by their crying and lamentation. All join in, exerting to the utmost the strength of their lungs.

Before the men shoot at thunder, the squaws must leave the ring. No one sings at this dance but the warrior who gives it; and while the visitors, the dancers, and the medicine men, women and children, all are arrayed in their gayest clothing, the host must be dressed in his meanest.<sup>1</sup>

According to Riggs this dance was performed by the organizer of a war party in order to obtain the help of the gods before starting on his expedition. After a preparatory sweat bath the organizer had a tent set, joined to which was the enclosure. Riggs estimates the diameter of the circle at forty feet and the height of the central pole at twenty. At the entrance to the booth were a fire of coals, a stone painted red, and a pipe. The organizer, naked except for a wisp of grass round his loins, came out of his tent with a drum and rattles. He halted before the stone and prayed to it to have mercy on him. Then he entered his booth to sing and beat his drum. The dancers came in, numbering about a dozen or more, and began to dance, followed by three or four women. The men sang and the women answered in chorus. This continued for about ten minutes, when all retired for an intermission, returning again to resume the dance. After repeated performances of this sort the men shot down the wolf image from the top of the pole, and then the war prophet gave forth his oracle.<sup>2</sup>

In another work Riggs says of the Dakota warrior that "after fasting and praying and dancing the circle dance, a vision of the enemies he sought to kill would come to him."<sup>3</sup>

#### MOCKING DANCE.

Among the Santee Wa<sup>n</sup>u<sup>n</sup>'tca (He-mocks or He-mimics) was the originator of this dance (wa<sup>n</sup>u<sup>n</sup>'tcapi watci'pi). He painted his face a whitish color

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Eastman, 262-264.

<sup>2</sup> Riggs, (a), 225-226.

<sup>3</sup> Riggs, (b), 77.

and made for himself a large-sleeved jacket of reddish-colored white muslin. His followers wore similar costumes, though the colors varied. All wore fine caps of otter or mink, or some other fur, some using blue mallard skins. All the caps were peaked in front. Each dancer had a one-foot hoop crossed by two strings, with a bunch of eagle feathers at the center and colored down round the circumference. When the singing began, all the Mockers raised their hoops. The leader had a hoop about 5 feet in height, and continually blew a flute about 6 feet long. While the others danced round the circumference of a large circle, the leader walked along the diameter, blowing his flute. He would say to his followers: "Before I was born on an island in the ocean, I was already alive. Then I had to make a journey towards sunset. In going over the country I saw tracks in the snow, going in different directions. I was told that these were all the tracks of twins. Later I found out that they were the tracks of monkeys. When we get up the dance, they will give you such and such a horse, or mule." This prophecy always came true.

Hepana says the Wahpeton Mocking Dance (*wa+u<sup>n</sup> tcana watci'pi*) originated in a dream of Bukúna's, a man who lived in my informant's day. Bukúna would hold a hoop in one hand during the performance and jump through it. There were about thirty members. The leader wore a cap of blue mallard skin, the others a grayish cap of material unknown to Hepana.

#### OTHER DANCES.

Tawátcihe-homíni (Wahpeton) was fourteen years of age when, at the invitation of the man getting up the *kaiyō'na* (Coyote) dance, he joined in the performance. There were six leaders and, counting both sexes, about forty members. Whenever a dance was given these members joined, but anyone might join without offering pay for the privilege. Those joined who were not too bashful to be seen dancing. Members of either sex might invite those of the other to be their partners. A woman put her shawl round her partner's head and thus danced with him if she was not afraid to be seen by her husband. While partners were so close together, the paint from the face of each would rub off on the other's face. Suddenly the shawl was snatched off, and partners publicly kissed each other. The kissing was essential to the performance, but it was preceded by four dances round the circle without this feature. The *kaiyona* was performed whenever the six leaders announced a dance, and both old and young people might take part. Of the six leaders only one beat the drum, a hollowed-out section of a log, while the other five beat frying-pans and the like to keep time.

While a member of this dance association, my informant might have participated in any other dance. The *kaiyona* was kept up for two years, when it was stopped by the agent, and my informant then joined the *mā'tano* (see p. 111).

My Santee authority said this dance, which he called *kaiyō'ta watci'pi*, was also known as the Night dance (see this Volume, p. 78). In step it resembled the Shuffling Feet dance, and both were of a purely social character like the Grass dance.

The Shuffling dance (*nas'ō' watci'pi*) was performed without special costume. After the dance the performers ran, loading their guns, and discharged them into the air. There were three or four singers, who also beat drums. Hepana does not know whether the dance started in a dream. The Santee also mentioned this dance.

Only women performed the *hō'kobi*, dancing round in a circle, but there were two male singers. My informant (Hepana) did not know whether this dance originated in a dream.

Heyoha, a Sisseton, joined the Grass dance (*pejī mi<sup>n</sup>kenāñka watci'pi*) forty-three years ago, although it seems that he has never danced it since then. The entire body of members chose two leaders and four singers, new ones being elected every year. There were about thirty members, and four women came to help the singers. At present Xexáka howacté (Good-elk-voice) and Iyá-ac-mā'ni (Walking-with-some-one) are the leaders; dances are performed about once a fortnight. In former times some dances were got up for the distribution of horses and other property among needy old men and women. Nowadays the Grass dance serves only for amusement. It was known among the Santee, who also called it *hota<sup>n</sup>'ka watci'pi*, Winnebago dance.

Whale once heard of the Yankton Dakota performing the *sotká yuhá* (see this volume, p. 33). He also mentioned a Red Eye dance (*i<sup>n</sup>ctáca watci'pi*), but explained that it was a Winnebago, not a Santee, dance.

A Wahpeton informant mentioned a Dog dance.

## GOVERNMENT.

In 1680 Hennepin met a party of Santee who had secured a good supply of buffalo meat and freely offered him of it, but suddenly

Fifteen or sixteen Savages came into the middle of the Place where we were, with their great Clubs in their Hands. The first thing they did was to over-set the Cabin of those that had invited us. Then they took away all their Victuals, and what Bears-Oil they could find in their Bladders, or elsewhere, with which they rubb'd themselves all over from Head to Foot...



We knew not what these Savages were at first; but it appear'd they were some of those that we had left above at the Fall of St. Anthony. One of them, who call'd himself my Uncle, told me, that those who had given us Victuals, had done basely to go and forestal the others in the Chase; and that according to the Laws and Customs of their Country, 'twas lawful for them to plunder them, since they had been the cause that the Bulls were all run away, before the Nation could get together, which was a great Injury to the Publick; For when they are all met, they make a great Slaughter amongst the Bulls; for they surround them so on every side, that 'tis impossible for them to escape.<sup>1</sup>

Corresponding practices were noted by later travelers. In October, 1838, Sibley attended a feast of the Eastern Dakota to which all of the warriors of the neighboring villages were invited. "After the feast an old man was sent around to announce the object of the gathering. Several hundred small sticks, painted red, were then produced and offered for the acceptance of each grown warrior. It was understood that whoever received one of these sticks was solemnly bound to be one of the hunting party under penalty of punishment by the soldiers. One hundred fifty men accepted and were thereupon declared to be duly enrolled. These men at once separated from the main body of Indians and selected ten of the braves and most influential young men to act as soldiers, having absolute control of the movements and authorized to punish any infraction of the rules promulgated for the government of the camp." One man who refused to move at the proper time was forced to do so; though permitted to get off without further punishment he was warned against a second act of disobedience. The punishment was discretionary with the police.<sup>2</sup>

Renville gives a full account of the customs connected with the communal hunt. The police force gathered in a special tipi (tiyotipi) and chose four chiefs, a crier, and two "touchers" who attended to all the provisions brought to the lodge. Two scouts were appointed to report as to the location of the buffalo herd, and on their return they privately disclosed their news to the crier, who heralded it forth. The four chiefs then determined the time for the hunt, and the crier proclaimed it. On approaching the game, the party divided into two wings to approach the herd from opposite sides. If one side got in too much of a hurry, thus driving off the game, "then their blankets and even their tents are cut to pieces. This they call 'soldier killing.'" After returning from the chase, all who could do so brought fresh meat to the tiyotipi, the Touchers cooked it and put some pieces in the mouths of the four chiefs, and finally all ate.<sup>3</sup> In another connection Riggs states the important fact that men might not be 'soldier-

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<sup>1</sup> Hennepin, 187-188.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, 187 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Riggs, (a), 200-202.

killed' provided they had killed more enemies than anyone else in camp, or had accomplished some other unique feat of bravery.<sup>1</sup>

The following data were obtained from my own informants.

During a communal chase by the Santee, the head man of the tribe lived in the *tiyō'ti* lodge, which was put up anywhere within the camp circle; he had been selected for his bravery. He would bid the crier summon all the people who had ever been wounded in battle to the tiyoti. Then began the selection of akicitita from among the candidates summoned. One man would rise and say, "So-and-so has performed such and such a deed." Then the candidates were required to recount their deeds. If one man had performed a creditable feat, while another had two of the same sort to his credit, the latter was selected by preference. Thus, the bravest men were selected, to the number of eight.

The method of hunting buffalo was for the hunters to divide into two semicircles, which closed in and surrounded the herd. The leader of each moiety bore a flag. No shot was to be fired before these leaders had come together. The eight akicitita divided into two quartets, each being associated with one of the semicircles. If the akicitita of one side transgressed the rules of the chase, the akicitita of the other side attacked them. If a private of either side broke a rule by prematurely attacking the buffalo, the akicitita of the other side captured him and cut up his breechclout, which was accounted a great disgrace. They also destroyed his tent, broke up all his utensils, and killed his horse. In some instances they even killed the offender.

At the close of the hunt, the buffalo meat was piled up in a big heap in the tiyoti. When the leaves were turning yellow, a herald announced that the pegs of the tiyoti were to be pulled up. This marked the end of the buffalo-hunting season, which had begun in the spring. Then the people dispersed.

It was only at the time of the buffalo-hunt that the akicitita exercised the powers described.

A fairly clear account of the Sisseton akicitita concept is furnished by Little-fish. According to him, his tribe was ordinarily under the chieftaincy of a single man with power to make treaties who bore the title of *wi<sup>n</sup>tcācta yā'tapi*, literally "you-eat-the-man." The office was for life and was usually inherited by the eldest son, but if the eldest did not enjoy a good reputation the next oldest son was chosen. Under the chief there were four ministers known as akicitita, each of whom wore a medal as a badge of authority. Little-fish himself served as akicitita under Wabidénidja<sup>n</sup>, of whom he bought an old King George medal for a horse or mule, thereupon

<sup>1</sup> Riggs, (a), 220.

becoming an akitcita, which office he still claims as his own. Of the four akitcita, one was of superior rank and took the leadership in inviting people to a council. He was known as *waiyū'ta*<sup>n</sup>, "food-distributor," and filled his office as long as he lived. While the wives of all the four officers cooked for those invited to the council, the *waiyuta*<sup>n</sup>, in accordance with his title, distributed the food prepared. All the akitcita were supposed to police the camp. If, for example, one tribesman had killed another, the akitcita tried to reconcile the relatives of the slain man and the murderer by offering a gift of horses to the former. When an akitcita died, the chief appointed one of his sons, or in the absence of any sons, some other man to fill the vacancy.

While these were the officers governing the tribe under normal conditions, there was a complete suspension of their authority for the time of the annual buffalo hunt. Just before this undertaking ten "judges" (*wa'yátō*) were selected in a tribal council, and these exercised supreme authority during the chase. They were chosen only for one particular hunt, and another set would be appointed the following year. All the ten were alike in rank and were not necessarily selected for bravery. They remained in a central tipi called "tiyotipi" while the hunters were camped in a circle on any one site, and issued orders through a crier, bidding the young men remain in camp at night in order to protect the tribe from the enemy and prevent the theft of horses. The judges took the lead on the march, dismounting for the midday meal and for the night's camping. When the tribe had come close to a herd, the judges appointed two scouts to locate the buffalo and also two akitcita, who had nothing whatsoever to do with the four akitcita who served under the tribal chief on ordinary occasions. When the buffalo had been located, the hunters grouped themselves in two semicircles, each of which was headed by one of the akitcita, surrounded the herd, and then began to shoot the buffalo. The akitcita were the ones to cry "hokahe!" thereby giving the signal for the charge, and if anyone disobeyed them they ran towards the culprit and struck him and his horse with a bow or whip. The offender was not supposed to resent this punishment. After the hunt all came together and divided the meat secured. Certain parts of the buffalo, such as the ribs, tongues, and tenderloin, were reserved for the tiyotipi. Two young men were appointed to cook these parts, and when they had done, a crier bade all tribesmen "come home and eat."

Quite different again were the akitcita accompanying a war party. They were chosen by the entire body of warriors for that particular occasion only. If the scouts, instead of merely sighting the enemy and reporting their findings, shot at the enemy, they were whipped by the akitcita. So were any other persons who attempted to charge before the proper time.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mrs. Eastman, 153.

Red-beads, although likewise a Sisseton, gives a very different view of the tribal government. According to this informant, his father had served as an akitcita under Wabideneja<sup>n</sup> and there had been another man holding the same office. It was his father's duty to provide food and offer it to anyone about to do mischief, thus preventing the deed. Red-beads' father bore the title of akitcita wintcastā'tapi or "head soldier." At the proper time for a buffalo hunt he would call a meeting to discuss the subject, and if the people were unwilling to hunt he would appoint some good man to try to persuade them. The chief left this matter wholly in the head soldier's hands. When the hunt started, all men assembled in a central lodge, the tiyotipi, and appointed four akitcita. They also distributed ten sticks to brave men,— five black ones to those who had killed an enemy and five red ones to those who had been wounded in battle. These ten men were merely privileged to provide food for the council, from which all women were barred. They had nothing further to do with the hunt, which was regulated solely by the akitcita, who were paired off on both sides to keep back the hunters up to the appropriate moment, when they would cry out: "What are you waiting for? The buffalo will run away!" If any hunter resisted an akitcita on the hunt, the other three would aid their associate and nearly kill the offender with their clubs.

Wahpeton conditions were described by Tawatchi-he-homini as follows. The Wahpeton were divided into three local groups, all presided over by a single chief. My informant belonged to Sleeping-eye's band; the two other chiefs were Runs-as-he-walks and Thunder-face. If any men in Sleeping-eye's band wished to go out against the enemy, the chief sought to restrain them, preparing a feast for the warriors to make them desist. If his arguments did not prevail, he called on the strongest men to aid him. The chief had two orderlies or akitcita appointed by himself, who carried his orders to other men. These akitcita never took the initiative themselves, but merely carried out Sleeping-eye's bidding.

At the time of a buffalo hunt two lodges were set up close to each other in the center of the camp circle, each being occupied by one head man. These tipis were called *tiyotipi* or *tipi iō'ka*. In each there were twenty sticks. About forty councilors went round the camp, singing and carrying guns loaded with powder. Whenever they came to a man whom they wished to appoint as chief they discharged their firearms and offered him one of the sticks, saying, "*inī'ta<sup>n</sup>kte*," "You'll be a leader." Thus they went from lodge to lodge until twenty leaders had been selected. Each of the appointees brought the stick, together with a potful of cooked food, to the two tiyotipis, where all the men went to eat up the food provided. The twenty leaders then discussed the hunt and selected an old herald, who cried out

that evening that the people should be ready to move the next morning. Before sunrise this herald again cried: "Put moccasins on the children's feet!" The twenty head men took the lead. They proclaimed that no one should move anywhere except to follow them and appointed the tokana dancers, numbering from forty to sixty, to go to the rear and take care lest any one should leave the party. The people proceeded according to the leaders' directions until evening, when they were ordered to pitch their lodges. The two tiyotipi head men first circled round the site, then the others followed and put up their lodges in a circle. The two tiyotipi head men appointed two young men with fast horses to scout for the game. If the scouts returned and, when seen at a distance, crossed each other's paths, this was a signal that they had sighted a great many buffalo, possibly several thousand. When the scouts were returning, the entire party of hunters grouped themselves in two lines. Dried cow dung was piled up to the height of several feet. If a scout had seen a great abundance of buffalo he would run right over the dung heap. If he had sighted about one thousand head, he merely took his whip and whipped off half of the pile. The people hallooed: "There are plenty of buffalo!" The scouts went to the tiyotipi, where some of the twenty akitcita lifted them from their horses and carried them to the rear of the tiyotipi. An old man came with a pipe, lit it, and presented it to one of the scouts, holding the pipe in both his hands. The old man whispered to the scout, "How many buffalo?" The scout might answer, "Three thousand." Then the old man would raise his hand, tap the ground, make an exclamation of joy, and go outside, where he shouted: "So many buffalo are reported! Saddle your horses!" They started for the herd. When they had got close, one man on each side (the tiyotipi headmen?) appointed two akitcita, making four in all. Thereafter, until the end of the actual hunt, all the officers previously mentioned had nothing more to say, and the supreme authority was vested in these four new akitcita. One half of the hunters went north, the other half south. When it was thought that the hunters were close enough to the game, someone put a shirt on a bow and four times raised it aloft and lowered it. Then an old man cried, "hō'he!" This was the signal for all to make a charge. If anyone tried to get ahead of the rest, the four akitcita whipped him back into line.

After the hunt, the twenty akitcita took the tongues, the portions on one side of the ribs, and the tenderloins of all buffalo to the tiyotipi, and had them cooked by four poor men chosen to perform this service during the hunt. Everybody came to the tiyotipi to eat. After the meal a herald announced: "Young men, none of you must hunt alone, or I shall 'soldier-kill' you! To-morrow we must not hunt but take a rest." If any men did

go out alone and came back with meat, the twenty akitcita reported them to the tiyotipi owners, who said, "Go and strike them!" Thereupon one of the twenty braves took the lead, and they went to the offender, slashing his lodge cover and chopping up his lodge poles. Each offender was thus punished. If no resistance was offered, the akitcita so reported to the tiyotipi, whose owners said, "Now pay them for what you have done." Then the twenty akitcita set up a new tipi for the men punished. If anyone, however, resisted the punishment he was killed.

Hepana named only two Wahpeton bands, both formerly inhabiting Minnesota. Each had a chief, and under each chief there were two akitcita chosen by the whole people. In case of any dispute in camp the akitcita were expected to settle it peaceably, though the chief himself might help. The akitcita were selected for life. When a chief died, he was usually succeeded by his oldest son. At the time of a buffalo hunt two special akitcita, who had nothing to do with the other officers so called, were appointed to lead and to give the necessary signals. The two akitcita occupy each one tiyotipi. After the hunt one of them went to collect the tongues and brought them to the tiyotipi. Old men gathered there and ate up the tongues.

If an akitcita had killed a man for disobedience during the hunt, then the relatives of both slayer and slain assembled in a large tipi to which horses were brought. Some men present were armed to prevent a disturbance. Then, if any cousin or brother of the slayer said, "Brother, I wish to die with you," he was tied to his relative. Then the akitcita shook hands with the relatives of the slain hunter, kissed them, and an exchange of horses took place.

The words spoken by the relative of the akitcita become intelligible from another account by Tawatcihe-homini, according to whom the akitcita was liable to pain of death under the following conditions. The parents of the slain man furnish a horse never ridden before, which has its mane and tail docked and has a rope round its neck. The slayer or one of his relatives is placed on the horse, and the parents say to him, "If this horse saves your life, it shall be yours." Then the other akitcita hold up a bar to the height of about four feet, while the relatives of the dead man whip the horse. If the rider falls off, they kill him. If he is not dismounted until after the leap over the bar, the aggrieved relatives shake his hand, kiss him, and let him have the horse, while they themselves receive property from the rider's associate akitcita. Thus peace was established in the camp.

From another account by Hepana I gather that the procedure just described was in no way peculiar to the case of a disobedient hunter killed by an akitcita, but was resorted to whenever a tribesman had been killed and a peaceable settlement was desired by those not directly involved. Once a

man on terms of intimacy with a married woman was shot by the offended husband as he came out of the tipi. The chiefs of several bands then camped together announced that the matter should be settled amicably. The Teton constructed an enclosure, which the relatives of the dead man entered. The murderer came, naked save for a clout, and was made to straddle a horse that had its tail and mane docked. He was not permitted any hold. The horse was brought towards the enclosure, and when it had got very close the relatives of the slain man shot under the horse, making it jump. However, the rider remained on horseback. Had he fallen off, he would have been killed immediately. He was taken to the enclosure, and his former enemies shook hands with him.

### CONCLUSION.

Before discussing the material presented in the foregoing pages it is well to note that the Santee, Sisseton, and Wahpeton all had one society that falls outside the scope of the present paper, being manifestly unrelated to the military and age societies of the Plains area, viz. the Medicine dance (*waka'' watci'pi*). This has been repeatedly, though never extensively, described by observers of the Eastern Dakota.<sup>1</sup> The organization differs from that of any of the performances here dealt with in requiring a definite initiation, which involves a shooting ceremony resembling that found among the Omaha, Winnebago, and several Central Algonkin tribes. In the Medicine dance, membership, being dependent on an adoption, was a perfectly definite thing; but nothing proved more difficult than to determine whether the other dances were performed by definite societies or varied in their personnel from performance to performance.

This question is relatively simple for those dances paralleled in the dream cults of the Oglala, to wit, the heyoka, the Elk, the Two-Women, and the (Santee) Buffalo dances.<sup>2</sup> In each of the three last-mentioned performances all those and only those, took part who had had visions of the same type, though in the Buffalo dance the sons of such visionaries and temporary substitutes were occasionally admitted. In the heyoka it appears that not all the participants need have received a heyoka revelation, nevertheless the core of the performing body was constituted by those who had, and it is

<sup>1</sup> See, *e. g.*, Lockwood, 189; Riggs, (a), 227-229; Dorsey, (a), 440.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless there were others of the same type among the Eastern Dakota. Thus, Miss Fletcher, (e), has described the Four Winds ceremony of the Santee, performed by those who had seen the raven or the small black stone symbolical of the Four Winds.

quite clear that a heyoka was expected to act in a certain way even apart from the ceremonial heyoka performance.

The aforementioned dances, therefore, were associated with definite groups of men and women. Nevertheless, with the exception of the Santee Buffalo dancers, whose number is fixed at forty-four, these groups were, as a rule, so small that they can hardly be designated as "societies." In this trait they resemble the cults of the Oglala, which rarely had more than three or four votaries.<sup>1</sup> A more serious reason against regarding these dances as the property of societies is that there is not sufficient evidence for an *organization* of the participants. There is indeed an indication of organization at the heyoka feast, but precisely on that occasion the performers were composed partly of non-visionaries. So far as men were permanently connected with the heyoka activity, they seem to have been unorganized, that is to say, each man acted according to his heyoka character without special regard to any other heyoka.

The organization of the heyoka *feast* by a head man who had received a special supernatural communication links it with a considerable number of other performances sketched in the preceding sections. The Bear, Horse, and Round dancers, the Raw-fish Eaters, Dog-liver Eaters, Fire-Walkers, and performers of the Mocking dance were all organized by a single individual as the result of a vision; and, as in the heyoka, the visionary was compelled, on pain of death, to do as bidden by his visitant. If I understand the matter correctly, each of the dances just enumerated was the property of a single visionary, who would request others to join him in the performance essential to his own safety. That is to say, I believe that at different times different individuals would organize and perform the same dances which, accordingly, had nothing to do with any society.

From a wider point of view, both the dances performed by men at the initiative of a single visionary and the dances performed by a group of visionaries sharing the same revelation are related to the activities of single men acting out their visions. Red-beads says that some tribesmen dreamed of being grizzlies. These would develop tusks, and other people offered them pups which the dreamers devoured like grizzlies; then their tusks would disappear again. A man, according to Little-fish, who had had a vision impersonated a grizzly and had a boy follow him to play the part of a cub. If the visionary had not acted in accordance with the directions received in his vision, the belief was that he would die. The bear-impersonator had a hole dug for his den and the people set up four sticks at some distance from it and from one another. He would advance as far as the fourth stick

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<sup>1</sup> See this volume, p. 88.



three times and then return to his hole, but the fourth time he went farther and then the people began to shoot at him and actually killed the cub. The principle at the bottom of this performance was probably that the gift of invulnerability could be conferred by a revelation, but apparently it was not altogether without dangerous consequences, as is also indicated by the following narrative. A man once put a buffalo robe about himself and marked it in one spot where he wished people to shoot him. Little-fish saw this man's second performance. Another man was lying in wait as if he were about to chase buffalo. The actor walked round, then stood up straight, and was shot. My informant saw the dirt fly from the marked spot where he was shot. He fell sideways and one of the spectators remarked, "He is falling down, the other time he did not fall down." However, the performer rose and went home. There a place was cleared for him and he sat down, taking some dirt in his mouth and putting some on his wound. He tried to cough up the bullet, but could not do it, and died. A man once dreamed that he should cook for dogs. Accordingly, he would cook a dog-shaped mass of pemmican painted all over. Then he would tell the owners of the dogs to tie grass to the dogs' necks and feet. When they came toward him, he began to sing, and as soon as his song was done, the dogs jumped at the meat.

In the cases just cited the visionary's activity closely resembles certain practices treated under the heading of dances in the imitation of certain animals, in the exhibition of miraculous invulnerability, and above all, in the feeling that a vision must be obeyed. It may be justifiable to look upon the dances as merely the result of specialized visions, visions that accidentally call, in some cases, for auxiliary actors and visions that are accidentally shared by others. This would, of course, express only the subjective attitude of the visionary; objectively considered, the fact that several people tend to have the same vision or that a vision calls for a dance in company with others could not be considered accidental.

Of the remaining dances some, like the Shuffling dance and the *kaiyona*, were of a purely social character. Others, like the Elk Ear dance, are too little known to admit of classification. The Kit-fox, *napecni*, Badger, Owl-Feather, *miwatani* (Sisseton) Buffalo and Raven-Owners' dances have obvious points of resemblance with the dances of the military or age societies of other Plains tribes and are therefore best grouped together, though a comparative treatment of their traits will be deferred until the close of this volume. The essential point to be determined now is in how far these dances were practised by definite societies or by groups of ever shifting constituency.

My Santee informant repeatedly declared that he belonged permanently only to the Medicine Dance, but had joined in some of the other dances for

single performances in the capacity of a singer. Nevertheless, he also made the statement that while a person might thus join in the performance of a dance for a short period he could not be permanently affiliated with several dances at the same time. The clearest evidence for definite military societies among the Santee lies in the mutual exclusiveness of the napecni and Kit-fox dancers, which is corroborated by data from the other Eastern Dakota groups. For if individuals were not identified with a dance beyond a single performance of it, there would be no point to the remark that the Kit-fox dancers might not join in the napecni dance (p. 106).

With regard to the Sisseton, Little-fish says that in the days of his youth there were only two societies, the napecni and the Kit-fox. It was a matter of choice, which one a man would enter. Thus, my informant was a napecni, while a brother of his was a Kit-fox. At a large tribal gathering the napecni would perform their dance on one day, and the Kit-foxes theirs on the next. A man would not leave one society to enter the other, and there was no feeling of rivalry between them. However, Little-fish later did enter the Owl Headdress dance when that was organized after the discontinuance of the napecni. When that was abandoned, three years later, Little-fish joined the Buffalo dance, which in turn was discontinued after a year. Little-fish's evidence, then, points to but two societies of definite and mutually exclusive membership, to begin with. One of them passed out of existence and was superseded by other associations of dancers, each of which in turn superseded another at irregular intervals.

Red-beads (Sisseton) states that at any one period there was only a single dance in the whole camp. Thus, at eleven years of age he was a napecni, later he entered the Elk Ear dance and remained in it for nine years. After that had been abandoned he became a matano when that dance originated, and took part in its performance for four years, when it was abandoned. He went to only one Kit-fox dance because he would not have his hair roached and he did not enter the Buffalo dance because no one had made the appropriate headdress for him. The succession of dances is somewhat suggestive of that given by Little-fish, but the fact that only one dance was performed during any one period puts a different construction on the matter. Evidently, anyone that wished to dance at all was obliged to enter the particular dance of the period, but to what extent all tribesmen actually did participate, and how regularly, is not clear. Red-beads' statements show that he himself did not join in all dances that were organized in his time. The impression he gave me was that the personnel of the performances might vary from one performance to another of the same dance.

My two Wahpeton informants, on the other hand, give accounts indicating rather definite organizations. Hepana says that a napecni could not

join the Kit-fox dancers, but that a man was at liberty to change his dance affiliations and that instances of this occurred. Both he and Tawatcihe-homini agree that there were a number of dances coexisting at one time. Tawatcihe-homini confirms Hepana's statement with reference to the napecni and tokana, and specifically adds that a matano also is barred from joining any of the other dances. On the other hand, Tawatcihe-homini's experiences also corroborate the Sisseton informant's statements as to the successive appearance of different dances in camp. At fourteen, Tawatcihe joined the kaiyona, which was stopped by the agent after two years, when he joined the matano. He danced the matano for seven years, then it was stopped by the government, and he joined the Grass dance. Had there been no governmental interference, he would have remained in the matano all his life.

Red-beads' statement as to the existence of but a single dance at one time would hardly permit us to regard the dancers as forming a society, but it is so decidedly contradicted by other informants that it may be safely assumed to rest on a misunderstanding. We are then justified in ascribing to the Eastern Dakota at least two military societies, the napecni and the tokana. It seems to me probable that the Badger, Owl Feather, mawatani, Elk Ear, and Raven-Owner's dances were also practised each by a definite body. On the basis of available data I should therefore classify the dances of the Eastern Dakota as follows:—

1. Medicine Dance with formal adoption.
2. Dances by military societies not requiring initiation fee or formal adoption.
3. Dances by associations of individuals sharing the same vision.
4. Dances by individuals at the initiative of a single visionary.
5. Social dances.

The Sun dance, according to Wahpeton and Sisseton informants, might be grouped with dances of the second or third class, for its performance was obligatory on one who had dreamt of it and Tawatcihe-homini told me that all the twenty-two main participants in one Sun dance had had visions ordering them to perform the dance.

In one respect the military societies of the Eastern Dakota differ very markedly from those of the Oglala. While among the latter a number of these organizations were usually called upon to act as akicitita on the hunt or in moving camp, the akicitita function among the Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Santee, as described in the preceding chapter, was quite distinct from the activities of the dance organizations. There is a single reference in one Wahpeton account (p. 135) to the Kit-foxes being appointed to render a special subordinate service, but even in this case the members were not

designated as akitcita and do not seem to have exercised the more characteristic akitcita rights.

On another point the evidence is unfortunately too scanty to permit a definite conclusion. In some tribes the military societies are far more than associations for dancing or for the promotion of a martial spirit, and practically constitute clubs with frequent and informal gatherings. I am under the impression that this purely social phase of the military societies was not very well developed among the Eastern Dakota.