Teton Sioux Music and Culture

Part One
By Frances Densmore
First published in 1918

(2022 edited edition)

Preface to the 2022 Edition

Research work is in only valuable when transmitted to others Frances Densmore, 1927

This edited 2022 edition of *Teton Sioux Music and Culture* is intended for free use and distribution, and is part of a larger effort: The Densmore Repatriation Project. The purpose of the project is to make freely available Frances Densmore's work in preserving songs and stories of native peoples in the Dakotas.

The original edition of the book, although it suffers somewhat from the time in which it was written, is considered the most thorough written and audio record of the culture from that time, but it has been difficult to obtain and match the songs for those interested in further study. The recordings, as preserved, existed in clusters which were confusingly numbered and, until recently, were all preserved at a speed which was approximately 11 per cent slower that the original recordings. The project has restored the existing recordings and renumbered them to match the original text.

The 1918 edition of her book was filled with graphs and charts that at best are confusing. While her methodology was ground breaking at the time, it has now become archaic. This edition has preserved all relevant text, photographs and written music. Except for corrections of minor typographical errors, the words of Densmore and her informants have been faithfully reproduced.

Densmore's primary translator at Standing was Robert Higheagle, and the original orthography within the book is his. In the interest of respect to her singers and informants, we have standardized, where possible, spelling to the orthography accepted by the Standing Rock school system.

For those interested to read the complete original edition, a 1992 reprint can be obtained through the University of Nebraska Press.

This version of Teton Sioux Music and Culture by Frances Densmore has been produced through generous grants provided by the Bush Foundation, the North Dakota Humanities Council, the North Dakota Council on the Arts and Dakota Legacy.

Table of Contents

ntroduction	4
Method of Work and of Analysis	9
Comparison Between Old and Comparatively Modern Sioux Songs	12
CEREMONIES	15
The White Buffalo Calf Pipe (Ptehíŋčala Čhaŋnúŋpa)	15
The Alówaŋpi Ceremony	23
The Ceremony of Spirit-Keeping (Wanáği Yuhápi)	34
The Sun Dance	46
THE SUN DANCE OF THE TETON SIOUX	47
DESCRIPTION OF A TETON SIOUX SUN DANCE	72

DLD SONGS1	132
DREAMS AND THEIR OBLIGATIONS1	132
Heyókȟa káğa (Fool Impersonation)1	133
Dreams Concerning Animals1	149
DREAMS CONCERNING THE BUFFALO1	152
DREAMS CONCERNING THE ELK1	155
DREAMS CONCERNING THE WOLF1	161
DREAM OF THE CROW AND OWL1	167
SONGS CONCERNING THE BEAR1	178
The Sacred Stones (Tȟuŋkáŋ)1	181
Freatment of the Sick2	217
NARRATIVE OF A VIGIL AND PRAYER FOR THE SICK2	255

Introduction

By Frances Densmore

A majority of the songs in this memoir were recorded among Indians belonging to the Teton division of the Dakota (Sioux) tribe, living on the Standing Rock Reservation in North and South Dakota. Songs were recorded also among the Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux living at Sisseton, South Dakota. Twelve of these are included in this volume under the following numbers: 95, 96, 97, 189, 190, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240. Field work was begun in July, 1911, and continued until 1914, Mr. Robert P. Higheagle acting as principal interpreter at Standing Rock and revising the material collected at Sisseton, where a competent interpreter could not be secured. The words of the songs recorded at Standing Rock, with few exceptions, are in the Teton dialect, while those recorded among the Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux are in the Santee dialect.

Before entering on a consideration of this material, the terms applied to the tribe and its various divisions will be briefly noted. "Dakota" is the word used by these Indians in speaking of themselves; this word means "leagued" or "allied" and is used also as an adjective, meaning "friendly." The latter part of the word, meaning "friend," is pronounced *kola* by the Teton and *koda* by the Santee. The word "Sioux" was applied to the Dakota by Indians outside the tribe and by white men and has come to be the commonly accepted designation, even being extended to include cognate tribes known collectively as the "Siouan family." According to J. N. B. Hewitt the word "Sioux" is a French-Canadian abbreviation of the Chippewa diminutive form *Nadowe-is-iw-ug* (*nadowe*, 'an adder,' 'an enemy'; *is*, diminutive; *iw-ug*, 'they are'; hence, "they are the lesser enemies"). The Chippewa used this term to distinguish the Huron and Dakota from the Iroquois proper, whom they designated *Nadowe'wok*, 'the adders' or 'the enemies'.- A similar interpretation is given by William H. Warren, the native historian of the Chippewa tribe.

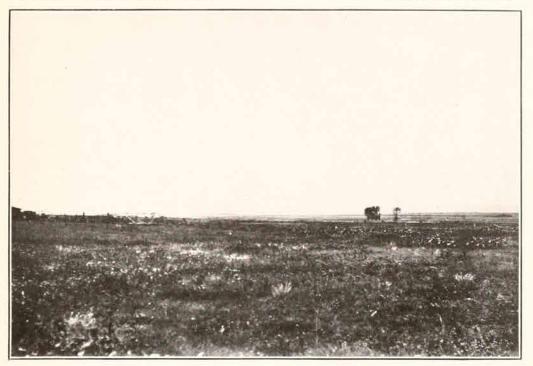
Stephen R. Riggs, in his *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language* states that the Dakota "sometimes speak of themselves as the 'Očhéthi Šakówiŋ', *Seven Council fires*." This term referred to the seven principal divisions, which comprised the tribe or nation. Each of these was divided into numerous bands.

The largest of these divisions was known as the Ti'tonwan, contracted to the word Teton. This division is said to have constituted more than half of the entire tribe and to have exceeded the others in wealth and physical development. They seem always to have lived west of the Missouri River. The four divisions of the tribe which lived east of the Missouri are now known collectively as the Santee. Riggs says: "These Mississippi and Minnesota Dakotas are called by those on the Missouri, Isanties, from 'Isánthi' or 'Isányathii'; which name seems to have been given them from the fact that they once lived at Isantamde, Knife Lake, one of those included under the denomination of Mille Lacs. According to Riggs, these four divisions were the "Mdewakantunwan, Wahpekhute, Wahpetunwan, and Sisitogwans." Prior to the Indian outbreak in 1862 the home of these bands was in Minnesota. The two remaining divisions of the tribe are the "Ihanktunwanna and the Ihanktuwan, the former living along the James River and in the vicinity of Devils Lake, and the latter west of the Missouri. Riggs states that "these two bands have usually been designated by travelers under the name of 'Yanctons'." In the Dakota language, as spoken by these three large divisions of the tribe, there exist some differences, principally in the use of certain consonants. These differences are fully set forth by Riggs. A simple illustration of one of these variations occurs in the tribal name, which is pronounced Dakota by the Santee and by the Yankton group, and Lakota by the Teton. Although the present memoir concerns chiefly the Teton group, the tribal name will be used in its commonly accepted form, Dakota. The words of the songs recorded by Teton are, however, given in the Teton dialect, while the Santee forms are used in the songs recorded by Santee.

The earliest definite reference to this people in history is found in the Jesuit Relations for 1640, in which they are called "Nadvesiv" (Nadowessioux). In the next century Col. George Croghan complied "A List of the Different Nations and Tribes of Indians in the Northern District of North America, with the Number of Their Fighting Men." In this list the name appears as La Suil, and in a footnote the author says: "These are a nation of Indians settled southwest of Lake Superior (called by the French La Sue), who, by the best account that I could ever get from the French and Indians, "are computed ten thousand fighting men." In 1804 this entry was made in the Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: "At 6 o'clock in the evening we Seen 4 Indians . . . and three of them . . . belonged to the Sioux nation." - But as white men came into closer contact

with this tribe they began to use the word used by the Indians themselves. Thus in the "Scientific Data accompanying the original journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," under the heading "Ethnology," we find mention of the "Sieux or Dar-co-tars," with an extensive description of the tribe, including a table of its subdivisions, which is probably the one sent by Clark to the Secretary of War. Gradually the native name came into more general use, with various modes of spelling, and in 1823 Major Long noted the "manners and customs of the Dacota Indians." However, the word "Sioux" received the sanction of official usage in 1825, the statement being made in a Government document of that year that "Returns have been received from Gen. Clark and Gov. Cass, the commissioners appointed to mediate, at Prairie Du Chien, between the Sioux, Sac, Fox, Iowa, Chippewa, Menomonei, and Winnebago Tribes and to establish boundaries between them."

On April 29, 1868, a treaty was made by the Government with the Sioux and Arapaho Indians, which opens with the words: "From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it." The Sioux Reservation established at that time comprised about 20,000,000 acres of land, extending from the northern boundary of Nebraska to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, and from the eastern bank of the Missouri River to the one hundred and fourth meridian of longitude. This was known as "the Great Sioux Reservation." By the terms of this treaty the Government placed agency buildings and schools on the reservation, and provided that, under certain conditions, a patent for 160 acres of land could be issued to an Indian, who would thereby become a citizen of the United States. The affairs of the Indians were administered at seven agencies on this reservation, but the Indians continued in large measure their old manner of life.



PRAIRIE.



LOWLAND ALONG MISSOURI RIVER
VIEWS ON STANDING ROCK RESERVATION

A part of this present Standing Rock Reservation was included in this territory, and an additional tract extending north to the Cannon Ball River was added by an Executive order dated March 16, 1875. An agency near the present site of the Standing Rock Agency (Fort Yates, North Dakota) was established July 4, 1873, and soon afterward a military post was established at that point. Two companies of Infantry were stationed there, and this force was increased to five companies of Infantry and two troops of Cavalry during the Indian troubles of 1876. The original name "Standing Rock Cantonment" was changed to Fort Yates, and the post was continued until 1904.

The distinctively tribal life of the Teton Sioux may be said to have closed when the last Sun dance was held in 1881, and the last great buffalo hunt in 1882. A final hunt was held in November, 1883, and at that time the last buffalo were killed. Then followed a period of difficult adjustment on the part of the Indians, but Gall, Crow King, and others, who had been leaders in the tribal life, became also, the leaders of their people in the adoption of farming and other pursuits recommended by the Government. The great change, however, did not come to the Indians until 1889, when the Great Sioux Reservation passed into history. In its place were established five reservations. The boundaries of these reservations were determined by a commission of three, of which ex-Gov. Charles Foster, of Ohio, was chairman, his associates being Maj. George Crook, and Maj. William Warner. This commission went from one agency to another, holding councils with the Indians, who ceded about 9,000,000 acres of land to the Government at that time.

A reference to the council which this commission held on the Standing Rock Reservation appears in the description of a song of Sitting Bull (No. 194). Shortly after the work of this commission was finished the boundaries of the several reservations were surveyed, and the various bands of Sioux were assigned to these reservations. After these agency rolls were completed, it was expected that the Indians would not leave their reservations without passes from the agent. From that time until the present there has been a steady development of education among the Sioux in boarding and day schools, and also by means of practical instruction in the white man's manner of life.

Method of Work and of Analysis

The method of collecting the Sioux songs was similar to that used in connection with the Chippewa work. Songs were recorded by means of a phonograph, and a transcription was made from the phonograph record, care being taken that the speed of the instrument (the phonograph) was the same when recording the songs and when playing them for transcription. Ordinary musical notation is used for the transcription, with the addition of some special signs.

The transcriptions of these songs should be understood as indicating the tones produced by the singers as nearly as it is possible to indicate them in a notation which is familiar by usage and therefore convenient for observation.

As several hundred records were made, there were some accidental duplications of songs. In five instances (Nos. 125, 132, 133, 151, 173) these are transcribed, such being considered sufficient to show the slight differences which appear when a song is sung by several singers of equal ability, or at different times by the same singer. Other duplications examined by the writer show fewer points of difference than those which are transcribed. It occasionally happened that a song was known to have been imperfectly rendered, and in this case another record was made by a better singer, the second record being, of course, the only one taken into consideration. Indians distinguish clearly among good singers, indifferent singers, and totally unreliable singers. The writer has had experience with them all, and in the absence of information from the Indians, it is usually possible to distinguish them by comparing the several records of a song on the phonograph cylinders. As frequently noted in the descriptive analyses, the renditions of a song by a good singer are usually uniform in every respect.

An effort was made to employ only the best singers. In selecting the principal singers, as well as informants, the writer ascertained a man's general reputation at the agency office and, in some cases, at the trader's store, as well as among his own people. Such precaution might not be necessary if this work concerned only social songs, but all the old music is associated with things that lie very close to the heart of the Indian.

Throughout the work, an effort was made to have the informants entirely at ease in discussing a subject, and never to allow the form of a question to suggest a possible answer. Care was taken also to avoid an impression of seeking anything sensational or of tracing similarity to the beliefs or traditions of the white race.

At any gathering there is one man who acts as the leader of the singers, who sit around the drum. The number at the drum varies with the size of the gathering; if a large number are dancing, the singers sit as close as possible around the drum, each man beating the drum as he sings. Sometimes as many as ten men can "sit at the drum." A singer of recognized ability may, if he likes, bring a decorated drumstick of his own, but the common custom is for the drummers to use ordinary drumsticks consisting of sticks wound at the end with cloth. If a singer at the drum becomes weary, he lays down his drumstick, whereupon someone who has been dancing or sitting with the spectators takes his place. It was said that "the leader starts every song, and if it is an easy song the others commence right away, but if it is new and hard they begin more carefully." Most of the songs may be sung an indefinite number of times, the leader giving a signal for the close by two sharp taps on the drum, after which the song is sung only once.

Sioux women usually sing with the men during the dancing songs. The Sioux women sit on the ground, forming a circle back of the drummers, and sing in a high falsetto, an octave above the men. In three instances (Nos. 201, 203, and a duplication of 173), the part sung by the women is shown in the transcription. Several other songs were recorded in this manner, but the transcription of each is from a subsequent rendition by a man singing alone.

It was said that there were "different ways of ending songs," and that "a man could tell the kind of song by the way it ended." The writer therefore sought more definite information on this point, consulting Used-as-a-Shield and other old-time singers. They said there were two ways, one being "to stop short" and the other "to let the tone die away gradually." On being asked which kinds of songs were ended in each of these ways, they could not give a definite answer at once, and requested time to consider it. After several days they said that they

had "tried over many old songs and found that they always stopped short when they sang such songs as the grass-dance, buffalo-dance, and Crow-owner's society songs," and that they "trailed off the tone" when singing war songs and similar songs.

Among the Sioux were found many songs which could be used on different occasions. Thus the songs in honor of a warrior could be sung when begging for food before his lodge, as well as at the victory dances and at meetings of societies. The songs of those who went to seek a suitable pole for the Sun Dance were used also by those who went to look for buffalo or for the enemy.

It is not so difficult to judge the age of a song as might be imagined. For instance, the last Sun Dance was held more than 30 years ago, and a man who sang the ceremonial songs at that time said that he learned them when a young man from an aged man who was taught them in his youth. Such songs are undoubtedly more than a century old.

In like manner, if a man about 70 years of age sings a song which he says that his father received in a dream when a youth, and which he used in treating the sick, the song is evidently to be classed among the older songs. On the other hand, it is known that the Strong Heart Society was organized among the Standing Rock Sioux only about 50 years ago, and that the White Horse Riders is a modern organization. The songs of both these societies are therefore comparatively modern songs, but the songs of the Miwatani are placed in the older group, as there was a certain ceremony connected with their initiation of new members, one of the ceremonial songs being preserved. The songs of the Crow-owners are also included with the older songs, as this was shown to be a society of more than 50 years standing, and only a few of its songs were remembered. Songs containing mention of a recent custom are manifestly modern.

Comparison Between Old and Comparatively Modern Sioux Songs

The songs comprised in the first group, almost without exception, were recorded by men 65 to 80 years of age. These men said they learned the songs or received them in dreams when they were young. A number of the songs comprised in the second group were also recorded by old men, but were said to be comparatively modern songs. The remaining songs were recorded by young men who now "sing at the drum" when the Sioux assemble. These songs represent a distinct phase of Sioux music, which should not be omitted from a general consideration of the subject.

Music may perhaps be said to be the last element of native culture remaining in favor among the Sioux. It is interesting to note that songs are being composed by them at the present time. Many of these are love songs, others are "praise songs" or songs of a general character. It is unnecessary to state that all are social songs, the use of songs for ceremony, war, societies, and the hunt having passed away. Many of the younger Indians among both Chippewa and Sioux find much pleasure in recording their songs on phonographs which they themselves possess. The writer was informed that among the Standing Rock Sioux an Indian who owns a phonograph usually has at least a hundred records of Indian songs. He and his friends make them and enjoy them much more than the commercial records. Some even make these records for sale among their people. The songs are usually recorded by several singers, while others at the same time give sharp yells or short exclamatory sentences. While such records are not adapted for the study of individual songs, they are an evidence of the Indian's continued pleasure in his music and of his readiness to adapt the means of civilization to an end which is purely native. Thus Red Fox caused a song to be composed in honor of Two White Buffalo, and, in order that the song might be accurately preserved, he requested that two phonographic records be made by the Indians who composed the song, these duplicate records to be kept in widely separated localities, so that, if accident befell one of them, the song would still be preserved in its original form. At a later date this song was recorded by the writer and appears as No. 222 of this volume.

Group I - This group contains 147 songs believed to be from 50 to 150 years old, and comprises the following songs:

- (1) Ceremonial songs used in the Hunká and Spirit Keeping ceremonies and in the Sun Dance
- (2) Songs concerning personal dreams
- (3) Songs concerning the sacred stones
- (4) Songs used in the treatment of the sick
- (5) Songs of the Dream societies named for animals consisting of men who had dreamed of the same animal. These societies were the Buffalo, Elk, and Horse societies.
- (6) A group of war songs which were believed to be more than 50 years old, including those of the *Miwatani* and *Kňanặí Yuhá* societies.

Group II - This group contains 93 songs, a majority of which are believed to be less than 50 years old, and comprises the following divisions:

- (1) Songs of those military societies which are comparatively recent among the Teton Sioux. These are the Fox, Strong Heart, and Badger societies, and the White Horse Riders. The fox, coyote, and wolf songs are so closely related that it is impossible to draw definite lines between them, but as a compromise the songs said to be Fox society or Coyote society songs are placed in this group, while the wolf songs (this being a common term for all war songs) are placed in the older group. In this division are included the incidental war songs and dancing songs used in the Sun Dance, and those songs in honor of an individual which were sung to melodies of the military societies. This division comprises 32 songs.
- (2) Songs of the buffalo hunt, together with council and Chief songs, one of the latter being sung at the Sun Dance.
- (3) All songs not otherwise classified. The first of these are three unclassified songs in the Sun Dance—Song of Final Visit to the Vapor Lodge, Noon song, and Song concerning the Sun and Moon (Nos. 18, 24, 25). In this division are

also the songs of various dances and games, those songs in honor of an individual which were sung to dance melodies, and the miscellaneous songs recorded at Sisseton, South Dakota.

CEREMONIES

The White Buffalo Calf Pipe (Ptehínčala Čhannúnpa)

It is fitting that a narrative of the gift of the White Buffalo Calf pipe to the Sioux should introduce the present account of the ceremonies and customs of the tribe. Throughout this memoir, reference will be made to ceremonial acts performed in accordance with the instructions of the White Buffalo Maiden, a supernatural being through whose agency the ceremonial pipe was given to the Sioux.

The narrative in its present form was given by *Išnála Wičhá* (Lone Man), and is recorded in the words of the interpreter, Mr. Robert P. Higheagle. Preceding this recital by Lone Man, the subject had been studied with other informants for more than two years. A summary of this study was read to Lone Man and discussed with him, after which he was requested to give the narrative in connected form, incorporating therewith material which he wished to add.

The ancient and sacred tradition of the Sioux was given by Lone Man as follows:

"In the olden times, it was a general custom for the Sioux tribe (especially the Teton band of Sioux) to assemble in a body once at least during the year. This gathering took place usually about that time of midsummer when everything looked beautiful and everybody rejoiced to live to see nature at its best—that was the season when the Sun Dance ceremony took place and vows were made and fulfilled. Sometimes the tribal gathering took place in the fall when wild game was in the best condition, when wild fruits of all kinds were ripe, and when the leaves on the trees and plants were the brightest.

One reason why the people gathered as they did was that the tribe as a whole might celebrate the victories, successes on the warpath, and other good fortunes which had occurred during the year while the bands were scattered and each band was acting somewhat independently.

Another reason was that certain rules or laws were made by the head chiefs and other leaders of the tribe, by which each band of the tribe was governed. For instance, if a certain band got into trouble with some other tribe, such as the Crows, the Sioux tribe as a whole should be notified. Or if an enemy or enemies came on their hunting grounds, the tribe should be notified at once. In this way the Teton band of Sioux was protected as to its territory and its hunting grounds.

After these gatherings, there was a scattering of the various bands. On one such occasion, the Sans Arc band started toward the west. They were moving from place to place, expecting to find buffalo and other game which they would lay up for their winter supply, but they failed to find anything. A council was called and two young men were selected to go in quest of buffalo and other game. They started on foot. When they were out of sight, they each went in a different direction, but met again at a place which they had agreed upon. While they were planning and planning what to do, there appeared from the west a solitary object advancing toward them. It did not look like a buffalo; it looked more like a human being than anything else. They could not make out what it was, but it was coming rapidly. Both considered themselves brave, so they concluded that they would face whatever it might be. They stood still and gazed at it very eagerly. At last they saw that it was a beautiful young maiden. She wore a beautiful fringed buckskin dress, leggings, and moccasins. Her hair was hanging loose except at the left side, where was tied a tuft of shedded buffalo hair. In her right hand, she carried a fan made of flat sage. Her face was painted with red vertical stripes. Not knowing what to do or say, they hesitated, saying nothing to her.

She spoke first, thus: "I am sent by the Buffalo tribe to visit the people you represent. You have been chosen to perform a difficult task. It is right that you should try to carry out the wishes of your people, and you must try to accomplish your purpose. Go home and tell the chief and headmen to put up a special lodge in the middle of the camp circle, with the door of the lodge and the entrance into the camp toward the direction where the sun rolls off the earth. Let them spread sage at the place of honor, and back of the fireplace let a small square place be prepared. Back of this and the sage let a certain frame, or rack, be made. Right in front of the rack a buffalo skull should be placed. I have something of importance to present to the tribe, which will have a great deal to do with their future welfare. I shall be in the camp about sunrise."

While she was thus speaking to the young men, one of them had impure thoughts. A cloud came down and enveloped this young man. When the cloud left the earth the young man was left there—only a skeleton. The Maiden commanded the other young man to turn his back toward her and face in the direction of the camp, then to start for home. He was ordered not to look back.

When the young man came in sight of the camp he ran in a zigzag course, this being a signal required of such parties on returning home from a searching or scouting expedition. The people in the camp were on the alert for the signal, and preparations were begun at once to escort the party home. Just outside the council lodge, in front of the door, an old man qualified to perform the ceremony was waiting anxiously for the party. He knelt in the direction of the coming of the party to receive the report of the expedition. A row of old men were kneeling behind him. The young man arrived at the lodge. Great curiosity was shown by the people on account of the missing member of the party. The report was made, and the people received it with enthusiasm.

The special lodge was made, and the other requirements were carried out. The crier announced in the whole camp what was to take place on the following morning. Great preparations were made for the occasion. Early the next morning, at daybreak, men, women, and children assembled around the special lodge. Young men who were known to bear unblemished characters were chosen to escort the Maiden into the camp.

Promptly at sunrise she was in sight. Everybody was anxious. All eyes were fixed on the Maiden. Slowly she walked into the camp. She was dressed as when she first appeared to the two young men except that instead of the sage fan she carried a pipe—the stem was carried with her right hand and the bowl with the left.

The chief, who was qualified and authorized to receive the guest on behalf of the Sioux tribe, sat outside, right in front of the door of the lodge, facing the direction of the coming of the Maiden.

When she was at the door the chief stepped aside and made room for her to enter. She entered the lodge, went to the left of the door, and was seated at the place of honor.

The chief made a speech welcoming the Maiden, as follows: "My dear relatives: This day Wakhan Thanka has again looked down and smiled upon us by sending us this young Maiden, whom we shall recognize and consider as a sister. She has come to our rescue just as we are in great need. Wakhan Thanka wishes us to live. This day we lift up our eyes to the sun, the giver of light, that opens our eyes and gives us this beautiful day to see our visiting sister. Sister, we are glad that you have come to us, and trust that whatever message you have brought we may be able to abide by it. We are poor, but we have a great respect to visitors, especially relatives. It is our custom to serve our guests with some special food. We are at present needy and all we have to offer you is water that falls from the clouds. Take it, drink it, and remember that we are very poor."

Then braided sweet grass was dipped into a buffalo horn containing rain water and was offered to the Maiden. The chief said, "Sister, we are now ready to hear the good message you have brought." The pipe, which was in the hands of the maiden, was lowered and placed on the rack. Then the Maiden sipped the water from the sweet grass.

Then, taking up the pipe again, she arose and said:

"My relatives, brothers and sisters: Wakhaŋ Thaŋka has looked down, and smiles upon us this day because we have met as belonging to one family. The best thing in a family is good feeling toward every member of the family. I am proud to become a member of your family—a sister to you all. The sun is your grandfather, and he is the same to me. Your tribe has the distinction of being always very faithful to promises, and of possessing great respect and reverence toward sacred things. It is known also that nothing but good feeling prevails in the tribe, and that whenever any member has been found guilty of committing any wrong, that member has been cast out and not allowed to mingle with the other members of the tribe. For all these good qualities in the tribe you have been chosen as worthy and deserving of all good gifts. I represent the Buffalo tribe, who have sent you this pipe. You are to receive this pipe in the name of all

the common people (Indians). Take it, and use it according to my directions. The bowl of the pipe is red stone—a stone not very common and found only at a certain place. This pipe shall be used as a peacemaker. The time will come when you shall cease hostilities against other nations. Whenever peace is agreed upon between two tribes or parties, this pipe shall be a binding instrument. By this pipe the Medicine Men shall be called to administer help to the sick."

Turning to the women, she said:

"My dear sisters, the women: You have a hard life to live in this world, yet without you this life would not be what it is. Wakhan Thanka intends that you shall bear much sorrow-comfort others in time of sorrow. By your hands the family moves. You have been given the knowledge of making clothing and of feeding the family. Wakhan Thanka is with you in your sorrows and joins you in your griefs. He has given you the great gift of kindness toward every living creature on earth. You he has chosen to have a feeling for the dead who are gone. He knows that you remember the dead longer than do the men. He knows that you love your children dearly."

Then turning to the children:

"My little brothers and sisters: Your parents were once little children like you, but in the course of time they became men and women. All living creatures were once small, but if no one took care of them they would never grow up. Your parents love you and have made many sacrifices for your sake in order that Wakhan Thanka may listen to them, and that nothing but good may come to you as you grow up. I have brought this pipe for them, and you shall reap some benefit from it. Learn to respect and reverence this pipe, and above all, lead pure lives. Wakhan Thanka is your great-grandfather."

Turning to the men:

"Now my dear brothers: In giving you this pipe, you are expected to use it for nothing but good purposes. The tribe as a whole shall depend upon it for their necessary needs. You realize that all your necessities of life come from the earth below, and the sky above, and the four winds. Whenever you do anything wrong

against these elements, they will always take some revenge upon you. You should reverence them. Offer sacrifices through this pipe. When you are in need of buffalo meat, smoke this pipe and ask for what you need and it shall be granted to you. On you it depends to be a strong help to the women in the raising of children. Share the women's sorrow. Wakháŋ Tháŋka smiles on the man who has a kind feeling for a woman, because the woman is weak. Take this pipe, and offer it to Wakháŋ Tháŋka daily. Be good and kind to the little children."

Turning to the chief:

"My older brother: You have been chosen by these people to receive this pipe in the name of the whole Sioux tribe. Wakháŋ Tháŋka is pleased and glad this day because you have done what is required and expected that every good leader should do. By this pipe the tribe shall live. It is your duty to see that this pipe is respected and reverenced. I am proud to be called a sister. May Wakháŋ Tháŋka look down on us and take pity on us and provide us with what we need. Now we shall smoke the pipe."

Then she took the buffalo chip which lay on the ground, lighted the pipe, and pointing to the sky with the stem of the pipe, she said,

"I offer this to Wakhan Thanka for all the good that comes from above."

(Pointing to the earth:) "I offer this to the earth whence come all good gifts."

(Pointing to the cardinal points:) "I offer this to the four winds, whence come all good things."

Then she took a puff of the pipe, passed it to the chief, and said, "Now my dear brothers and sisters, I have done the work for which I was sent here and now I will go, but I do not wish any escort. I only ask that the way be cleared before me."

Then, rising, she started, leaving the pipe with the chief, who ordered that the people be quiet until their sister was out of sight. She came out of the tent on

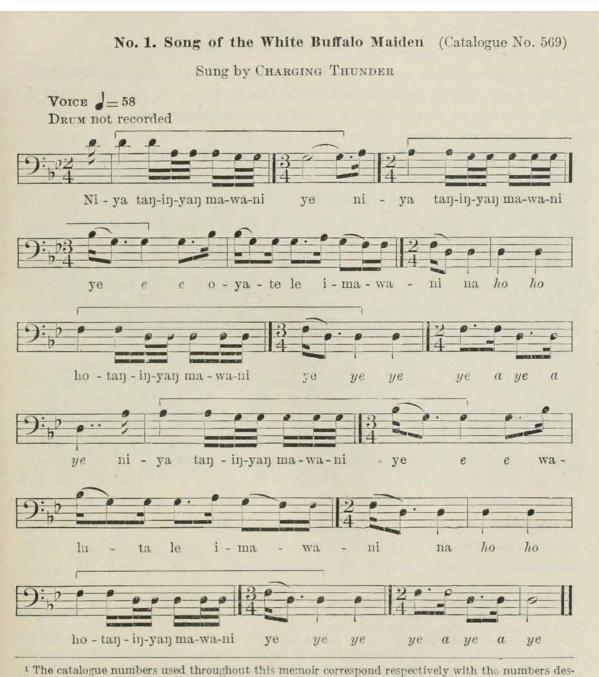
the left side, walking very slowly; as soon as she was outside the entrance she turned into a white buffalo calf.

It is said that the chief who received the pipe from the White Buffalo Maiden was Buffalo Stands Upward (*Thathánka Woslál Nážin*). The pipe has been handed down from one generation to another, and is said to be now in the possession of Elk Head (*Heháka Phá*), who lives at Thunder Butte, on the Cheyenne River Reservation. He is said to be of "about the third generation" which has kept the pipe, and is 98 years of age. Each preceding keeper of the pipe lived to be more than a hundred years old.

Elk Head died in January, 1916, after the above paragraph was written.

The Indians named the pipe the White Buffalo Calf pipe. Duplicates of it were made, and soon every male member of the tribe carried a similar pipe. The stem was made to resemble the windpipe of a calf. Whenever this pipe is used in a smoking circle, or even when two men are smoking together, the rule is that the pipe be passed to the left, because that was the direction taken by the White Buffalo Maiden when she went away. The one who lights this pipe is required to make an offering.

It is said that the following song was sung by the White Buffalo Maiden as she entered the camp. This song is sung in the spirit keeping ceremony when the man who is keeping the spirit of his child can afford to have a white buffalo robe used in the ceremony. The words "scarlet relic" refer to the scarlet-wrapped packet in the lodge of those who are "keeping a spirit."



[!] The catalogue numbers used throughout this memoir correspond respectively with the numbers designating the phonograph record of the songs, which are preserved in the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The Alówanpi Ceremony

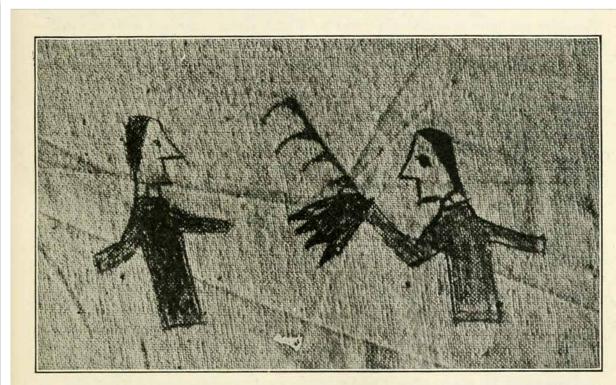


Fig. 20. Drawing from picture-calendar—the year of the first Alo'wanpi ceremony.

This ceremony has been used by the Pawnee, Omaha, Osage, Ponca, Iowa, Oto, and Dakota tribes. The ceremony among the Omaha and Pawnee has been studied by Miss Alice C. Fletcher, whose research includes the ceremonial songs of these tribes. As the ceremony has been in disuse among the Dakota for many years it was impossible to study it exhaustively, but sufficient information was available for a general comparison with the customs of the above mentioned tribes. From this comparison, it is evident that the ceremony in transmission to another tribe and locality has undergone modifications and changes in detail.

Among the Teton Sioux the ceremony is known as *Alówaŋpi*, meaning "to sing for someone" and also as the *Huŋká*, this being the name applied to the child who fills an important role in the ceremony.

Among the Sioux this ceremony was closely associated with the White Buffalo Maiden and her mysterious visit to the tribe. The following account concerns the usage of the Teton Sioux. The subject was studied by the writer during two visits to the reservation, and Mr. Higheagle continued the work for several months, consulting the older Indians as he had opportunity. The material embodies the original narrative by Weasel Bear and also many points contributed by Chased-by-Boars, Eagle Shield, White-paw Bear. Jaw, and others who were qualified to express opinions on the subject. The account in its final form was translated to, and pronounced correct by, Weasel Bear and others equally well informed.

In a picture-calendar of the Teton Sioux there occurs a native drawing of this ceremony, the year represented by the drawing being called "Awičhalowaŋpi Waniyetu," meaning literally "truthfully singing winter," understood as "ceremonial singing winter." This is the first year recorded on this calendar, and the writer's informant said it represented the first year in which the Alo'waŋpi ceremony was held by the Standing Rock Sioux. The date corresponds to the year 1801. The calendar, which is owned by Black Thunder of Eagle River, closes with a representation of the Black Hills council which took place in 1912. The dates of other historical events are correctly indicated.

In describing the purport of the ceremony, Looking Elk (Heňáka Wakíta), a Teton Sioux, said:

"The great result of this ceremony is that the man who performed it was regarded as a father by the child for whom he performed it. He made a solemn vow taking that child under his protection until one or the other died. He became like a brother to the man whose children he sang over and painted with the Hunka stripes. In all the great ceremonies of the Sioux, there is not one that binds two men together so strongly as this."

The keynote, or central idea, of this ceremony (as held by the Teton Sioux) is the affection of a father for his child, and his desire that only good should come to it. The following statement is given in the words of Mr. Higheagle:

"It is strictly believed and understood by the Sioux that a child is the greatest gift from Wakhan Thanka, in response to many devout prayers, sacrifices, and promises. Therefore the child is considered 'sent by Wakhan Thanka,' through some element—namely, the element of human being. That the child may grow up in health with all the virtues expected, and especially that no serious misfortune may befall the child, the father makes promises or vows to Wakhan Thanka as manifested by the different elements of the earth and sky. During the period of youthful blessedness the father spared no pains to let the people know of his great love for his child or children. This was measured by his fellow men according to the sacrifices or gifts given, or the number of ceremonies performed. In order to have a standard by which this love could be shown, the first thing taken into consideration and adopted was the White Buffalo Maiden, sent to the Sioux tribe by the Buffalo tribe. The impression left upon the people by the Maiden and her extraordinary good qualities were things that were much admired by every parent as a model for his children. This Maiden was pure white, without a blemish—that was the principal desire of the father for the character of his child. The Maiden addressed men, women, and children.

It had been told by the Maiden that good things would come to the people by means of the pipe, so it seemed necessary that there be a ceremony, having connection with the Maiden and with the pipe. For this reason the essential article in the Alówanpi ceremony is the "Hunká Čhannúpa", a decorated wand, which represents the pipe given to the Indians by the Maiden, the original pipe not being available when needed for this ceremony. This wand, or pipestem, was carried and employed by the itan can, "leader" during the ceremony, and when that was finished it was given to the child for whom the ceremony had been performed. In many families, such a pipestem was handed down for many generations. The manner of decorating the pipestem has also been handed down, and neither the shape nor the decoration can be changed. A new pipestem might be made by someone who had undergone the ceremony, but an old one was generally used. The wand, or pipestem, was usually about 20 inches long. On it were fastened tufts of the feathers of the khankhéča, pileated woodpecker, and above each tuft of feathers was the head of a woodpecker (Phleoeotomus pileatus). The tail feathers of an eagle, in the form of a fan, and also strands of horsehair, were hung from the wand.

In explaining the use of the woodpecker in decorating the *Huŋká Chaŋnúŋpa* it was said that this is "a simple, humble bird, which stays near its nest and is seldom seen." This bird seems to have been considered especially appropriate, because children who underwent this ceremony were more closely guarded and protected than others. They usually belonged to well-to-do families, in which the girls were seldom seen in public until they were grown up. The ceremony could be held for several children at a time, and often took place in fulfillment of a vow.

The wish of the parents that this ceremony be performed for their child or children was first declared. An invitation was then sent to the man whom the father desired to perform the ceremony, and who thereafter would be bound to the father by a tie even stronger than that of natural brotherhood, because he had assumed a responsibility not placed on him by nature. An invitation was usually conveyed by means of a pipe, but for this ceremony a different form of invitation was used. The father of the child made a case from the dried bladder of a buffalo, into which he put many little packages of tobacco, one or two pipefuls being wrapped in membrane, similar to the packets fastened to sticks as offerings at the Sun Dance. The case, after being tied or sealed, was wrapped in a cloth. This was taken to the man selected to perform the ceremony. If he accepted the invitation, he opened the case; otherwise he returned it unopened.

On acceptance of the invitation, great preparations were begun. Two large lodges were erected in the middle of the camp circle and united so as to make one lodge of double the usual size, opening toward the west. This and the other details of the ceremony were in accordance with the instructions given by the White Buffalo Maiden on her first appearance to the Indians. The lodge was like the one which they built to receive her. There was no fire within, but opposite the door and slightly back of the middle of the lodge a square of exposed and "mellowed" earth was prepared. In the two corners of this square farthest from the door were placed two buffalo chips, which were used in lighting the ceremonial pipes.

Sweet grass also was made ready for lighting the pipes. Fresh sage was spread on the ground in the rear of the square, and on this was laid a buffalo skull painted with red lines and having the openings filled with sage.

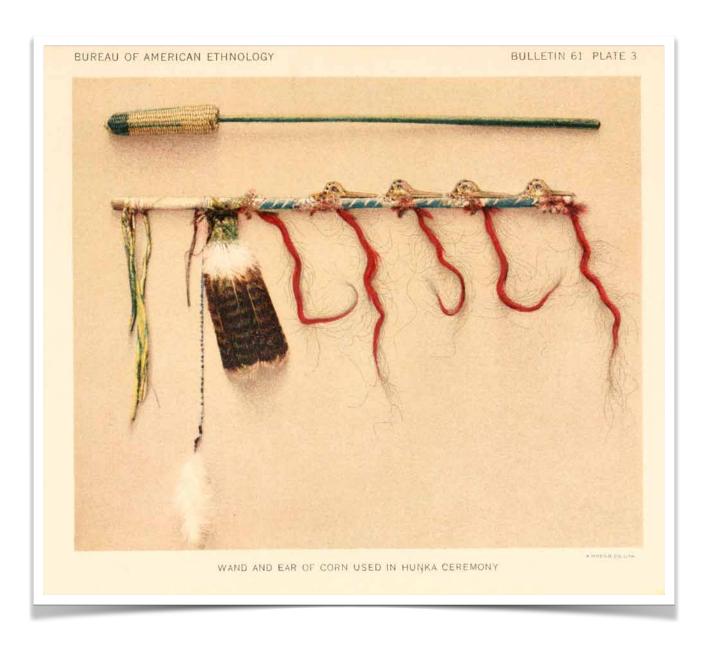
The nose of the skull was near, but did not touch the side of the square. Strips of red flannel were tied on the horns. Back of the buffalo skull stood a pipe rack formed of two upright sticks, each having a crotch at the top, between which was laid a cross-bar; the whole was painted blue. This pipe rack was similar to that used in the Sun Dance, but the position of the pipe (or wand) was reversed, the bowl of the Sun Dance pipe resting against the forehead of the buffalo skull, while the *Huŋká* pipe was placed with the stem toward the skull.

If more than one child was to be "sung over," there was a pipe for each, beneath which was laid the white eagle-plume to be tied on the head of the child during the ceremony. The rattle to be used by the <code>ithánjchan</code> leaned against one of the posts of the pipe rack. Against the pipe rack was placed also an ear of corn on a stick, decorated in blue. It was essential that this be particularly regular in form, with an even number of kernels arranged in straight lines. Thus the ceremonial articles comprised the ear of corn, the decorated pipe (or wand), the pipe rack and the tuft of white down, and also a bunch of shed buffalo hair which was used in the ceremony. These were provided by the man who performed the ceremony, who kept them wrapped in a red cloth. The preparation of the lodge was completed by the erection around it of a barricade of hides, so placed as to keep spectators at a proper distance.

The Teton Sioux were not originally an agricultural people, and the use of corn in this ceremony formed the subject of considerable inquiry. In response to this inquiry, the writer was told the following legend of the coming of the corn, which, in its final form, is given in the words of the interpreter, Mr. Higheagle:

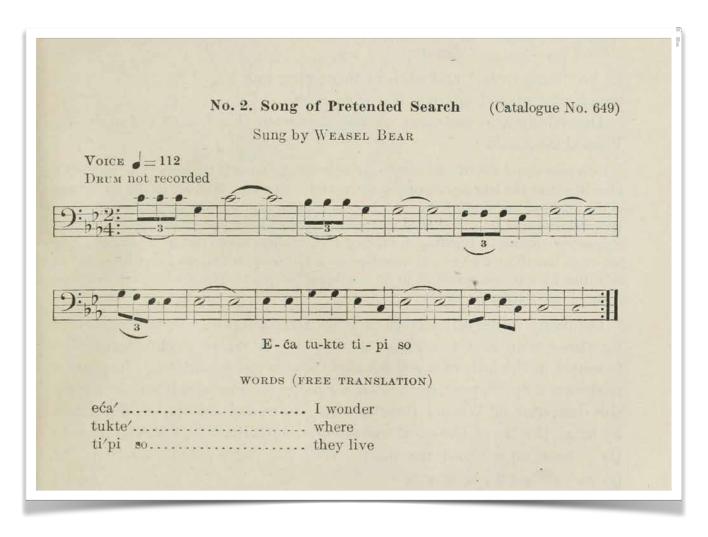
"There was an old couple living on the bank of a river. They had been married a long time, but did not have any children, though they had often asked Wakhan Thanka to send them a child. This special request was always made when they were in the sweat-bath booth. On one of these occasions, while they were praying, they heard someone outside saying that their prayer had been heard and would be granted on the following morning. They were very much pleased and felt overanxious.

On the next morning, the old man went out, and there, right in front of the door, peeped out of the ground a greenish opening of some seed—out of the ground. The old man was very much excited, and, not knowing what to do, they both went into the sweat-bath booth and asked what they should do. As before, they heard a voice saying: "Fear not. This plant which you behold is going to grow into the most beautiful child you ever saw. Watch for its development. Take good care of it. Give it plenty of air, sunshine, and water. Let no other plant or shrub grow near it." So they, realizing this was the child they had been desiring, went out and did as they were told. The plant grew up, had green clothing, and beautiful whitish hair. It grew to be tall. Finally beautiful corn, nicely enveloped in green covering, grew out. As soon as the coverings had turned to another color the corn was taken out. So from this they concluded that Wakháŋ Tháŋka had sent them something to keep and to raise."



In the old times, this ceremony extended through several days, and many ceremonial songs were sung. In its later observance by the Teton Sioux, it is said that the entire ceremony was concluded in one day. Only two of the songs were recorded by the writer.

It was said that at the opening of the ceremony the *ithánčhan* came from the double lodge and started to get the children for whom the ceremony was to be performed. They pretended that they did not know where the children lived and went through the camp singing the following song:



Five renditions were recorded with no break in the time; these are uniform in every respect.

When the man (or men) arrived at the door of the children's home, they did not enter at once, but began to tell of their deeds in the past as an evidence of their right to perform the *Alówanpi* ceremony. Without this narration, they would not be allowed to enter and get the children, as none but those who had in the past, and who still had, the necessary qualifications could perform this sacred rite over children.

If the children were small they were carried to the double lodge in blankets on the backs of the <code>ithánchan</code>. On their way to the lodge, the men stopped four times giving the "wolf howl," which was used to signalize approach. When they reached the double lodge the <code>ithánchan</code> sat in the place of honor, back of the pipe rack. There might be one man for each child who was to be "sung over," and each of these men had his own pipe, or wand, which was placed against the pipe rack.

Describing the enacting of the ceremony for his two daughters, Weasel Bear said:

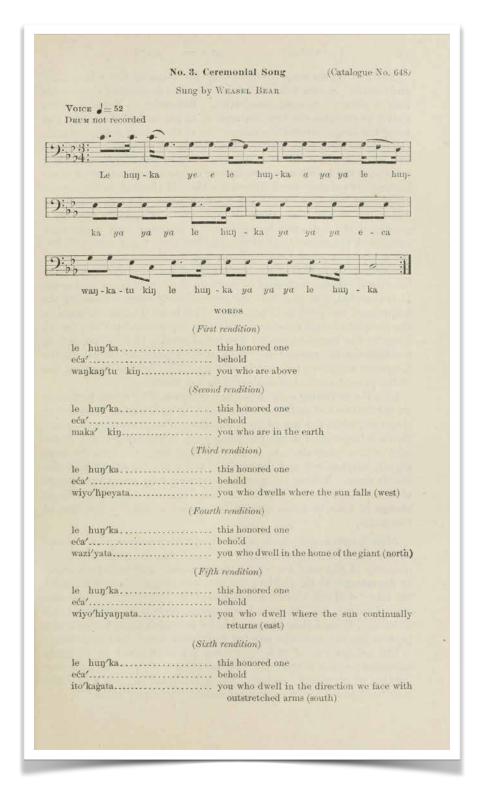
"Everyone could see the old man as he painted the faces of the girls. He painted a blue line from the hair-parting down to the end of the nose, then across the upper part of the forehead and down to the cheek, ending at a point opposite the end of the nose. Red stripes could be added after the blue paint had been put on the face. The red stripes were narrow, extending downward from the line across the forehead and being the same length as the vertical blue lines. Additional red stripes could be added at any time by a person qualified to do it, a horse being given for the right to wear two or three more stripes."

On many important occasions, this decoration of the face was used by those who had the right to use it. A white eagle plume was fastened in the hair of a girl whose face was to be painted. A spirit post decorated with the plume which was worn by the daughter of Weasel Bear in the *Alówanpi* ceremony, was described by him; the tip of the quill was covered with dark feathers similar to those used on a Sun Dance pipe. With the eagle plume was fastened a strand of horse hair colored red, the whole being suspended by a narrow strip of hide, so that it hung lightly.

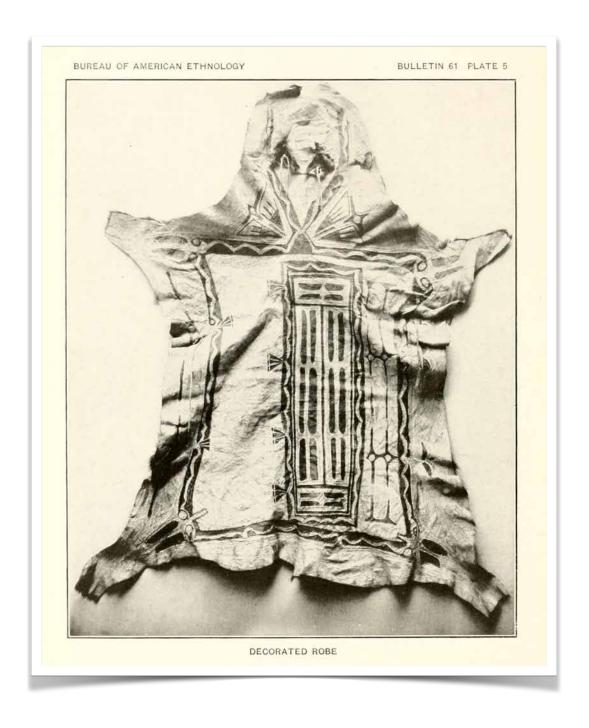
Continuing his narrative, Weasel Bear said:



"After the faces of the girls were painted the ithance stood with his rattle in his right hand and the decorated wand in his left, and waved the wand over them as he sang the following song. Each girl held in her hand a decorated ear of corn as the song was sung."



After the ceremony (which, as already stated, was not studied in detail by the writer), the decorated pipe (or wand) and the corn became the property of the child for whom the ceremony had been performed. In departing with the children, the <code>ithanchan</code>, pausing four times, gave the long "wolf call" which had signaled their approach to the ceremonial lodge. Liberal rewards were given to those who performed this ceremony. Weasel Bear stated that he bestowed three horses and a pipe on the old man who painted and "sang over" his daughters.



The celebration of this ceremony placed a child in a highly respected position in the tribe. Such a child was regarded as possessing that which would "make it nothing but good in every way," and was "recognized by all as ranking above an ordinary child."

A young girl for whom the *Alówanpi* ceremony had been performed might wear a calfskin robe. The decoration on this robe indicates that the wearer had taken part in the Hunka ceremony, and also that her relatives had been successful in war. Red, blue, and yellow are the colors used in the decorations. It was said that "red represents blood, blue is a 'blue cloud,' indicating success, and yellow is the color of the sky at morning." The stripes on the head of the calfskin are red and represent the Hunká stripes painted on the face of the child for whom the ceremony was performed. The two lines bordering the entire decoration are blue, and the space between them is yellow. Near the left margin are red lines, said to represent a spider's web. The crescents along the right margin represent the phases of the moon, blue being used to represent a quarter moon and red a full moon. These are the phases in which the child's relative engaged in the war expeditions noted in the decoration of the robe. Next to this border are parallel lines, the dots on which represent the number of camps made during a certain expedition. The panel in the center of the robe represents the "warrior's path." A war party with eight camps is here shown, each round dot representing a camp. Such a robe could be made only by a woman whose relative had been successful in war.

The Ceremony of Spirit-Keeping (Wanáği Yuhápi)

In the old days, a Sioux, filled with grief at the death of a near relative, might prolong his period of mourning by "keeping the spirit" for several months or a year, and then "letting it go" by means of a certain ceremony. This was a custom which exacted a great deal and which, having been begun, must be carried out consistently, either by the man who undertook it, or in the event of his death by his nearest relative. A man considered this before he announced his intention of "keeping the spirit" of a relative. He considered the fact that for many months he could not hunt, nor go to war, nor share in the social activities of the tribe, and he also counted the cost of gifts which he must distribute at the feast for releasing the spirit. If he felt that he could meet these requirements he made

known his decision, and those who wished to join him were at liberty to do so, each providing a "spirit bundle" (*Wanáği Wapháhta*) to represent the spirit of a relative, and also his share of food and gifts for the final feast.

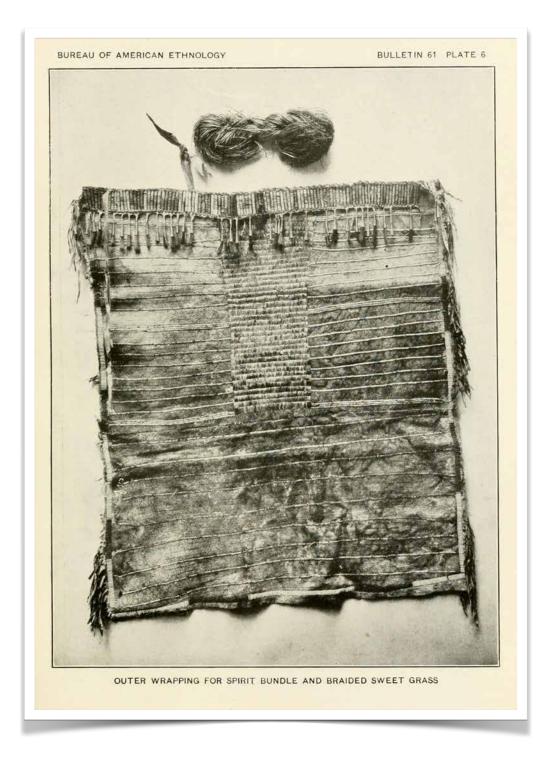
The ceremony of Spirit-keeping, like the *Alówanpi*, had its inspiration in the Coming of the White Buffalo Maiden, and everything was done in accordance with her instructions. The spirit of a child was "kept" more frequently than that of a grown person, and the writer's first work on this ceremony consisted in taking down a narrative by Weasel Bear (interpreted by Mrs. McLaughlin), in which he told of keeping the spirit of a little daughter. A year later this narrative was discussed by Bear Face and other old men (Mr. Higheagle interpreting), and many points were added. In its final form, the first part is based on a narrative by Bear Face, while in the latter part, the information given by Weasel Bear has been incorporated, together with details supplied by other reliable informants.

Concerning this ceremony, Bear Face (Matho Ité) said:

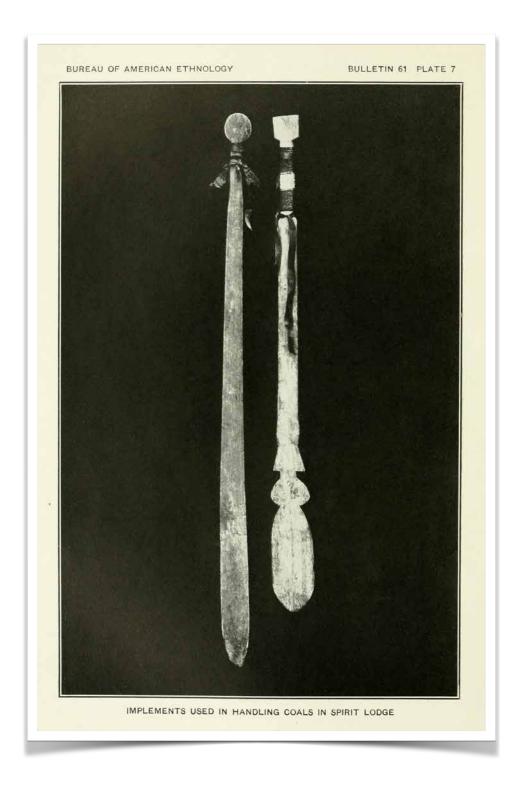
"It is one of the great undertakings of the tribe, not simply in the honor which surrounds it, but because of the work and obligation it involves, so that a man who can carry this through successfully is recognized by the tribe as a man who is qualified to fulfill large responsibilities."

Bear Face said that his first spirit keeping was for a son who died at the age of 15. The body of the boy was placed on a scaffold, and his best horse was killed beneath it. Before this was done, the father decided to keep the boy's spirit and so announced to the tribe. He requested a man whose record was without blemish to cut a lock of the boy's hair to be put in the spirit bundle. The man came at his request, and before going near the body of the boy, he purified his hands and also his knife with the smoke of sweet grass. When about to cut the hair he made three motions as if to do so and then cut it with the fourth motion. The lock cut was over one eye. When the hair had been cut, it was wrapped in red cloth. (The remainder of the narrative is a compilation from several informants.) If desired, some article which had been worn next to the body of the child could be used instead of a lock of hair. Thus Weasel Bear said that when keeping the spirit of his little girl, he used the ornaments which she had worn on her hair as the central article in the spirit bundle.

After wrapping this selected article in red cloth, the proposed spirit-keeper took the little packet in his arms as if it were the body of a child and rode around the camp circle, lamenting the child's death. This was his announcement to the tribe that he had taken upon himself the responsibilities of a spirit-keeper (*Wanáği Yuhápi*) and wished to be considered as such. Afterwards, a decorated case was brought, and in this was placed the packet containing the hair, also sweet grass and the shed hair of the buffalo.



This case was wrapped in red cloth. The spirit-keeper or his friends then selected the straightest pole they could find, pine being preferred for the purpose. This pole was erected outside his door, and the spirit bundle was tied on it. The bundle was supposed to stay there four days and nights before being taken down. During these four days, a special wrapping of soft-tanned hide was made for it, and feasts were given to those who had kept spirits.



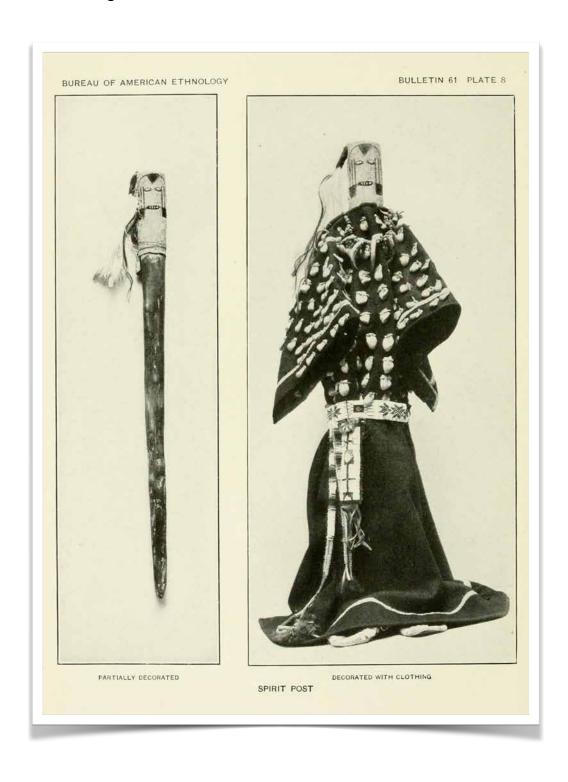
At the end of four days, the bundle was taken down by men who had kept spirits and was placed in its wrapping, which was elaborately decorated but had no sewing about it. With it were placed articles intended as gifts to those who took part in the ceremony. Small articles were placed in a decorated case and large articles, such as pieces of red cloth, were folded smoothly. (Bear Face died in 1914)

After the spirit bundle was complete they prepared three stakes, painted red and decorated with quill work, also decorated thongs with which to fasten the bundle in place. Two of the stakes were tied together near the top, and the bundle was tied across them, the third stake being used as a support for the other two, which faced the door of the spirit-keeper's tipi. The tripod was about six steps from this tipi, which was known as *Wanáği Thípi*, or "spirit lodge."

When the tripod had been put in place they made a decorated case (pan) of soft-tanned hide. In it were put gifts for the itan 'can who would have charge of the final ceremony. These gifts, which were gradually collected, comprised needles, awls, knives, tobacco, ax an d sometimes as many as 50 pipes. In the tipi, between the fire and the place of honor, a certain area of the earth floor was "mellowed." This was round, not square as in the Hunka and the Sun Dance. In the center of this space was placed a buffalo chip, and beside it two implements made of wood, about three feet in length, one broad at the end and the other pointed. When sweet grass was to be burned it was the custom to use the pointed stick in pushing a coal on the other implement, with which it was lifted and laid on the buffalo chip. The spirit-keeper and his wife wore no ornaments during this period, and their faces were painted all the time. Their manner was always quiet and reverent, as though the body of the relative whom they mourned was in the lodge. It was expected that those who kept a spirit would hold charitable thoughts toward everyone in the tribe, and all unkind or harsh words were forbidden in the spirit lodge.

The tripod and spirit bundle were brought into the lodge at night and also in bad weather. The bundle was laid in the place of honor and treated with great respect, no one passing between it and the fire. Weasel Bear said: "At evening, I burned sweet grass and my wife passed her hands over the smoke, rubbing the fragrance on her face, hair, hands, and neck. Then she took the tripod in her

arms and carried it into the tipi, turning toward the left as she entered. In the morning, she again made herself fragrant and took the tripod and its burden outside the lodge."



The thing most desired was that a man might have the robe of a white buffalo to spread in the place of honor. On this the tripod and spirit bundle would rest when they were in the lodge. Such a robe signified that the spirit being kept was pure, and that all the articles connected with it had been purified. No one was allowed to touch the robe with bare hands nor pass between it and the fire. The only person permitted to touch it was a Medicine Man who was known to be qualified for the act. Bear Face said that he had such a robe when he kept the spirit of his son, and that the only person allowed to touch or move it was a man, whom he engaged, who was noted for this ceremony. If he needed help he was obliged to call on someone as fully qualified as himself and to give him half of the compensation for such services. The only exception is in favor of children who have been through the Huŋká ceremony. These children may lift the white buffalo robe and carry it out of the lodge when the ceremony is finished.

Weasel Bear said further that during the period of keeping a spirit the contents of his lodge were supposed to belong to the tribe. Thus if a man came to his lodge saying, "I have come for some of my tobacco and red willow," he gave him what he required. Weasel Bear continued his narrative as follows:

"I selected a virtuous old man as one of the officers of the spirit lodge. He was called waspan'ka ihpe'ya itan'can, meaning 'leader in charge of food.' He came to the tipi for a short time every day, and if he wished to sleep there at night he was at liberty to do so. Every morning I put beef in a dish; he took a small piece of the meat, offered a prayer, and put it in a small dish provided for that purpose. This duty was never omitted. When the dish was full he emptied it into the fire, saying, "Grandchild, this is our food, but we give it to you to eat before us." This was continued from early winter, when my child died, until the next autumn, when we released her spirit. During that time we collected many gifts for the final feast. Our relatives helped us in this, the women making many articles with their own hands. As I was withheld from the ordinary duties of life, I had a man called wo' Waší Itňánčhan (literally "laborer leader"), who carried messages for me, kept us supplied with wood and water, swept the lodge, and kept clean the space around the spirit bundle. He also cut red willow (caysa'sa) and dried it, so that I would have plenty to give away at the final feast."

The man who kept a spirit was frequently invited to feasts of the various societies and was expected to attend them. It was understood that if valuable presents were being given away he would be first to receive one. In return for these favors, he invited the societies to attend the feasts, which were held outside the lodge, when the time came for releasing the spirit. The time for keeping a spirit varied from several months to a year or even longer. At the expiration of this time, the final ceremony and feast were held. This was called waki' caga, meaning the act of completing the undertaking. All the band gathered for the event and the various societies had their special tents. The societies took a prominent part in such features of the spirit releasing as took place outside the lodge, but their members did not enter the lodge unless they were men who themselves had kept spirits.

If several spirits were to be released, the man who first announced his intention of keeping a spirit was considered the leader of the spirit-keepers. Early in the morning, on the day of the spirit releasing, he sent a filled pipe to an old man who was to be master of the whole ceremony and who was designated Átaya itȟáŋčhaŋ.

Weasel Bear said: "On that day, I was to lay aside all signs of mourning, so I painted myself gaily and put on all my finest attire. I was only 28 years old, but I had won a war-honor feather and I wore it that day. My wife arrayed herself like a young girl."

One man was selected for each spirit; he was known merely as <code>ithanchan</code>, and was a man who had kept the spirit of a relative. It was his duty to prepare the "spirit post" Wanáği Glépi and to perform other parts of the ceremony pertaining to the individual spirit in whose service he had been employed. The spirit post was made in the spirit lodge. According to Weasel Bear, cottonwood was generally used for this purpose, and the man who made it always sat with his face toward the east and whittled upward, moving the knife away from him. Before doing this he purified his hands and knife with the smoke of sweet grass. A post for a child's spirit was smaller than for that of an adult.

The features of the face are worked with beads on buckskin, and the lines of the paint are those which would be used for a girl who had been through the

Alówaŋpi ceremony. When the features had been delineated on the posts, each itháŋčhaŋ opened the case containing the articles of clothing to be placed on the posts. These, which had been previously exhibited outside the lodge, were garments worn by the person whose spirit was to be released. After the ceremony, these garments were given to the man who painted the post.

After the dressing of the posts, the woman in charge of the cooking brought food, a plate of which she put in front of each spirit post, after purifying the food in the smoke of sweet grass. Taking a round piece of pounded meat, each *itháŋčhaŋ* held it to the painted mouth on a spirit post. At this time, any orphan in need of help might appear and ask in the name of the spirit to be released, that it be fed and cared for. Such a request was never refused. Any others in need of help might make an appeal at this time, four opportunities being given during the "feeding of the spirits."

When this was finished within the spirit lodge there was a distribution of gifts to the people in the camp. These gifts had been accumulated by the family of the spirit-keeper and already had been exhibited to the people. Weasel Bear said that his wife put up frames for this purpose, laying poles across forked stakes and hanging belts, moccasins, leggings, and other articles on the poles. At this time the spirit-keeper sent gifts to the societies, who preserved order in the camp. A gift to a society was said to be something about equal in value to the gifts which the spirit-keeper had received from that society, and to be something which could be divided among the members. Thus Weasel Bear said that he gave a war bonnet to the *Thokhála* society, and that the feathers were distributed among the men. There was much feasting in the camp and this was an occasion on which prominent families announced publicly the names which they had given their children, or had the ears of their children pierced in the same manner as at the Sun Dance.

The ceremony within the lodge was not studied in detail. Only former Spirit-Keepers were allowed to enter, and the man selected as *Átaya itňáŋčhaŋ* was "prepared with proper songs and prayers and was also qualified to give lamentations for the dead."

If a white buffalo robe were used, Song No. 1 was sung. Mention has been made of a filled pipe placed beside the round space of mellowed earth in the spirit lodge. A man was appointed to light this pipe, and was known as ithánčhan iyátanpi, or "leader who lights the pipe." This man put lighted sweet grass on the buffalo chip which lay on the mellowed earth. He did not do this with directness, but, lowering the grass a short distance, he paused for a moment; then lowering it farther, he paused again, making four downward motions, after which he moved it four times in a circle, "with the sun," and placed it on the buffalo chip. The Átaya ithánčhan held the pipe in the ascending smoke and repeated the words which the White Buffalo Maiden said to the Sioux when she appeared to them. This ceremonial speech was not recorded, as none of the writer's informants on this subject were able to repeat it. The Átaya ithánčhan then turned the pipe and held it as if he would smoke it. Having done this three times, he put it to his lips, ready for lighting. More grass was put on the buffalo chip, and the man who was to light the pipe rubbed the fragrant smoke on his hands and face, after which he lit the pipe and the Ataya ithanchan smoked it freely. Weasel Bear said:

"After he had smoked for a while I sat down close to him and he pointed the stem of the pipe toward me, saying, 'Young man, you are going to smoke this pipe. It was brought to us by a woman, and drawing it will lead you to be as straight and truthful as the stem of the pipe.' I smoked it without touching the bowl, and the old man in taking it from me passed his hand downward over my face. The pipe was then passed around the lodge, going toward the left. When it was smoked out ithan iyatanp took it and three times pretended to empty the ashes on the buffalo chip, emptying them with the fourth motion."

During the day of the ceremony the spirit bundles lay beside their respective spirit posts. The actual release of the spirits came when these bundles were opened. This was done by the *átaya itȟáŋčhaŋ*.

Weasel Bear said:

"He did not take all the wrapping from a spirit bundle at once. He removed a portion and then made a brief discourse, doing this in such a manner that there

were four acts of unwrapping, the last one occurring about an hour before sunset. Then he unfolded the last wrapping and let the spirit of my child depart."

The lock of hair, or other object which formed the nucleus of the spirit bundle, was kept by the family, and the *itháŋčhaŋ* kept such articles from the bundle as he desired, the remainder being distributed among the people in the lodge. The spirit-keeper and his wife then gave away practically all they possessed except the clothing they wore.

If the principal spirit-keeper made use of a white buffalo robe in the spirit lodge there was much interest at the close of the ceremony in seeing who would have the honor of carrying it out of the lodge. A man having the necessary qualifications might do this, and children who had been through the *Alówanpii* ceremony might take hold of it and help him carry it. The qualifications included uprightness of life and the former possession of a white buffalo robe. Outside the lodge a crude effigy of a buffalo had been erected of small trees. After being carried from the lodge the white buffalo robe was laid over this framework, and on it were placed valuable garments, such as an elk-tooth dress or an eagle war bonnet. The white buffalo robe, together with the articles placed upon it, were given to the society which had given most assistance to the spirit-keeper. In every society there is one man who is qualified to take charge of such a robe if the society decides to keep it intact, and such a man may make drawings on it. The society is at liberty, however, to cut it in pieces and divide it among the members, or to sell it if so desired. Weasel Bear said:

"When it was time for the people to depart, the ithance went first, carrying his share of the bundle in which for so long I had detained the spirit of my little daughter. My wife stood at the door of the tipi and said to the people, 'If you have no leather you may cut up this tipi.' The women came like a rush of wind and cut up the tipi very quickly. My wife even let them have a little tipi in which we kept our cooking utensils and other things not connected with the spirit-keeping. They even took away the tipi poles. Nothing was left except the grass on which we stood and the little spirit post. My wife and I had parted with everything. We walked side by side, and I thought with some regret of all I had given away. We went and sat down under a tree in a deep study.

"That evening one of our relatives came and put up a tipi, led us to it and said. 'This is your home.' Others brought kettles, blankets, provisions, and clothing for us. Our relatives did all this for us, in order that we might begin our lives again.

"After a time, the camp moved to another place and we left the spirit post standing there. No matter where we were, if a woman came and said, 'I cleared the ground around your daughter's post,' my wife would give her food. Sometimes, if there is a spirit post in the camp, a person who is hungry will go and clear the ground around the post. The relatives of the dead person will see this and cook food and carry the kettles to the place, that the hungry may eat and be satisfied. But if a spirit-keeper so desires, he may, after a certain time, take up the spirit post and bury it.'"

After finishing his narrative, Weasel Bear added: "All this came to us through the white buffalo and is one of the reasons why everything connected with the buffalo is so highly regarded by us."

The Sun Dance

In the myths of the Indians, as in the mythology of ancient peoples, the sun was a prominent figure. Many other tribes held a similar belief, and the worship of such a deity was widespread among the Indians of North America. This worship assumed various forms, presenting contrasts in many important characteristics. The Sun Dance was a ceremony whose observance was limited to certain Plains tribes. In the Sun Dance, the Indian considered that he offered to Wakhan Thánka what was strongest in his nature and training—namely the ability to endure physical pain. He did this in fulfillment of a vow made in a time of anxiety, usually when on the warpath. Strange as it may seem, the element of pain, which ennobled the ceremony in the mind of the Indian, was a cause of its misunderstanding by the white man. The voluntary suffering impressed the beholder, while its deep significance was not evident. It is probable that no Indian ceremony has been misinterpreted so widely and so persistently as the Sun Dance. The standpoint of the Sioux concerning the Sun Dance is indicated by the following statement of Red Bird, a thoughtful member of the tribe. In describing the Sun Dance to the writer he said:

"There is a great deal in what a man believes, and if a man's religion is changed for the better or for the worse he will know it. The Sun Dance was our first and our only religion. We believed that there is a mysterious power greater than all others, which is represented by nature, one form of representation being the sun. Thus we made sacrifices to the sun, and our petitions were granted. The Indians lived longer in the old days than now. I would not say this change is due to throwing away the old religion; there may be other reasons, but in the old times the Sun Dance was held annually and was looked forward to with eagerness. I believe we had true faith at that time. But there came a year when 'the sun died.' There was a period of darkness, and from that day a new religion came to the Indians. It is the white man's religion. We are timid about it, as we are about the other ways of the white man. In the old days, our faith was strong and our lives were cared for; now our faith is weaker, and we die."

THE SUN DANCE OF THE TETON SIOUX

The form of the ceremony herewith presented is that of the Sioux on the Standing Rock Reservation in Dakota, a majority of whom belong to the Teton division. In old times, the tribe was so large and so widely scattered that Sun Dances were held at more than one locality, the Teton and Yanktonai usually uniting in a ceremony, which was held on the western portion of the Dakota prairie. Thus their traditions of the ceremony have much in common, while the Sun Dance customs of the Santee, Sisseton, and other divisions of the tribe living toward the east present many radical differences.

The writer's study of the Sun Dance was made in 1911 among the Teton and Yanktonai Sioux on the Standing Rock Reservation in North and South Dakota. The principal part of the work was done in a series of conferences covering a period of several weeks, these being held at the Standing Rock Agency.

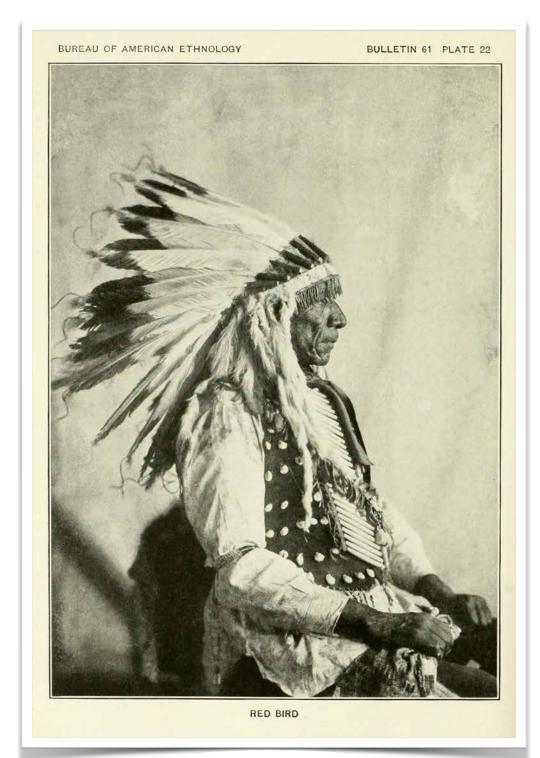
Fifteen men took part, and about 40 others were interviewed. These informants, who were carefully selected, lived within a radius of about 80 miles. Below will be found a brief sketch of each of the men who took part in the conferences. Ten are of pure Teton blood. Several of these men have been prominent in the history of the tribe and its negotiations with the Government. With one exception —a noted warrior who took part in the battle known as the Battle of Greasy Grass—they were friendly to the white men during the troublous days on the frontier.

Six of the men have steadily refused to be influenced by the missionaries and still retain the native religious beliefs.

(1) Ithúkasan Lúta (Red Weasel), a member of the Teton division of the tribe. Concerning the Sun Dance, Red Weasel is considered the highest authority among the Teton Sioux. He acted as Intercessor four times, the last occasion being the Sun Dance of 1881, the final ceremony held by the Teton in Dakota. He also took part in the dance four times, once being suspended from the pole and three times by receiving cuts on his arms. In earlier years he was trained for the office of Intercessor khuwákhiyapi by Wí-ihánbla (Dreamer of the Sun), who died about the middle of the last century. Before giving his information concerning the Sun Dance Red Weasel said:

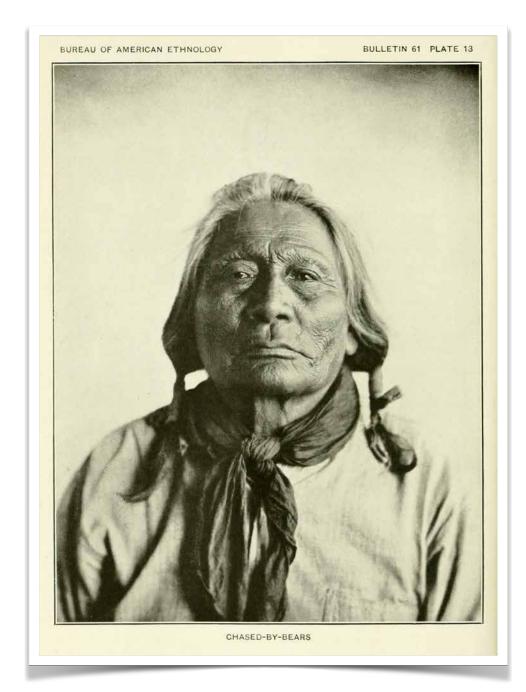
"I am not boasting; I am telling you what I myself know and I must speak for myself as there is no man living who can vouch for me. What I tell you is what I learned from Dreamer of the Sun, who taught me as he was taught. Beyond that I cannot tell you the history of the Sun Dance. Dreamer of the Sun was my uncle. He had many relatives but he selected me as one who was peculiarly fitted to succeed him if I lived to grow up. He thus decided to instruct me and began my training at an early age. One of the first and most important things I was taught was that I must have the greatest reverence for Wakhan Thanka. Dreamer of the Sun told me that if I obey his instructions I would be a help to the Sioux nation and that, if properly prepared for the the duties of the highest office in the Sun Dance, I need have no anxiety when filling the office as the proper thing to do would come to my mind at the time. In regard to the songs, Dreamer of the Sun told me that I may pray with my mouth and the prayer will be heard, but if I sing the prayer it will be heard sooner by Wakhan Thanka. All the prayers which I offered in the Sun Dance and which are still in my mind are prayers which were taught me by Dreamer of the Sun."

When Red Weasel gave his information concerning the Sun Dance he was about 80 years old and bowed with the weight of his years. He traveled 43 miles by wagon in order to confer with the writer. The sun shone in a cloudless sky while he was at the agency, and his presence was so highly esteemed by the old people that many said, "We have fine weather because Red Weasel is with us."



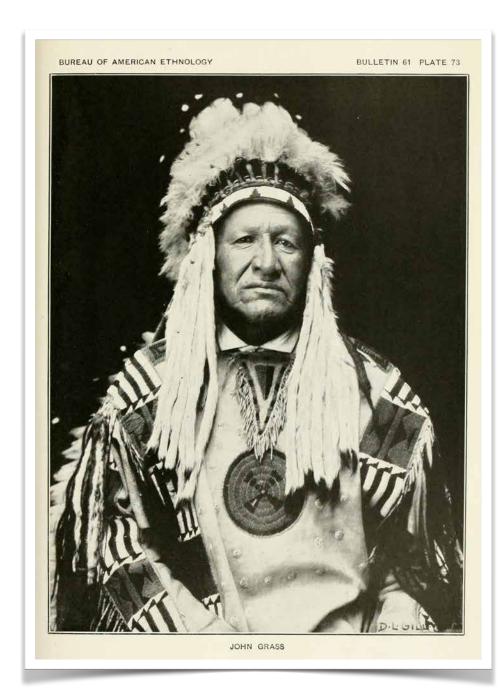
(2) Ziŋtkála Lúta (Red Bird),

a Teton Sioux, took part in the Sun Dance at the age of 24 years, receiving 100 cuts on his arms in fulfillment of a Sun Dance vow. His uncle was an Intercessor in the Sun Dance and Red Bird was receiving instructions from him with a view to filling that office when the Sun Dance was discontinued. His uncle's name was Tňačháğula (His Lungs) who died in the year 1868.



(3) Mathó Khuwápi (Chased-by-Bears), a Santee-Yanktonai took part in the Sun Dance twice as Leader of the Dancers and was present at the final Sun Dance of The Teton. His first participation in the dance was in 1867, when at the age of 24 years he had "spoken the vow" of a war party. On that occasion as well as at the Sun Dances he cut the arms of men, suspended them to the pole or fastened buffalo skulls to their flesh, according to the nature of their vows.

He said that he once saw a vision. He was dancing in the Sun Dance, and as he looked steadily at the sun he saw a man beneath the sun, the man's face being painted red and white. Chased by Bears died in February 1915.



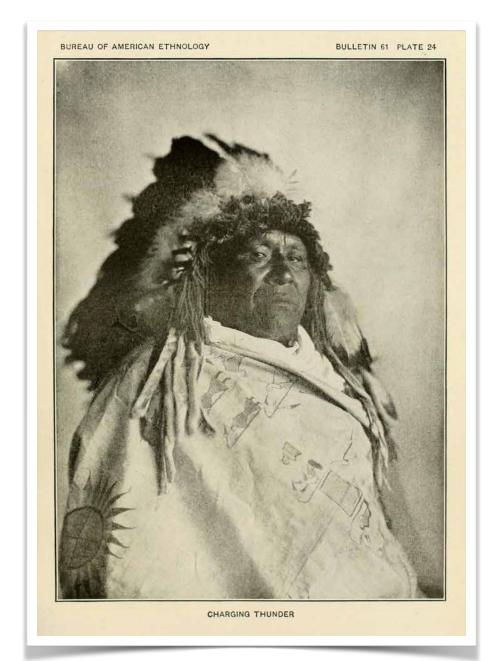
(4) Pheží (Grass), bears also the name Mathú Wathákpe (Charging Bear); he is best known, however, as John Grass. His father also was known as John Grass, and in addition to this he bore the name Waháčhankayapi (Used-as-a-Shield); he was noted as a warrior against other tribes, but was always friendly to the white men. John Grass is a Teton and was a successful leader of war parties against the Mandan, Arikaree, and Crow Indians. When the Black Hills treaty and other treaties were

made with the Government, he was the principal speaker for the Sioux tribe. Since that time he has constantly influenced his people to adopt the customs of civilization. He has been to Washington as a tribal delegate and for 30 years has been the leading judge of the Court of Indian Offenses on the Standing Rock Reservation. As a young man, he was selected to choose the Sun Dance pole, but never made a Sun Dance vow.



(5) Ithunkasan Mathó (Weasel Bear) is a Teton Sioux. He was once selected to choose the Sun Dance pole but never fulfilled a vow at a Sun Dance. He once made a similar vow which, however, was fulfilled privately. When on the warpath against the Crows, he vowed that if he were successful he would give part of his flesh to Wakhán Thánka, but did not say that he would do so at the Sun Dance.

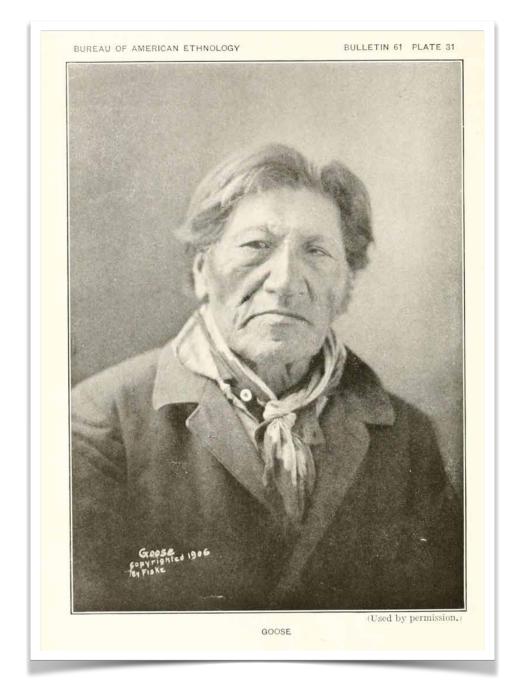
The war party was successful, and on the way home his arms were cut with 100 gashes in fulfillment of the vow, the cutting being done by a man who had taken part in the Sun Dance. Weasel Bear is hereditary chief of a large band and belongs to one of its wealthiest families. As a young man he was successful in war, a prominent member of the White Horse Riders, and a leader in the grass dance. When negotiations with the Government were begun he was one of the tribal delegates to Washington. In his later years, he is known as one of the most prosperous native farmers on the reservation.



(6) Wakiŋyaŋ Watȟákpe (Charging

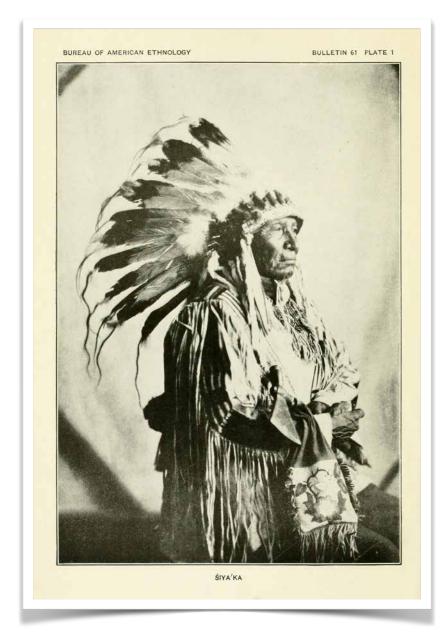
Thunder), a Teton Sioux, is an hereditary chief of a band and a highly respected member of the tribe. He took part in the Sun Dance four times, at the ages of 21, 23, 24, and 25. On each occasion, he had vowed that 100 cuts should be made on his arms, but the last time there was not room for all the cuts on his arms. so about 20 were made on his chest. He is a man of genial countenance and powerful physique. In speaking of himself he said, "My prayer has been heard and I have

lived long."



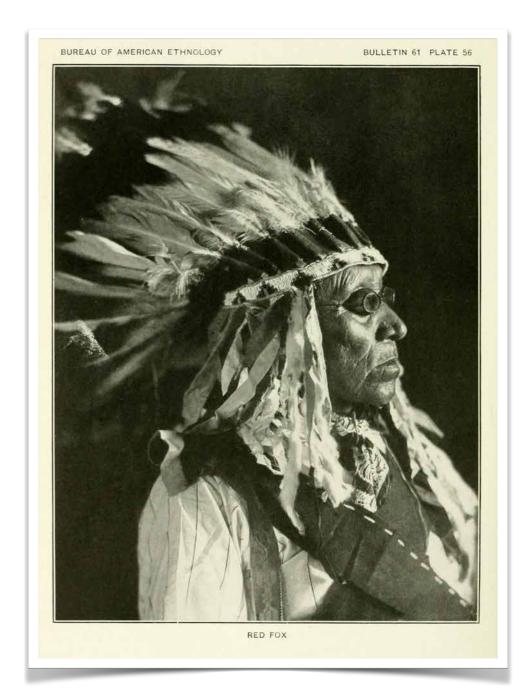
(7) Mağá (Goose), was a member of the Teton division. and at the time of giving his information was 76 years of age. He still continued the practice of native medicine and was considered the best Indian doctor on the reservation. He took part in the Sun Dance at the age of 27, being suspended from the Sun Dance pole. Goose served for a time in the United States Army. The records of the War Department show that he enlisted September 11, 1876, in Buffalo County, Dakota Territory, as a scout,

U. S. A., and served almost continuously in that capacity until July 10, 1882. He again enlisted June 11, 1891, at Fort Yates, North Dakota, and was honorably discharged April 30, 1893, a private of Company I, 22nd United States Infantry. He was a corporal from October 16, 1891, to October 18, 1892. Goose died in September, 1915.

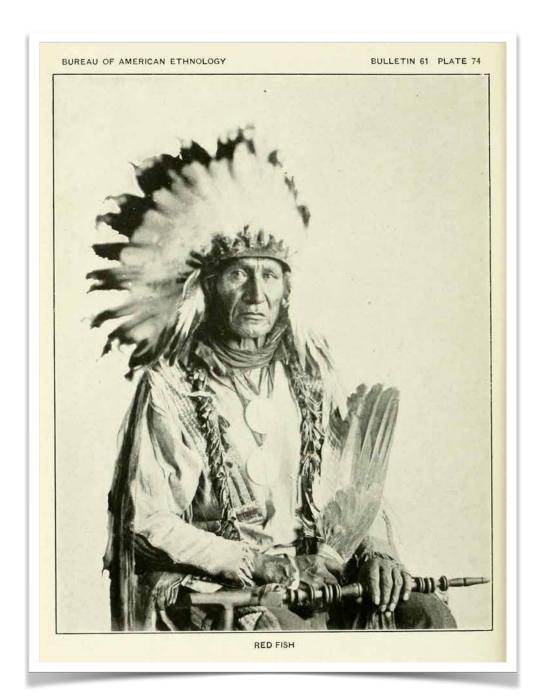


(8) Šiyáka (Teal Duck), who bore also the name Wanblí Wanaphéya (Eagle-Who-Frightens), was a Yanktonai-Teton. Instead of being known by the English equivalent of his Sioux name he was known as Siya'ka, the name used in the present work. He was not an hereditary chief, but was elected chief of a band. He took part in the Sun Dance twice as a young man and was also one of the four young men selected to choose the Sun Dance pole. The first time he took part in the Sun Dance was at the age of 21 in fulfillment of a vow made on the warpath. He went with a party of 26 warriors on an expedition against the

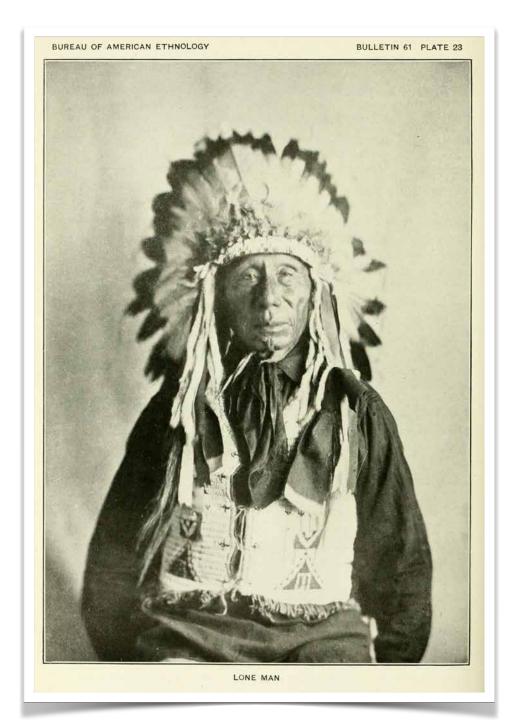
Mandan and Arikaree. About 20 of the warriors, including himself, vowed to take part in the next Sun Dance by dancing, and the other members of the party vowed to participate in other ways. One battle was fought, and all the party returned home alive. His second participation in the Sun Dance was at the age of 25, and he bore three long scars on each arm as an evidence of the ordeal. He was once a tribal delegate to Washington. Šiyáka died in March, 1913.



(9) Thokála Lúta (Red Fox), is a member of the Teton band. He was prominent in the Sun Dance, taking part three times, at the ages of 19, about 30, and 40 years. The last time, he had several buffalo skulls fastened to his back. As evidence of his other Sun Dance vows he bears nine long scars on each arm, three near the wrist, four near the elbow, and two on the upper arm.

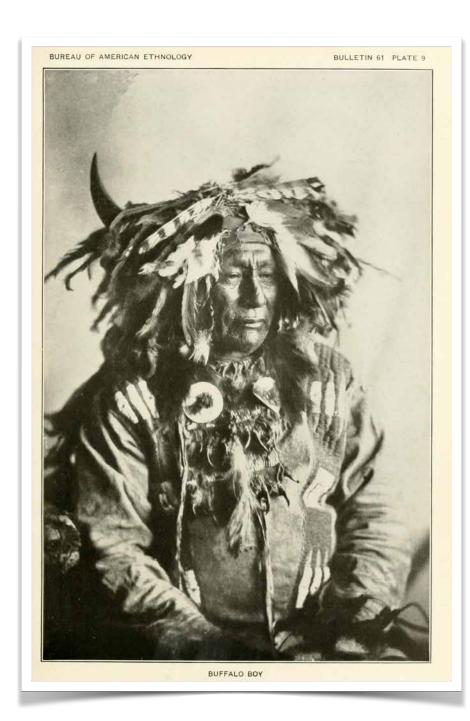


(10) Hoğán Lúta (Red Fish), a Santee-Yanktonai, is a chief and is a prominent man in the councils of the tribe. He took part in the Sun Dance twice, first when he was 26 years old, and the second time at the age of 40.

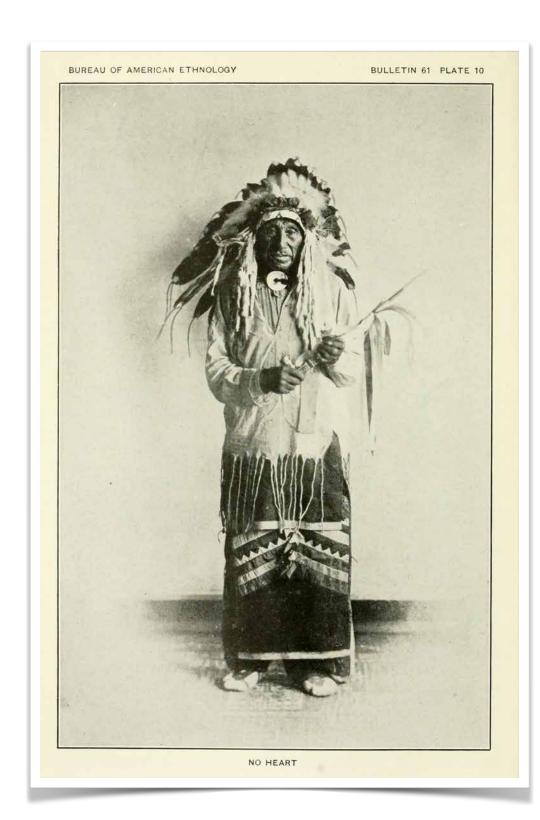


(11) Išnála Wičhá (Lone Man), a Teton, took part in the Sun Dance when 20 and when 31 years of age, and has 100 scars on each arm. He was chosen on one occasion to help select the Sun Dance pole and on another occasion to sing at the drum. He was prominent in tribal wars and took part in the Custer massacre.

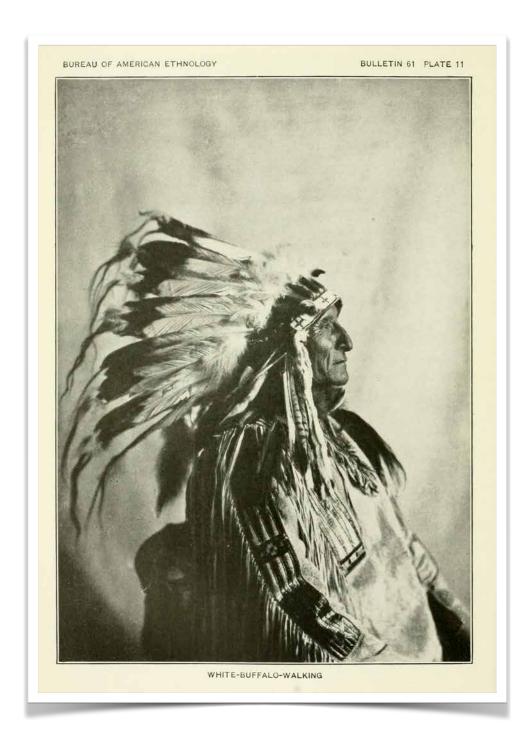
(12) Mázakňaŋ-Wičhákiŋ (Seizes-the-Gun-away-from-Them), a Teton, took part in the Sun Dance, being suspended from the pole. He stated that when he was on the warpath, all the warriors made a Sun Dance vow, so he joined them, asking that he might conquer the enemy and capture horses, also that he might find his friends alive when he reached home. In fulfilling this vow he remained suspended for more than an hour, after which he was "jerked down," but the flesh still refused to tear and only the sticks were broken. The flesh was then cut and the splinters of wood remaining underneath were removed, after which a tiny portion of flesh was offered as in the case of that cut from the arms.



(13) Thathanka
Hokšíla (Buffalo
Boy), is a SanteeYanktonai. At the age
of 30 he carried six
buffalo skulls when
fulfilling a Sun Dance
vow. Ten years later,
he took part in the
dance again. He
received his name
from a dream in
which he saw the
buffalo.



(14) Čhaŋté Waníča (No Heart) a Yanktonai, is a well known Medicine Man of the tribe and is able to depict events by means of drawings. He took part in the Sun Dance when 20 years of age and has 100 scars on each arm.



(15) Ptesáŋ Máni (White-Buffalo-Walking), is a Teton and took part in the final Sun Dance in 1882. The above-mentioned men were the principal informants concerning the Sun Dance, the work being done in a series of conferences. As already stated, about 40 additional men were interviewed. All were members of the Teton, Santee, and Yanktonai divisions of the tribe. The purpose of the interviews was to ascertain the facts concerning the ceremony which were remembered by those who attended as spectators, and also to ascertain the manner in which the men who took part in the conferences were regarded by members of the tribe. Thus the importance given the opinions expressed by these men was influenced somewhat by the authority accorded them by these scattered members of the tribe. The facts brought out during these interviews did not conflict with statements made at the conferences, but served to corroborate them and to add minor details.

Not all the men in the foregoing list were present at every conference. Thus on the first occasion it was possible for only nine to attend. It was considered desirable that at least 12 persons be present, and as no other elderly man was acceptable, to the council, an invitation was extended to Thomas Frosted, a full-blood Santee-Yanktonai, who witnessed several Sun Dances when too young to make a Sun Dance vow, and who has given much consideration to its history and beliefs. Robert P. Higheagle, the interpreter, also witnessed a Sun Dance when a child. These men, with the writer, completed the desired number and no other persons were allowed in the room. Two days were occupied by the discussions, and several men remained longer to record songs.

Concerning these conferences Išnála Wičhá (Lone Man) said to the writer:

"When we heard that you had come for the facts concerning the Sun Dance, we consulted together in our homes. Some hesitated. We have discarded the old ways yet to talk of them is 'sacred talk' to us. If we were to talk of the Sun Dance there should be at least 12 persons present, so that no disrespect would be shown, and no young people should be allowed to come from curiosity. When we decided to come to the council, we reviewed all the facts of the Sun Dance and asked Wakan' tanka that we might give a true account. We prayed that no bad weather would prevent the presence of anyone chosen to attend, and see, during all this week the sound of the thunder has not been heard, the sky has

been fair by day and the moon has shone brightly by night, so we know that Wakan' tanka heard our prayer."

Seated in a circle, according to the old custom, the Indians listened to the statements concerning the Sun Dance as they had already been given to the writer. According to an agreement, there were no interruptions as the manuscript was translated. The man at the southern end of the row held a pipe, which he occasionally lit and handed to the man at his left. Silently, the pipe was passed from one to another, each man puffing it for a moment. The closest attention was given throughout the reading. A member of the white race can never know what reminiscences it brought to the silent Indians—what scenes of departed glory, what dignity and pride of race. After this, the men conferred together concerning the work.

That night until a late hour, the subject was discussed in the camp of Indians. The next morning, the principal session of the council took place. At this time, the expression of opinion was general and after each discussion a man was designated to state the decision through the interpreter. Sometimes one man and sometimes another made the final statement, but nothing was written down which did not represent a consensus of opinion. Throughout the councils, care was taken that the form of a question did not suggest a possible answer by the Indians.

On the afternoon of that day, the entire party drove across the prairie to the place, about a mile and a half from the Standing Rock Agency, where the last Sun Dance of these bands was held in 1882.

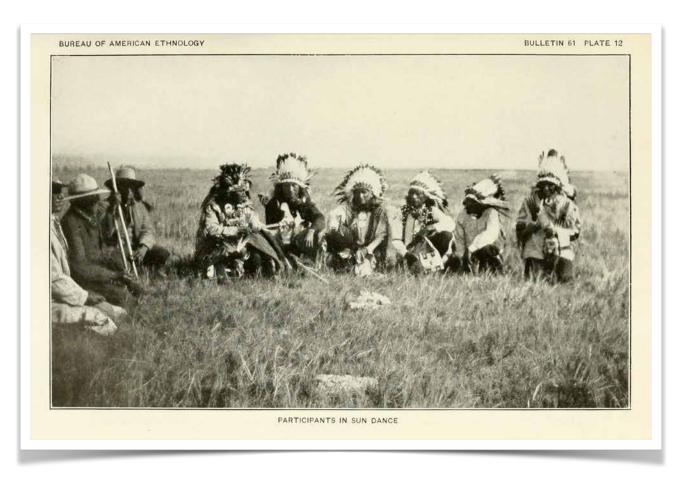
A majority of the Indians who went to the site of the Sun Dance with the writer were men who took part in the Sun Dance of 1882 and had not visited the place since that time. When nearing the place, they scanned the horizon, measuring the distance to the Missouri River and the buttes. At last they gave a signal for the wagons to stop, and, springing to the ground, began to search the prairie. In a short time, they found the exact spot where the ceremony was held. The scars were still on the prairie as they were on their own bodies. A depression about two inches in depth, still square in outline and not fully overgrown with grass, showed where the earth had been exposed for the owáŋka wakȟáŋ("sacred

place"). Only three or four feet away lay a broken buffalo skull. Eagerly, the Indians lifted it and saw traces of red paint upon it—could it be other than the skull used in that ceremony? They looked if perchance they might find a trace of the location of the pole. It should be about 15 feet east of the "sacred place." There it was—a spot of hard, bare ground 18 inches in diameter.

One said, "Here you can see where the shade-house stood." This shade-house, or shelter of boughs, was built entirely around the Sun Dance circle except for a wide entrance at the east. It was possible to trace part of it, the outline being particularly clear on the west of the circle; to the east, the position of the posts at the entrance was also recognized. The two sunken places (where the posts had stood) were about 15 feet apart, and the center of the space between them was directly in line with the site of the pole and the center of the "sacred place" at the west of it. More than 29 years had passed since the ceremony. It is strange that the wind had not sown seeds on those spots of earth.

The little party assembled again around the buffalo skull. Mr. Higheagle gathered fresh sage, which he put beside the "sacred place;" he then laid the broken buffalo skull upon it and rested a Sun Dance pipe against the skull, with stem uplifted. He, too, had his memories. As a boy of six years, he was present at that final Sun Dance, wearing the Indian garb and living the tribal life. Between that day and the present lay the years of education in the white man's way. Some of the Indians put on their war bonnets and their jackets of deerskin with the long fringes. How bright were the porcupine quills on the tobacco bags! "Yes, it is good that we came here today." Pass the pipe from hand to hand in the old way. Jest a little. Yonder man tells too fine a story of his part in the Sun Dance—let him show his scars! Yet the memories, how they return! One old man said with trembling lips: "I was young then. My wife and my children were with me. They went away many years ago. I wish I could have gone with them."

The sky was blue above the little gathering, and all around the vast silent prairie seemed waiting, listening. The Indians were its children—would the white man understand them alright?



A few weeks later, the material was again discussed point-by-point with men who came 40 miles for the purpose. Chief among these was Red Bird, who was under instruction for the office of Intercessor when the Sun Dance was discontinued. He was present at the first council, but some facts had come to his mind in the meantime, and he wished to have them included in the narrative. These men met four times for the discussion of the subject, the phonograph records being played for them and approved, and some ceremonial songs being added to the series. A few days later, a conference was held with five other men, most of whom were present at the council of August 28 and 29. The session lasted an entire day, the narrative which had been prepared being translated into Sioux and the phonograph records played for them, as for the previous group of men. With one exception, all the men present were chiefs.

Throughout this series of conferences the principal points of the account remained unchanged. Each session added information, placed events in the proper order, furnished detail of description, and gave reasons for various ceremonial acts. The councils were not marked by controversy, a spirit of

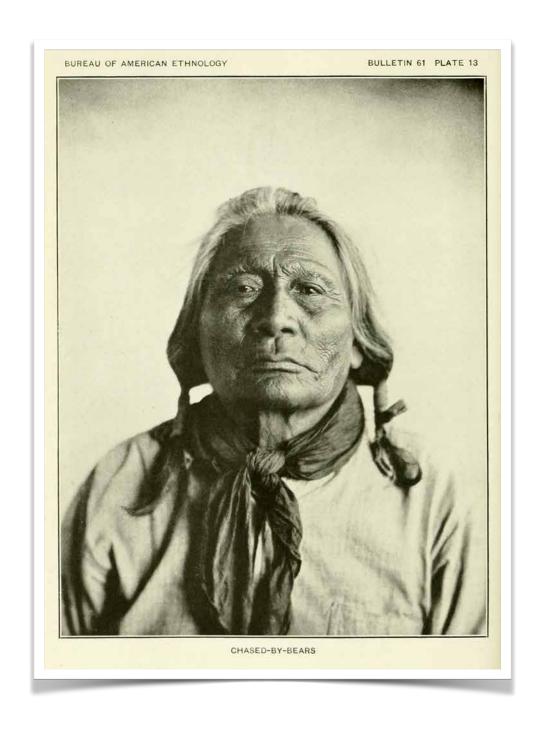
cordiality prevailing, but the open discussion assisted in recalling facts and nothing was recorded which was not pronounced correct by the council as a whole.

A message was then sent to Red Weasel, an aged man who acted as Intercessor at the last Sun Dance, asking him to come and give his opinion on the material. He came and with three others went over the subject in another all-day council. His training and experience enabled him to recall details concerning the special duties of the Intercessor, and he also sang four songs which he received from Wí-iháŋbla (Dreamer-of-the-Sun) together with the instructions concerning the duties of his office. These songs are Nos. 14, 15, 16, and 18 in the present memoir. Before singing the first song the aged man bowed his head and made the following prayer which was recorded by the phonograph:

"Wakhan Thanka, hear me. This day I am to tell your word. But without sin I shall speak. The tribe shall live. Behold me for I am humble. From above watch me. You are always the truth. Listen to me, my friends and relatives, sitting here, and I shall be at peace. May our voices be heard at the future goal you have prepared for us."

The foregoing prayer was uttered in so low a voice that the phonogram was read with difficulty. It is uncertain whether the aged man intended that it should be recorded, but as he had seated himself before the phonograph preparatory to singing, it was possible to put the machine in motion without attracting his attention. He began the prayer with head bowed and right hand extended, later raising his face and using the same gestures which he would have used when filling his ceremonial office.

The final work on this material was done with Chased-by-Bears, a man who had twice acted as Leader of the Dancers, had "spoken the Sun Dance vow" of a war party, and had frequently inflicted the tortures at the ceremony. He was a particularly thoughtful man, remaining steadfast in the ancient beliefs of his people. Few details were added to the description of the ceremony at this time, but its teachings received special attention.



Chased-by-Bears' recital of his understanding of the Sun Dance was not given consecutively, though it is herewith presented in connected form. This material represents several conferences with the writer, and also talks between Mr. Higheagle and Chased-by-Bears which took place during long drives across the prairie. In order to give opportunity for these conversations, the interpreter brought Chased-by-Bears to the agency every day in his own conveyance. Thus

the information was gradually secured. When it had been put in its present form, it was translated into Sioux for Chased-by-Bears, who said that it was correct in every particular.

The statement of Chased-by-Bears concerning the Sun Dance was as follows:

"The Sun Dance is so sacred to us that we do not talk of it often. Before talking of holy things, we prepare ourselves by offerings. If only two are to talk together, one will fill his pipe and hand it to the other, who will light it and offer it to the sky and the earth. Then they will smoke together, and after smoking they will be ready to talk of holy things.

"The cutting of the bodies in fulfillment of a Sun Dance vow is different from the cutting of the flesh when people are in sorrow. A man's body is his own, and when he gives his body or his flesh he is giving the only thing which really belongs to him. We know that all the creatures on the earth were placed here by Wakhan Thanka. Thus, if a man says he will give a horse to Wakhan Thanka, he is only giving to Wakhan Thanka that which already belongs to him. I might give tobacco or other articles in the Sun Dance, but if I gave these and kept back the best, no one would believe that I was in earnest. I must give something that I really value to show that my whole being goes with the lesser gifts; therefore I promise to give my body.

"A child believes that only the action of someone who is unfriendly can cause pain, but in the Sun Dance we acknowledge first the goodness of Wakhan Thanka, and then we suffer pain because of what he has done for us. To this day, I have never joined a Christian Church. The old belief which I have always held is still with me.

"When a man does a piece of work which is admired by all, we say that it is wonderful; but when we see the changes of day and night, the sun, moon, and stars in the sky, and the changing seasons upon the earth, with their ripening fruits, anyone must realize that it is the work of someone more powerful than man. Greatest of all is the sun, without which we could not live. The birds and the beasts, the trees and the rocks, are the work of some great power.

Sometimes men say that they can understand the meaning of the songs of birds.

I can believe this is true. They say that they can understand the call and cry of the animals, and I can believe this also is true, for these creatures and man are alike the work of a great power. We often wish for things to come, as the rain or the snow. They do not always come when we wish, but they are sure to come in time, for they are under the control of a power that is greater than man.

"It is right that men should repent when they make or fulfill a vow to Wakhaŋ Thaŋka. No matter how good a man may appear to others, there are always things he has done for which he ought to be sorry, and he will feel better if he repents of them. Men often weep in the Sun Dance and cry aloud. They are asking something of Wakhaŋ Thaŋka, and are like children who wish to show their sorrow, and who also know that a request is more readily granted to a child who cries.

"We talk to Wakhan Thanka and are sure that he hears us, and yet it is hard to explain what we believe about this. It is the general belief of the Indians that after a man dies, his spirit is somewhere on the earth or in the sky, we do not know exactly where, but we are sure that his spirit still lives. Sometimes people have agreed together that if it were found possible for spirits to speak to men, they would make themselves known to their friends after they died, but they never came to speak to us again, unless, perhaps, in our sleeping dreams. So it is with Wakhan Thanka. We believe that he is everywhere, yet he is to us as the spirits of our friends, whose voices we can not hear.

"My first Sun Dance vow was made when I was 24 years of age. I was alone and far from the camp when I saw an Arikaree approaching on horseback, leading a horse. I knew that my life was in danger, so I said, 'Wakhan Thanka, if you will let me kill this man and capture his horse with this lariat, I will give you my flesh at the next Sun Dance.'

"I was successful, and when I reached home I told my friends that I had conquered by the help of Wakhan Thanka and had made a Sun Dance vow. It happened that I was the first who had done this after the Sun Dance of that summer, so my friends said that I should be the Leader of the Dancers at the next ceremony.

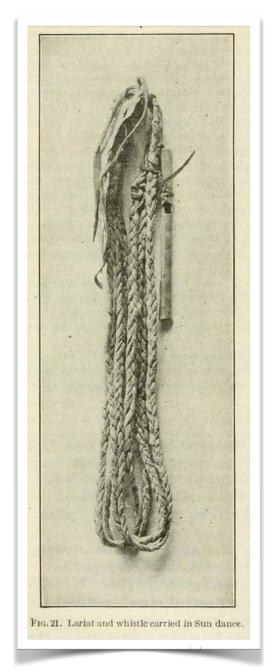
"In fulfilling this vow, I carried the lariat I had used in capturing the horse fastened to the flesh of my right shoulder and the figure of a horse cut from rawhide fastened to my left shoulder.

"Later in the same year, I went with a party of about 20 warriors. As we approached the enemy, some of the men came to me saying that they desired to make Sun Dance vows and asking if I would 'speak the vow' for the party. Each man came to me alone and made some gift with the request. He also stated what gifts he would make at the Sun Dance, but did not always say what part he intended to take in the dance. One man said, 'I will give my whole body to Wakhan Thanka.' I did not understand what he meant, nor was it necessary that I should do so, but at the time of the Sun Dance he asked that his body be suspended entirely above the ground.

"Just before sunrise, I told the warriors to stand side by side facing the east. I stood behind them and told them to raise their right hands. I raised my right hand with them and said: 'Wakhan Thanka, these men have requested me to make this vow for them. I pray you take pity on us and on our families at home. We are now between life and death. For the sake of our families and relatives we desire that you will help us conquer the enemy and capture his horses to take home with us. Because they are thankful for your goodness and will be thankful if you grant this request, these men promise that they will take part in the next Sun Dance. Each man has some offering to give at the proper time.'

"We were successful and returned home victorious. Knowing that these men had vowed to take part in the Sun Dance, I saw that their vows were fulfilled at the next ceremony and personally did the cutting of their arms and the suspension of their bodies. I did this in addition to acting as Leader of the Dancers and fulfilling my own vow.

"The second time I fulfilled a Sun Dance vow, I also acted as Leader of the Dancers. At that time I carried four buffalo skulls. They were so heavy that I could not stand erect, but bowed myself upon a stick which I was permitted to use and danced in that position."



When the work with Chased-by-Bears was finished he went with the writer and the interpreter to the spot where the final Sun Dance was held, a place which had been visited by the council of Indians a few weeks before. The purpose of this visit was that Chased-by-Bears might arrange the ceremonial articles on the sacred place as would be done in a ceremony.

The outline of the sacred place was made clear and intersecting white lines were traced on the exposed earth. A buffalo skull had been secured and brought to the place. Chased-by-Bears spread fresh sage beside the "sacred place" and laid the buffalo skull upon it. He then made a frame to support a pipe and placed in ceremonial position a pipe which had been decorated by the woman who decorated the Sun Dance pipe for the last tribal ceremony. The group of articles was then photographed. Suddenly Chased-by-Bears threw himself, face downward, on the ground, with his head pressed against the top of the buffalo skull. This was the position permitted a Leader of the Dancers when resting during the Sun Dance. After a few silent moments he rose to his feet. The white cross was then obliterated. and fresh sage was carefully strewn over the bare, brown earth, so that no chance passer-by would pause to wonder.

The study of the Sun Dance was finished.

DESCRIPTION OF A TETON SIOUX SUN DANCE

The Sun Dance was called by the Sioux *Wi wan' yang wac'pi*, which is literally translated "sun-watching dance." It was their only tribal gathering of a religious character and was held every year at the full moon of midsummer, "when all nature and even men were rejoicing." The trees were in full leaf and the June berries were ripe. Further, the wild sage was fully grown—a thing especially desired, as the sage was used in the ceremony.

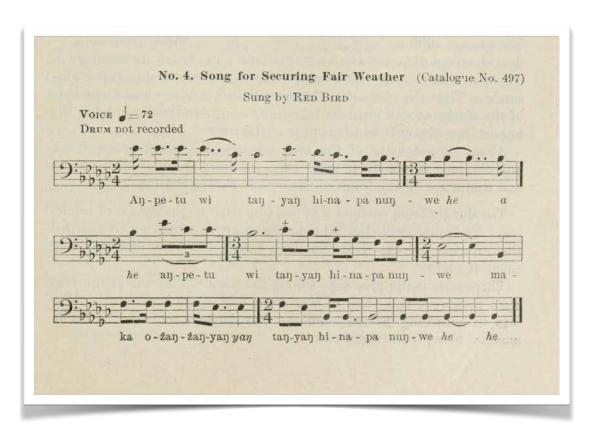
The place where the Sun Dance was held changed from year to year, but was known to all the tribe. Across the prairie came the little companies of Sioux, some traveling a long distance to attend the ceremony. One band after another arrived and erected its tipis in the accustomed part of the tribal circle. Each band constructed a vapor lodge ("sweat bath") near its camp for the use of those who took part in the dance, also a larger lodge in which the dancers assembled before and after the ceremony.

The Sun Dance was held in the center of the great circle of tents. The opening of this tribal circle was toward the east, and the tent of the itan'can (Leader of the Dancers) was opposite. A short distance in front of his tent was the council tent, larger than the others and without decoration. There the chiefs and leading men met to transact the business of the tribe, and thence the various orders pertaining to the ceremony were carried to the people by the Crier. Members of the tribe did not approach, and children and dogs were kept away from the vicinity because the buffalo skull to be used in the ceremony of the Sun Dance lay at the west of this tent.

During the four days preceding the ceremony the skull lay on a bed of fresh sage outside the council tent, in a position corresponding to the place of honor inside the tent. The ceremonial lines of red paint had not yet been placed on the skull, but the openings in it were filled with sage. The use of sage around the buffalo skull was in accordance with the instructions given by the White Buffalo Maiden. It was said, too, that "the sage was used because the buffalo sought for it on the prairie and rolled their great bodies on its fragrant leaves." The sage used in this connection was identified as *Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.

A month before the Sun Dance, the Wakȟáŋ (Medicine Men) prayed for fair weather, singing, burning sweet grass, and offering their pipes to the sky, the earth, and the cardinal points. Before burning the sweet grass, a Medicine Manprepared a spot of bare ground, placing a few coals in the middle of it. Then, taking a bunch of sweet grass, he offered it to the sky, the earth, and the cardinal points, after which he singed it over the coals. While it was smoking, he offered it again to the sky, the earth, and the cardinal points. It is said that the efforts of the Medicine Men were always successful, and that the oldest men cannot remember the falling of rain during a Sun Dance.

The following song was especially favored for securing fair weather; it is one of the songs which have descended from Dreamer-of-the Sun, who died about the year 1845.



The danger from enemies was not forgotten in the season of rejoicing. The horses were herded near the camp, and young men guarded them during the day, bringing them nearer the tents and picketing them at night.

There were many greetings among the people. Events of the year were reviewed, and tales of war were told again and again. War was an absorbing interest, and the Sun Dance would see the fulfillment of many a warrior's vow.

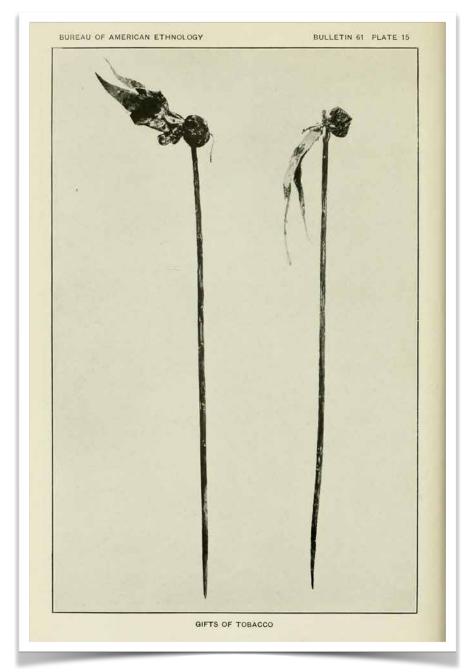
When in danger, it was customary for an entire war party to vow that its members would take part in the next Sun Dance. The vow was usually made at sunrise and spoken by a warrior who had fulfilled a similar vow. If there were time to secure a proper offering, each man held this in his left hand, raising his right hand as the vow was spoken. It was a rite, which could be varied by the individual. Thus it was said that some made the vow more impressive by bowing the head or lowering the right hand slowly toward the earth. A man's spoken vow was only that he would take part in the dance, but deep in his heart was hidden a private vow concerning the part which he would take. Some had left little children at home, or sick relatives or friends whom they longed to see again. They vowed that at the next Sun Dance they would dance, or would be suspended by their flesh, or that many gashes would be cut in their arms; they felt that no extreme of heroic endurance would be too great an expression of thankfulness if they were reunited with their friends, yet they knew that their vow must be fulfilled even if they returned defeated or to an empty lodge.

During the months which intervened between their return and the Sun Dance they prepared for the fulfillment of their vows. Well they knew that if they failed to do this of their own accord it would be exacted of them by the forces of nature. More than one man who disregarded his vow to the sun had perished in a lightning flash, or if he escaped punishment himself, it was known that disaster had befallen his family or his horses. The old men knew of every vow and watched for its fulfillment.

The leading men of the tribe belonged to various military societies, as the Strong Heart, the Crow-owners, the Wolf, Badger and Fox societies, or the White Horse Elders. During the four days next preceding the Sun Dance, these societies met together for the purpose of electing the *Khuwákhiyapi* (Intercessor), the *itháŋčhaŋ* (Leader of the Dancers), the four young men who were to select the tree for the sacred pole, and the four young women who were to cut it down.



The chiefs were also in the council tent whenever business was transacted. It was generally known in advance who would be chosen Intercessor and Leader of the Dancers. The former office required long and special preparation and was repeatedly filled by the same man. His duties included the offering of prayers on behalf of the people, the singing of songs as he performed certain ceremonial acts, the painting of the can wakhán (sacred pole) and the preparation of the owánka wakňán (sacred place).



The ceremonial songs must either be composed by the man who sang them, or purchased from someone who had previously held the office, and instructed him in its duties. A large amount was paid for the instructions and songs. The tribe knew when a young man aspired to this office, and if his preparation were complete he was elected as soon as occasion offered.

Red Bird made the statement: "The tribe would never appoint an unworthy man to the office of Intercessor. In his prayers and offerings, he represented the people, and if he were not a

good man Wakhan Thanka might not answer his petitions and grant fair weather; he even might send disaster upon the tribe."

Chased-by-Bears said that no man who had committed a great wrong could act as Intercessor, no matter how fully he had repented. The record of an Intercessor must be absolutely without blemish.

The Leader of the Dancers was usually the warrior who first returned successful from the warpath, stating that he had made a Sun Dance vow and that he wished to act as Leader of the Dancers at the next ceremony. As with the office of Intercessor, the qualifications were so well known that a man who lacked them would not presume to seek the position. He must have a reputation above reproach and be able to fill the office with credit to himself and the tribe; he must furnish the various offerings placed upon the sacred pole, and the buffalo fat in which the pole was embedded; he was also expected to offer a Sun Dance pipe and provide the buffalo skull upon which it rested during the ceremony, a skull without defect selected by him from the many that strewed the prairie.

The Sun Dance pipe, furnished by the Leader of the Dancers, was decorated at his request by one of the most skillful women of the tribe. It was considered a great honor to decorate this pipe, which was prepared some time before the ceremony. There was no prescribed pattern, but the decoration consisted of porcupine quill work and did not cover the entire stem. The men who fulfilled their vows also made certain offerings, which they prepared before the ceremony; these varied in value according to the wealth of the man. Thus a man of large means might give a pipe, a quantity of tobacco, a buffalo robe, and other goods, while a man of small means gave only tobacco. Like the offerings made during the ceremony by the Intercessor, these were regarded as gifts to Wakháŋ Tháŋka. A difference between the two classes of offerings was shown by the fact that the goods offered by the Intercessor were left undisturbed on the prairie, while those offered by the dancers were free to anyone who wished to appropriate them.

The reason given by Red Bird was that "the Intercessor represented the whole tribe and his offerings were to Wakhaŋ Thaŋka, while the dancers were all alike and their offerings were among themselves."

The tobacco offered by the dancers was tied in little packets, each holding about a pipeful, and each being fastened to a stick. The tobacco is wrapped in the dried bladder of a steer, buffalo bladder being formerly used. The number of these packets varied; ten was the usual number, though a dancer sometimes gave 100. The sticks bearing the packets were placed upright in the ground or left in any available place, and, like the other gifts of the dancers, were taken by the poor of the tribe.

If a man's vow involved the cutting of his flesh, he was permitted to offer a pipe similar to that of the Intercessor, filled with tobacco, sealed with buffalo fat, and placed beside the Intercessor's pipe during the ceremony. Išnála Wičhá (Lone Man) stated that his Sun Dance vow included the offering of a pipe; he therefore offered a pipe when fulfilling his vow and had kept the pipe with greatest care. This was smoked when the members of the Sun Dance council revisited the site of the final Sun Dance, August 29, 1911, and was again placed on the square of exposed earth, which was still discernible on the prairie.

Preparation for the Sun Dance included the choice of others who were to take part in the ceremony. It was required that the four young men who were to select the tree for the sacred pole should be unmarried, members of prominent families and men of unquestioned integrity. The four women were selected from among the virgins of the tribe. Great care was exercised in these selections, and each choice could be challenged by the tribe. There was, however, no open rivalry at the time of the election, it being known who would probably be chosen.

Twenty or more men were selected who should carry the sacred pole to the camp and erect it in the Sun Dance circle; these men also sang at the drum, together with special singers, both men and women.

During the days before a Sun Dance, several begging dances were held. The begging dance, which was performed at every Sioux gathering, resembled a serenade rather than a dance. A party of men and women carrying a drum went from tent to tent, pausing before each and singing and dancing until food was given to them. A man went in advance of the party and placed a stick upright in the ground before each tent where the serenaders expected to sing. This was a signal to the occupants of the tent, the stick being removed by the singers after they had been supplied with food.

To those who were to take part in the Sun Dance, the days preceding the ceremony were a season of preparation, including visits to the vapor lodges of their respective bands. During this time, the dancers usually made the arrangements for the painting of their bodies. The painting was done by men of known ability, who were paid by the individual dancers. Often there was some

formality connected with the making of this request, which was enacted for the writer by Zintkála Lúta (Red Bird), who represented the dancer, and Išnála Wičhá (Lone Man), who represented the man who was asked to apply the paint. Red Bird made the request, but his friend pretended to hesitate, finally extending both hands tightly closed. Lone Man then tried to open his friend's hands. After succeeding in this with seeming difficulty, he placed a pipe in them, which his friend accepted and smoked. After a few moments, Red Bird asked for the return of the pipe, but was met with the same reluctance as before. Finally he was obliged to pry his friend's hands from the pipe as he had forced them open when the pipe was offered. This was said to constitute an agreement that one man would paint the body of the other, and in it the "artistic temperament" was typified in an unmistakable manner.

For four nights just before the Sun Dance, there were rehearsals of those who were to drum, sing, or dance, each person being carefully instructed in his part of the ceremony.

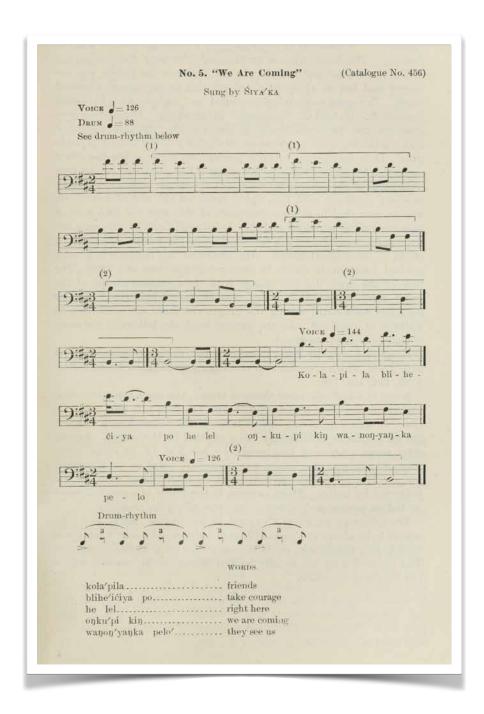
Announcements were made by the Crier, who was a picturesque and important figure in every tribal gathering. An old man was preferred, as it was said that, "the old men were more careful than the young men in making the announcements." Mounted on horseback, handsomely dressed, wearing a single eagle feather erect in his hair and carrying an eagle-wing fan, the Crier went the round of the camp circle, close to the tent doors, announcing the decisions of the council, the commands of the Intercessor, or the events of the day. He was also ready to answer any inquiries regarding the ceremony, as the Intercessor and the Leader of the Dancers were supposed to talk only when it was necessary for them to do so.

During the days immediately preceding the Sun Dance, it was customary for each military society to hold one or more dances called braves' dances, which were followed by feasts. The term "braves' dances" is a general one, referring to the dances of the various military societies. It was said that a dance of the Strong Heart Society might be announced by the Crier in the following words:

Čhanté T'inza wan! Ímnahanhan Wayátin ktelo. Híyu po! (Strong Hearts! You are going to eat to your hearts' content. Come on!)

In response to this summons, the members of the Strong Heart society would come in finest array. This society was composed of warriors, and the leaders of the tribe were usually among its members. They paraded around the camp circle before the dance, singing the songs which they used on the warpath. (The writer heard a Sioux Crier who was said to be 103 years old, but whose voice in announcing an evening council was as the sound of a trumpet, full, clear, and of wonderful carrying quality.)

The following song was commonly used at the dances preceding a Sun Dance. It is a "Chief song."



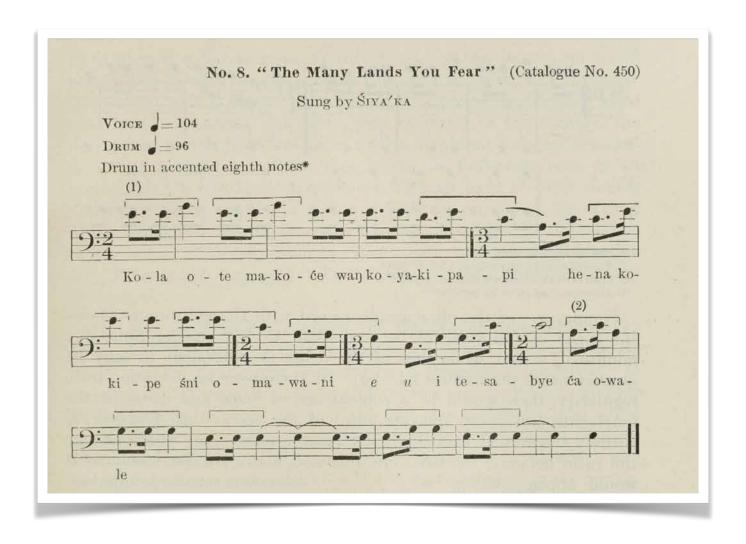
The following song was also used in the braves' dance; it is estimated to be about 180 years old, as the singer, who was a man past middle life, stated that his father said that his grandfather sang it. The age of a song can usually be determined in this manner with a fair degree of accuracy.



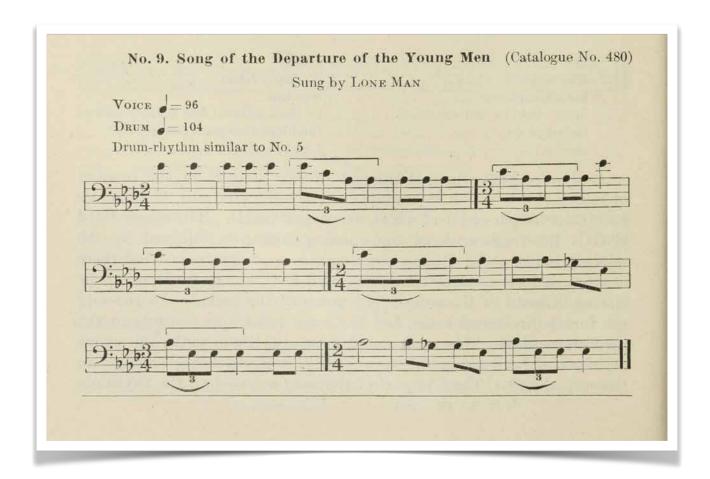
The tree to be used for the sacred pole was selected and cut, and the sacred pole was decorated and raised on the morning of the day preceding the Sun Dance. All the tribe were present when the four young men set out from the camp to select the tree. For some time before their departure, the drummers and singers sang the songs of war, for the tree was regarded as something to be conquered. The following song might be sung as the people assembled. This song was composed by the singer, a man who is known in the tribe as a composer of war songs.



The following song was frequently used in this connection, and was used also before the departure of a party going on the warpath or in search of buffalo:



The following song of departure was reserved for use at the Sun Dance; this was usually sung as the four young men left the camp for the woods to select the tree which should form the sacred pole.

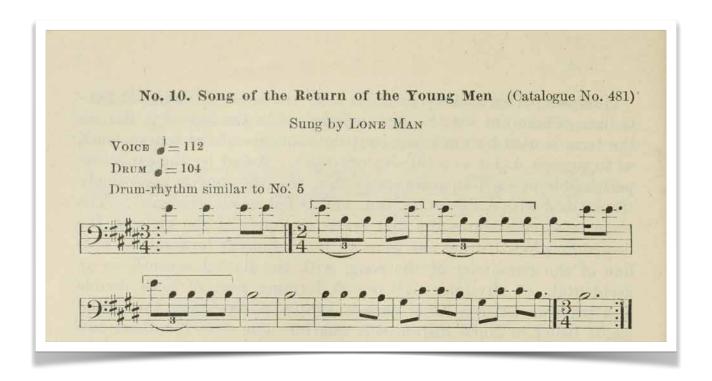


This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection

Any who wished to accompany the young men were permitted to do so, but they had no part in choosing the tree. On arriving at the woods, the young men searched for a straight, slender tree. It was stated that cottonwood was preferred for the sacred pole and for all the articles of wood used in the Sun Dance, because the white down of the cottonwood seed resembles the downy eagle feathers used in the ceremony. If a cottonwood could not be obtained, elm was selected, because the elm is the first tree to blossom in the spring. The tree for the Sun Dance pole must be a standing tree and particularly fine with respect to straightness, branching, and fullness of leaf. It was required that the first tree selected should be cut, no change of choice being allowed. It is interesting to

note that all articles devoted to a ceremonial use must be the best obtainable. A high standard of excellence prevailed among the Sioux, and this is especially shown in their ceremonies which expressed their highest ideals.

When the young men had decided on a tree, they returned to make their report to the Intercessor. Their return had been anxiously awaited, and in response to their signal, a number of friends went on horseback to meet them, riding around them in wide circles and escorting them to the camp. There they found their friends dancing around the drum and singing the following song, which was used also to welcome a returning war party or men who had gone in search of buffalo. After the singing and dancing a feast was provided by the friends of the young men. There was an abundance of food, and all were invited to partake.



The announcement of a choice was followed by preparation for cutting the tree and bringing it to the camp. The cutting of the tree for the Sun Dance pole was an important part of the ceremony, and many went to witness it. Some went from curiosity, and others wished to make offerings when the tree was cut. Even the children went to see the cutting of the pole. The young people, riding their fleet ponies, circled around the party. The leading members of the company were the Intercessor (or, in his absence, one of the old Medicine Men), the four young men who selected the tree, the four young women who were to cut the tree, and the pole-bearers, who were to carry it to the camp. It was the duty of the Leader of the Dancers to provide the ax with which the tree was felled, but he did not accompany the party who went to cut it. In the old days, a primitive implement was used; in later times this was replaced by an ax purchased from the trader, but it was required that the ax be a new one, never used before.

Great interest centered in the selection of the tree, and when it was indicated by the young men, the Intercessor raised his pipe, holding the stem toward the top of the tree and lowering it slowly to the earth, repeating a prayer in a low tone. When he held the pipe toward the top of the tree, he spoke of the kingbird; lowering it about one-third of the distance to the ground, he spoke of the eagle; lowering it half the remaining distance, he spoke of the yellowhammer, and holding it toward the ground he spoke of the spider. The tree was regarded as an enemy, and in explanation of the reference to these animals it was said that "the kingbird, though small, is feared by all its enemies; the eagle is the boldest of birds; the yellowhammer can not overcome its enemies in open fight but is expert in dodging them, darting from one side of the tree-trunk to another; while the spider defeats its enemies by craftiness and cunning."

One of the four virgins was selected to cut the tree, but she did not fell it at once. It was considered that she had been given the honor of conquering an enemy, and before she wielded the ax, a kinsman was permitted to relate one of his valiant deeds on the warpath. The maiden then lifted the ax and made a feint of striking the tree. Each of the four virgins did likewise, the action of each being preceded by the telling of a victory tale by one of her kinsmen.

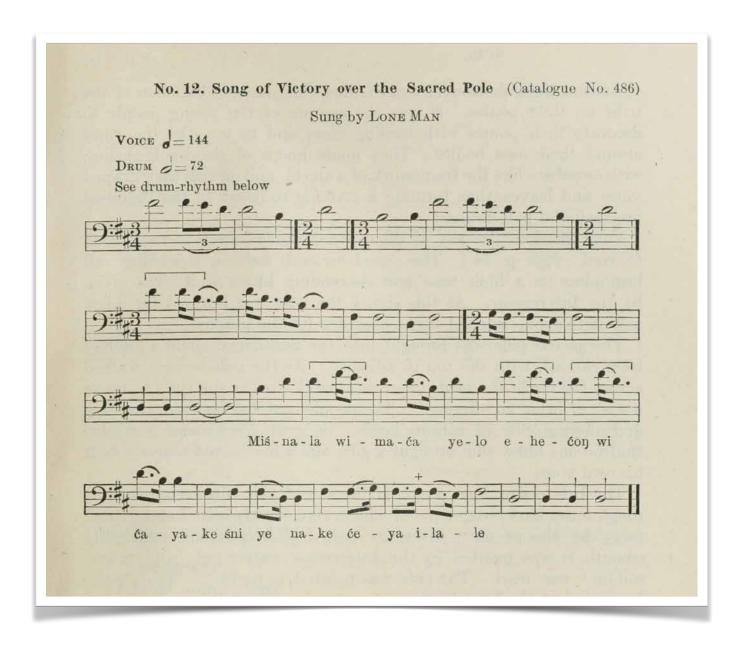
The ax was then returned to the first virgin, who swung it with effect, cutting the tree in such a manner that it fell toward the south. While the tree was being felled, no one was allowed near it except those who wielded the ax, the Intercessor, those who wished to make offerings, and those who were to carry the pole. At this time the following song was sung:



Throughout this part of the ceremony, the tree was regarded as an enemy, and a shout of victory arose as it swayed and fell. Care was taken that it should not touch the ground. The Medicine Men, some of whom usually accompanied the party, burned sweet grass, and offerings were presented. The branches of the tree were cut off close to the trunk except one branch about one-fourth of the distance from the top, which was left a few inches long in order that the crossbar of the pole might be fastened to it. In some cases, a small branch with leaves on it was also left at the top of the pole. From this time, the pole was regarded as sacred and no one was allowed to step over it, or over any of the branches which had been cut from it. Jealousy frequently arose among the women in regard to the privilege of cutting the tree, and it is said that on one occasion a woman was so angry because she was not chosen for the purpose that she stepped over the pole. Half an hour later she was thrown from her horse, dragged some distance, and killed. The horse was known to be a gentle animal, and the event was considered a punishment justly visited on the woman.

Between 20 and 40 men were required to carry the sacred pole to the camp. These walked two abreast, each pair carrying between them a stick about two feet long on which the pole rested as on a litter. The pole was carried with the top in advance, and the Intercessor or his representative walked behind the bearers. No one was allowed to walk before the sacred pole.

The songs of carrying home the pole were songs of victory. The following song could be used at any time after the pole had been cut and was frequently sung as it was carried to the camp:



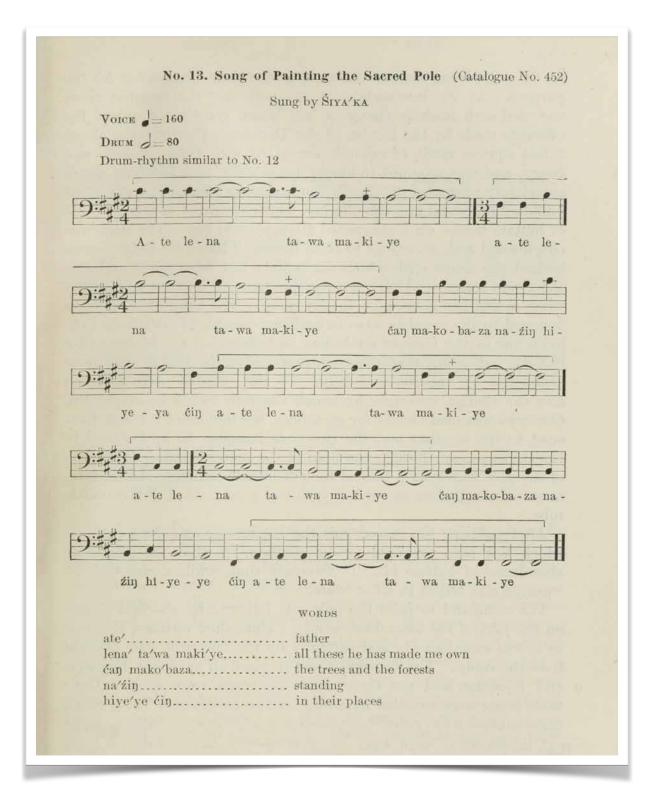
Around the pole-bearers circled the young men and women of the tribe on their ponies. It was the custom of the young people to decorate their ponies with trailing vines and to wreathe the vines around their own bodies. They made hoops of slender branches, with crossbars like the framework of a shield, and on this they draped vines and leaves, thus forming a striking contrast to the dignified procession of pole-bearers.

Four times on the way to the camp, the pole-bearers were allowed to rest. The signal for each halt—a throbbing call beginning on a high tone and descending like a wail—was given by the Intercessor. At this signal, the pole was lowered for a few moments upon crotched sticks provided for the purpose.

The sacred pole was brought into the Sun Dance circle as it had been carried, with the top in advance. As the pole-bearers walked across the circle the Medicine Men cried, "Now is the time to make a wish or bring an offering." The people crowded forward, shouting and offering gifts of various kinds. So great excitement prevailed that no one knew who brought a gift, and a man could scarcely hear his own voice.

The Intercessor then prepared the sacred pole, first removing the rough outer bark, fragments of which were eagerly seized and carried away by the people. After the pole had been made sufficiently smooth, it was painted by the Intercessor; native red paint or vermilion was used. The pole was painted in perpendicular stripes, beginning at the branch where the cross bar would be fastened and extending to the base.

As the Intercessor painted the sacred pole, he sang the following song, which, like the other songs pertaining to his ceremonial office, was sung alone and without the drum, the people listening attentively:



The Sun Dance pole was usually about 35 feet in length and six to eight inches in diameter. A crossbar "the length of a man" was tied on the pole, being securely fastened to the short branch left for the purpose. At the intersection of the pole and the crossbar there was tied with rawhide thongs a bag, which constituted one of the offerings made by the Leader of the Dancers. This bag

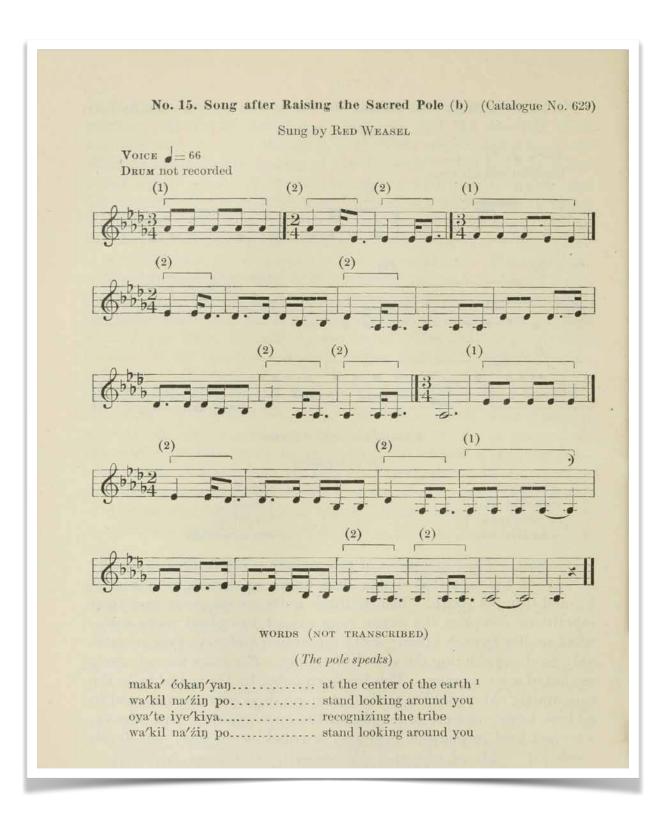
was about two feet square, made of rawhide decorated with beads, tassels, and fringe, and was wrapped in cherry branches four or five feet long which completely concealed it. Inside the bag was a smaller bag of tanned buffalo hide containing the offering, which consisted of a large piece of buffalo hump, on a sharpened stick painted red. The stick was Cottonwood and, according to Mathó Khúwa (Chased-by-Bears), symbolized the arrow with which the buffalo had been killed and also the picket stake to which a horse stolen from an enemy was fastened when it was being brought to the camp.

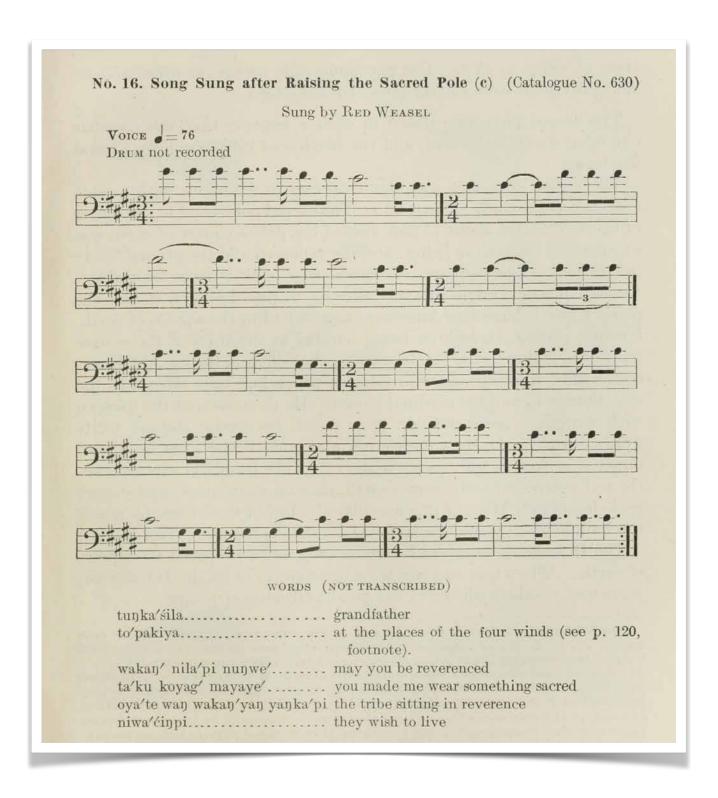
The additional offerings fastened to the crossbar were two effigies cut from rawhide, one in the form of an Indian and the other in the form of a buffalo, indicating that the enemy and also the buffalo had been conquered by supernatural help. To the crossbar were fastened also the thongs, or cords, by which the men would be suspended. One cord was made ready for each man, the middle of it being fastened to the crossbar and the two ends hanging, to be fastened to the sticks passed through the flesh of the man's chest. At the top of the pole was hung a tanned robe of buffalo calfskin. In the later ceremonies, a banner of red list cloth was used instead of the buffalo robe.

After painting the sacred pole, the Intercessor examined the hole which had been prepared for its erection, in which he placed an abundance of buffalo fat. It was said that, while doing this, he "prayed and talked in a low voice."

The command to raise the pole was followed by absolute silence on the part of the assembled people. Thus they watched the pole as it was raised slowly and carefully by the men who had brought it to the camp. The moment it was in place all gave way to cheers and rejoicing, and the three following songs were sung. These three songs were recorded by a man said to be the only Teton Sioux living (1911) who had filled the office of Intercessor. These songs comprised part of the instructions he received from the man who preceded him in that office. The singer was about 80 years of age when the songs were recorded.

No. 14. Song Sung after Raising the Sacred Pole (a) (Catalogue No. 628) Sung by RED WEASEL VOICE J = 63Recorded without drum (1) (1) (2) WORDS (NOT TRANSCRIBED) (The pole speaks) wakan'yan..... sacred nawa'zin ye..... I stand wanma'yanka yo..... behold me ema'kiye ćon..... was said to me





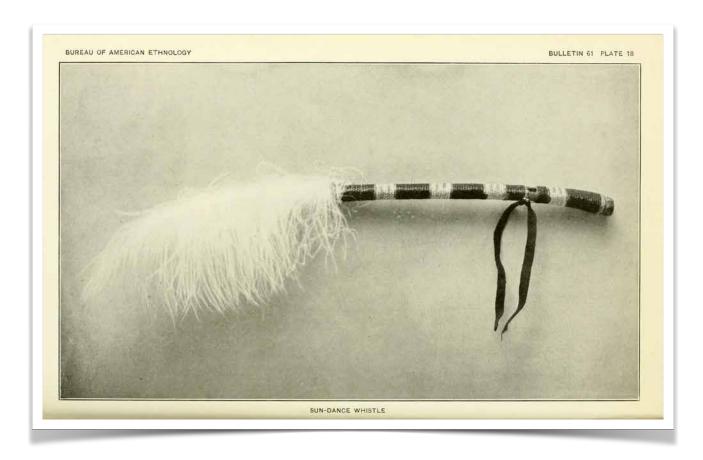
This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection

The sacred pole was placed in such a manner that the crossbar extended north and south, and the earth was packed solidly around the base.



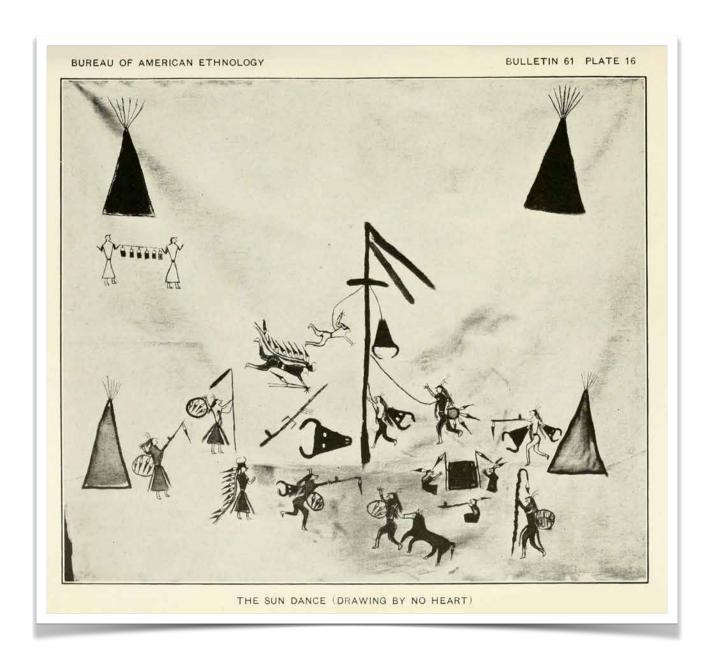
The dance enclosure was about 50 feet in diameter, with a wide entrance at the east. The sacred pole stood in the center of this circle, and about 15 feet west of the pole a square of earth was exposed, all vegetation being carefully removed and the ground finely pulverized. This square of earth was called *owáŋka wakȟáŋ*, "sacred place," and no one was allowed to pass between it and the

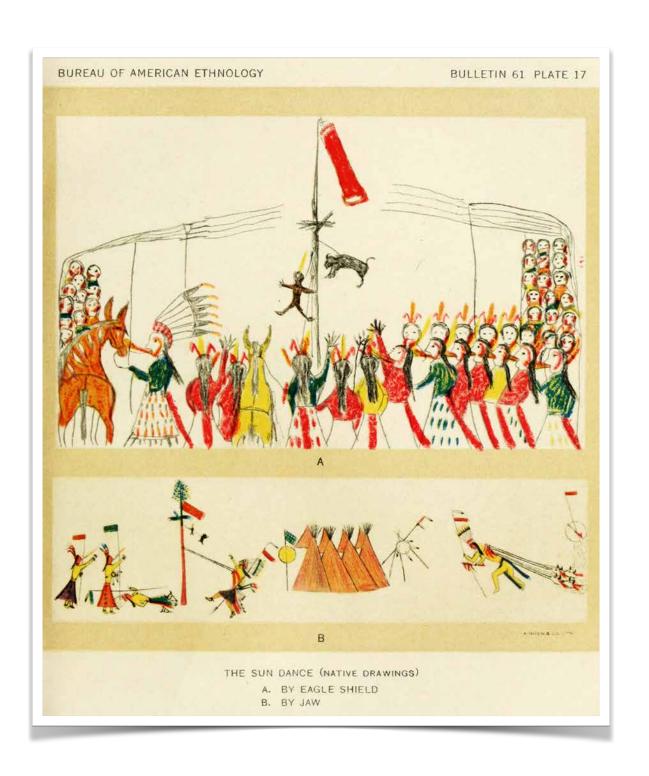
pole. Two intersecting lines were traced within the square of earth, forming a cross, these lines being parallel to the sides of the square but not touching them. After tracing these lines in the soil, the Intercessor filled the incisions with tobacco which had been offered to the sky, the earth, and the cardinal points. He then covered the tobacco with vermilion paint-powder, over which he spread shining white "mica-dust." At the intersection and ends of the lines he placed bunches of downy white eagle feathers. Very beautiful was the contrast of green turf, soft brown earth, shining white lines, and downy eagle feathers. West of this



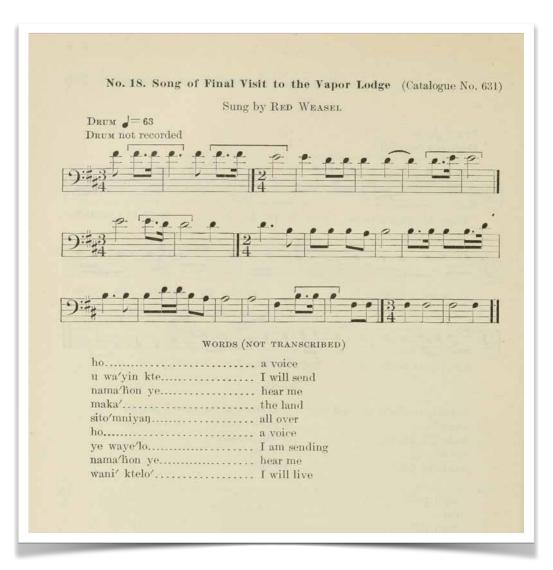
was placed a bed of fresh sage, on which the buffalo skull would be laid during the ceremony.

The Intercessor sang the following song as he prepared the square of earth. When this and similar songs were sung by the Intercessor, there was absolute silence in the great gathering of people.





After the sacred pole was erected and the sacred place prepared, a shelter, or "shade-house," was built entirely around the Sun Dance circle, any who wished to share in this work being permitted to do so. Posts about six feet high were erected, and upon these were placed a light framework of poles. This framework was covered with buffalo hides and decorated with freshly cut boughs. Beneath this shade sat the old people, the relatives of the dancers, and any who attended the ceremony merely as spectators. On the morning of the Sun Dance, those who were to take part in the ceremony were allowed to eat a full meal, after which they entered the vapor lodge while the following song was sung:

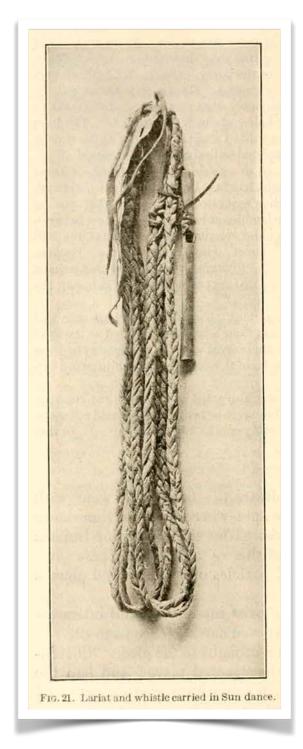


This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection

After their vapor bath, the dancers were painted by the men whom they had selected for that purpose. A few of the writer's informants stated that the bodies of the dancers were painted white on the first day of the ceremony, the colors being added on the morning of the second day, but others, including Red Weasel stated positively that the painting in colors was done before the opening of the dance. Red Bird stated that each man who was accustomed to paint the dancers had a special color, which was "associated with his dream," and that he used this color first in the painting. The colors employed were red (the "tribal color"), blue, yellow, white, and black, each color being a symbolism connected with the sky. Thus, it was said that red corresponds to the red clouds of sunset, which indicate fair weather; blue represents the cloudless sky; yellow, the forked lightning; white corresponds to the light; and black was used for everything associated with night, even the moon being painted black because it belonged to the hours of darkness.

Šiyáka (Teal Duck) stated that when he took part in the Sun Dance, his face and body were painted yellow, with dark blue lines extending down the arms and branching at the wrist to hues which terminated at the base of the thumb and the little finger. Similar lines extended down the legs, branching at the ankles. There was also a dark blue line across his forehead and down each cheek. A black deer's head was painted over his mouth, the man who painted him saying that this decoration he used because the deer could endure thirst for a long time without losing its strength. On his chest was painted a red disk representing the sun, and outlining this disk he wore a hoop of wood wound with otter fur and decorated with four white eagle feathers tipped with black. On his back was painted a dark crescent representing the moon. Bands of rabbit fur were worn around the wrists and ankles.

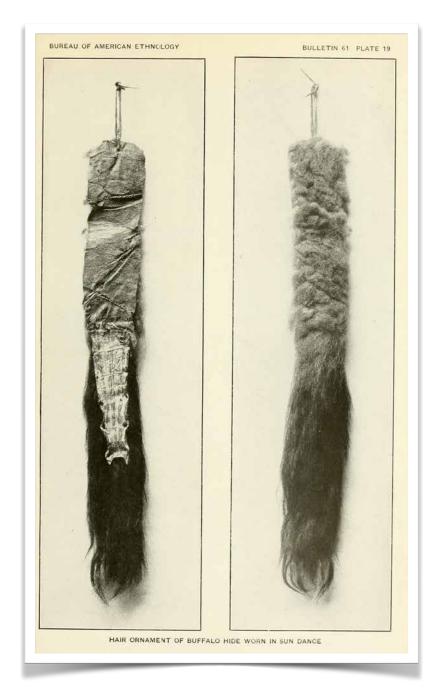
Those who took part in the Sun Dance wore their hair loose on the shoulders after the manner of men who had recently killed an enemy. A lock of hair was tied at the back of the head and to this was fastened upright a white downy eagle feather. Small sticks about eight inches long were also fastened in the hair, four being the usual number. These sticks were decorated with porcupine quills, beads, and tassels. A dancer was not allowed to touch his body during the ceremony, the decorated sticks being taken from his hair and used for that purpose.



No moccasins were worn by the dancers. Each man wore a white deerskin apron, which was fastened at the waist and extended below the knees both front and back; he had also a robe of buffalo skin in which he was wrapped while going to the Sun Dance circle and returning to his lodge. A whistle was hung around his neck by a cord. This whistle was made of the wing-bone of an eagle, wound with braiding of porcupine quills and tipped with a downy white eagle feather fastened above the opening so that the breath of the dancer moved the snowy filaments. The mouthpiece was surrounded with fresh sage. The man blew this whistle as he danced. The instrument was decorated by the woman who decorated the Sun Dance pipe.

After being painted and arrayed, the men who were to take part in the ceremony assembled in the dancers' lodges of their respective bands and awaited the summons of the Crier. The Leader of the Dancers was with the Intercessor in the council tent. His costume was not necessarily different from that of the dancers. Chased-by-Bears stated that when acting as Leader of the Dancers he was painted white with black streaks,

across his forehead and down his cheeks. The deerskin which he wore was elaborately wrought with porcupine quills by the women among his relatives, who wished to do the work although such decoration was not required.

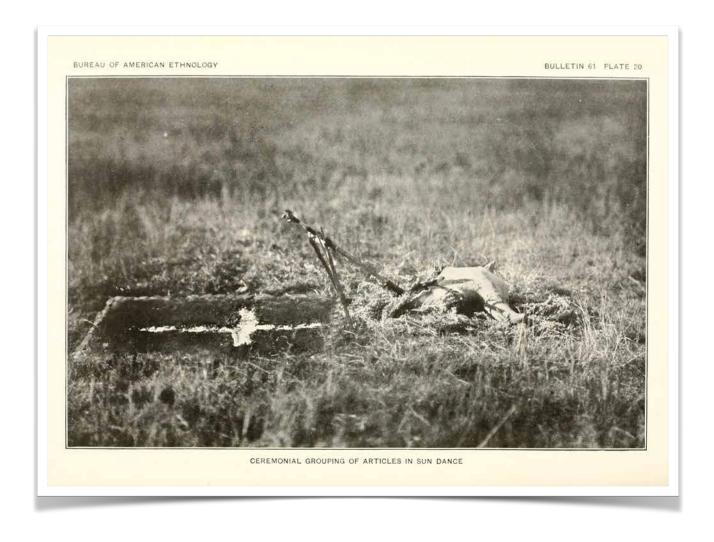


The costume worn by an Intercessor was somewhat similar to that of the dancers, but on his wrists and ankles he frequently wore bands of buffalo skin on which the hair was loosening, and his robe was the skin of a buffalo killed at the time when it was shedding its hair. Bits of hair shed by the buffalo were tied to his own hair, and he wore buffalo horns on his head, or he might wear a strip of buffalo skin fastened to his hair and hanging down his back. In contrast to the dancers his hair was braided, but like them he wore one white downy eagle feather. His face and hands were painted red. The costume of an Intercessor varied slightly with the individual. Red Weasel stating that he wore otter skin around his wrists and ankles, that the braids of his

hair were wound with otter skin, and that he wore a shirt of buffalo hide trimmed with human hair, which was supposed to represent the hair of an enemy.

On the morning of the day appointed for the Sun Dance, the Crier went around the camp circle, announcing the opening of the ceremony in the following words: *Waŋná úpo. Waŋná yuštáŋpi. Ináȟni po!* ("Now all come. Now it is finished. Hasten!")

In the procession which approached the Sun Dance circle, the Intercessor was the most prominent figure, the others acting as his escort. The Intercessor held before him with uplifted stem his Sun Dance pipe, which would be smoked during the ceremony. The Leader of the Dancers walked beside him, carrying the ceremonial buffalo skull, which had been painted with stripes of red extending from the nostrils to the horns. Near him walked some close relative or friend, who carried the Leader's sealed pipe, which would be placed with the buffalo skull beside the square of exposed earth.



Those who were to fulfill their vows walked on either side of the Intercessor and the Leader of the Dancers, and around them were the war societies and other organizations of the tribe. On reaching the entrance of the Sun Dance circle, the procession paused. The Intercessor directed the attention of the people to the east, and it was understood that each man offered a silent prayer; this action was repeated toward the south, the west, and the north, after which they entered the enclosure.

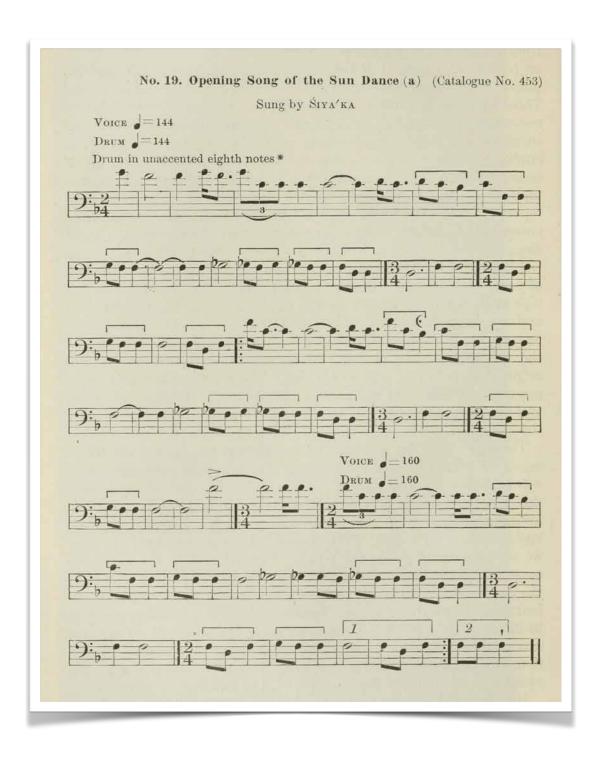
Amid impressive silence, the procession passed along the southern "side" of the circle to the western "side," where the Leader of the Dancers, pausing, laid the buffalo skull on the bed of sage, with its face toward the east. He then placed his sealed pipe in its ceremonial position, the bowl resting on the buffalo skull and the stem supported by a slight frame of sticks painted blue, the mouthpiece of the pipe being extended toward the Sun Dance pole. When the Intercessor rose to sing or pray, he held this pipe in his hand, afterward replacing it in its ceremonial position; it was also extended toward the sky, the earth, and the cardinal points, but the seal on it was not broken until after the ceremony.

The pipe which was smoked at the ceremony was that of the Intercessor. He first burned sweet grass, the ascending smoke of which was said to symbolize prayer. Then he lit the pipe, and extended the stem toward the sky, the earth, and the cardinal points. The following explanation of this action was given by Charging Thunder: "When we hold the pipe toward the sky we are offering it to Wakháŋ Tháŋka. We offer it to the earth because that is our home and we are thankful to be here; we offer it to the east, south, west, and north because those are the homes of the four winds; a storm may come from any direction, therefore we wish to make peace with the winds that bring the storms."

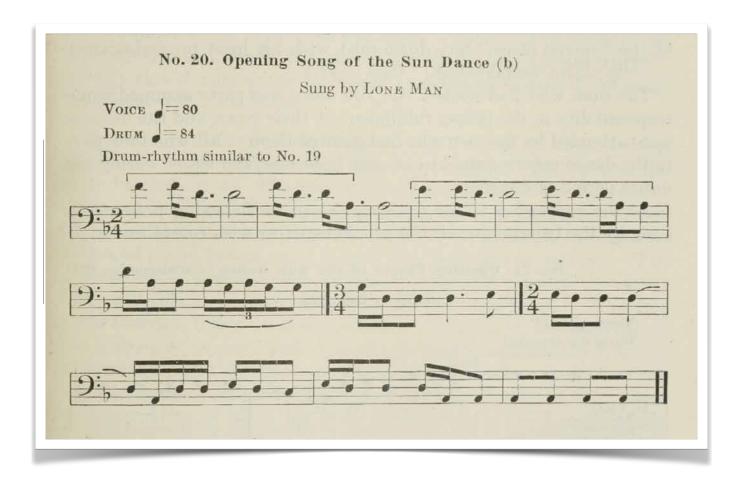
After this action, the Intercessor, having first smoked the pipe himself, offered it to the Leader and all the dancers. This procedure was repeated at infrequent intervals during the period of dancing.

Beside the Sun Dance pole the men who were to fulfill their vows stood facing the sun, with hands upraised. The Intercessor cried, "Repent, repent!", whereupon a cry of lamentation rose from the entire assembly. The opening song of the ceremony was sung three times with a tremolo drumbeat, after

which the drum changed to a definite, even stroke, and the men began to dance with faces still turned toward the sun and with hands upraised.



The following song also could be used at this time:



During the excitement of the opening dance, many gifts were given to the poor or exchanged among the people, and many "paid their respects" to the parents of young men who were taking part in the dance for the first time.

The drum used in the Sun Dance was placed south of the pole. It was a large dance drum of the usual type and elaborately decorated, the sides being hung with bead work and fur, and the supports wound with beads and fur. In addition to the drum a stiff rawhide was beaten. This gave to the accompaniment of the songs a peculiar quality of tone, which marked a difference between that of the ordinary dances and that of a religious ceremony. The men who had carried the sacred pole were seated at the drum and the rawhide, together with special singers, both men and women, the latter sitting behind the men and forming an

outer circle. The voices of the women singers were an octave higher than the voices of the men. The Intercessor was seated west of the "sacred place" during the entire ceremony. The Leader of the Dancers was with the others who were fulfilling their vows, but during the brief periods of rest which were allowed the dancers, he lay on the ground at the west of the "sacred place," face downward, with his head pressed against the top of the buffalo skull.

The man who had spoken the vow for a war party assumed some responsibility in the proper fulfillment of their vows, and the dancers were attended by the men who had painted them. All who took part in the dance were required to abstain from food and water during the entire period of dancing.



At the conclusion of the opening dance, the following prayer was sung by the Intercessor, all the people listening with reverence:

A man might take part in the Sun Dance in one of six ways, according to the nature of his vow. The requirement of fasting was the same in every vow. The first way of taking part in the Sun Dance consisted merely in dancing, the second added a laceration of the flesh, and the other four required that a stick be thrust through the flesh and strain placed upon it until the flesh tore or was cut. The Indians stated that the stick, or skewer, was "put through the skin" and probably it pierced also the subcutaneous fascia. The two most common forms of this treatment consisted in the piercing of the flesh over the chest with skewers attached by cords to the crossbar of the sacred pole, and the fastening of buffalo skulls to the flesh of the back and arms. The two more severe and less employed forms were the suspending of the entire body by the flesh of the back, and the fastening of the flesh of both back and chest to four poles at some distance from the body, the poles being placed at the corners of a square.

If a horse had carried a man on the warpath when his vow was made, the man might fasten the horse to the thong by which he was suspended from the pole, thus hastening his release, or he might fasten in a similar manner the bridle and whip which he carried on the warpath, or he might hold the bridle and whip in his hand as he danced.

Chased-by-Bears stated that in fulfilling his first Sun Dance vow he caused a skewer to be put through the flesh of his arm and from it suspended the rawhide lariat which he carried when on the warpath, and with which he later captured a horse.

Women sometimes took part in the Sun Dance by fasting and standing beside some relative who was dancing, or by assuming part of the obligation of a vow made by some relative and permitting their arms to be cut. The gifts distributed by relatives of the dancers and the feasts given in their honor were also the work of the women.

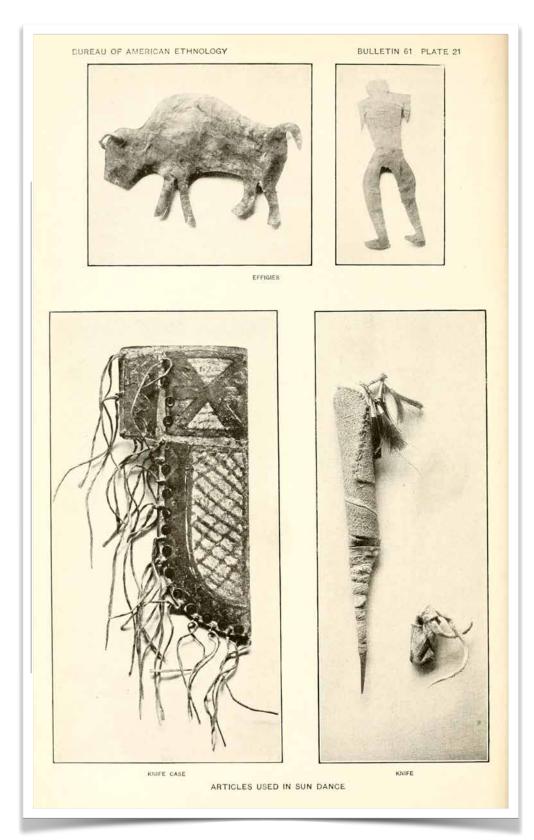
Even the simplest form of the Sun Dance was a severe test of a man's endurance. He was required to abstain from food and water, to dance with face

upraised to the sun from morning until night, and to continue dancing during the night and on the following day until he fell exhausted.

If he had vowed to have his arms cut, he left the line of dancers and seated himself beside the pole for the operation, after which he resumed his dancing. The number of cuts varied from ten to 100 or even 200, according to the man's vow, though if the vow required the larger numbers named part of the number was usually assumed by his relatives. The cutting was done by a man of experience, to whom the dancer gave one or more horses. The man had an assistant, who lifted a small portion of flesh on the point of an awl, whereupon the man then severed it with a quick stroke of a knife, lifting the first portion which he cut toward the sky, saying, "This man promised to give you his flesh; he now fulfills his vow." The cuts were usually placed close together. The writer has seen the scars of a man whose arms were cut 100 times—small dots on the upper arm, about half an inch apart, in regular order.

Another manner of cutting the arm was by gashes, which left broad white scars. As already stated, the relatives of a man might assume part of the obligation of his vow by allowing their arms to be cut. Thus Lone Man said that he vowed 200 gashes, but his relatives divided half the number among themselves. If a man vowed that he would be suspended from the pole, the operation of fastening the thongs to his chest was as follows:

The dancer lay on the ground, and the man who performed the operation, bending over him, lifted the flesh of the chest between his thumb and finger; then thrusting an awl through the flesh, he followed this with the insertion of the pointed stick. This stick was painted blue, and the man moistened it with his lips before inserting it to the flesh. He then lifted the man to his feet and tied the thongs hanging from the crossbar of the pole to the sticks in the man's flesh. Medicine was applied if the bleeding was excessive. In old days, the awl used in this operation was of bone. Chased-by-Bears, who performed this office many times in the Sun Dance, stated that he used a knife, the blade being ground to a point, and the handle and part of the blade being wrapped with rawhide.



The thongs by which a man was suspended were usually of a length permitting only his toes to touch the ground, though the height of the suspension depended somewhat upon the man's physical strength. When first suspended, each man was given a stick by means of which he might raise his body slightly to ease the strain upon the flesh of his chest. After discarding this support, any effort at rest or any cessation of the motion of dancing only

increased the suffering.

The men were suspended soon after nine o'clock in the morning on the north side of the pole in such a position that their upraised faces were in the full glare of the sun. It was expected that they would make an effort to free themselves as soon as possible.

Sometimes this was accomplished in half an hour, and according to John Grass and other informants, a man seldom remained in that position more than an hour. If he was unable to tear the flesh in that time by means of the motion of dancing, he might give horses for his release, or his relatives might give them in his behalf. In that event the man who had done the cutting was allowed to cut through the flesh either partially or entirely. If a considerable time elapsed and the man could not free himself, and neither he nor his relatives could give the requisite horses, he was jerked downward until the flesh gave way. While suspended, each man held his eagle-bone whistle in his mouth, blowing it from time to time.

If a man vowed to take part in the Sun Dance by carrying buffalo skulls, the number varied from two to eight. If two were used they were fastened to the flesh of the upper part of the back, near the spine. The flesh having been lifted on an awl, a small stick was inserted. A thong of buffalo hide was fastened to this stick, the other end of the thong being passed through the nostril-openings of the buffalo skull, suspending it at some distance from the ground. The man then danced until the tearing of the flesh released the skull. If four skulls were used, the additional pair was fastened to the back, halfway between the spine and the point of the shoulder. With six skulls, the third pair was fastened to the upper arm. If more than six were used, the additional skulls were fastened anywhere on the upper part of the back, it being permitted also to fasten more than one skull to a thong. When several skulls were employed, their weight made it impossible for a man to stand erect, hence the man had to lean forward upon a stick, dancing in a bowed position. The scales indicated 25 pounds weight for a buffalo skull which was obtained by the writer. The skull was shown to Chased-by-Bears who, after lifting it, said that although the specimen was a large one it was not unusual for men to carry such in the Sun Dance.

Buffalo Boy stated that he carried six buffalo skulls for four or five hours, at the expiration of which he was set free by the cutting of the flesh from which they were suspended, the proper number of horses being given for his release.

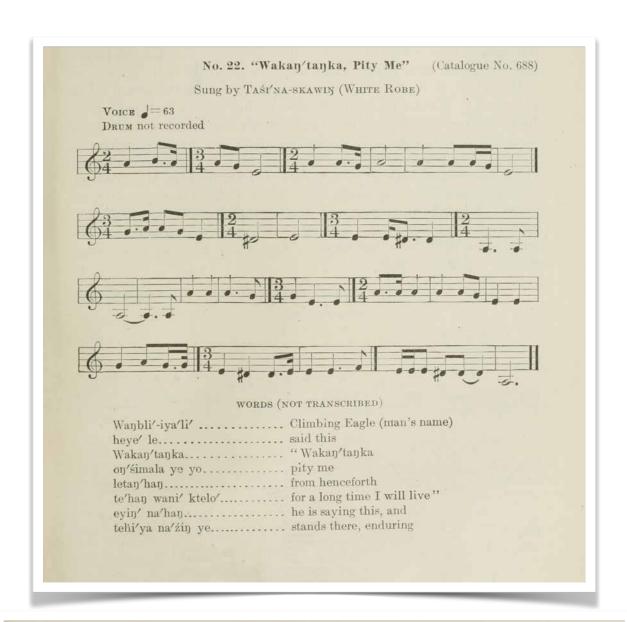
A more severe form of torture was the hanging of the body clear of the ground by means of thongs passed through the flesh on each side of the lower part of the back. Seizes-the-Gun-away-from-Them told of an instance in which a man rode to the sacred pole, and was suspended by his back, after which the horse was led away. The most severe form of torture was the suspension of the body between four poles, by means of thongs passing through the flesh of both chest and back, the body hanging so that only the toes touched the ground. Under these conditions the flesh tore less readily. John Grass stated that a man had been known to remain in that position from one morning until the evening of the next day, when gifts were given for his release.

While the men were dancing, they "prayed for all in the tribe, especially the sick and the old."

Red Bird said:

"The warriors went on the warpath for the protection of the tribe and its hunting grounds. All the people shared in this benefit, so when the warrior fulfilled his vow he wanted all the tribe to share in its benefits. He believed that Wakhaŋ Thaŋka is more ready to grant the requests of those who make vows and fulfill them than of those who are careless of all their obligations; also that an act performed publicly is more effective than the same thing done privately. So when a man was fulfilling his vow he prayed for all the members of the tribe and for all the branches of the tribe, wherever they might be."

As soon as a man enduring torture was set free by the breaking of the flesh, it was customary to apply to the wound a medicine in the form of a powder. It was said that the wounds healed readily, blood poisoning and even swelling being unknown. The writer saw a large number of Sun Dance scars, which appeared slight considering the severity of the ordeal.



TETON SIOUX MUSIC

WORDS

Kanĝi'-iyo'take	Sitting Crow (man's name)
he'ćel yunkin' kte hćin	that is the way he wished to lie
ećel vunka' he	

After the medicine was applied, the man returned to his place with the dancers, continuing his fast and dancing until exhausted. During the period of dancing the men who painted the dancer occasionally offered a pipe, holding the bowl as the man puffed; also putting the dancer's whistle into his mouth, as participants were not allowed to touch any objects while dancing.

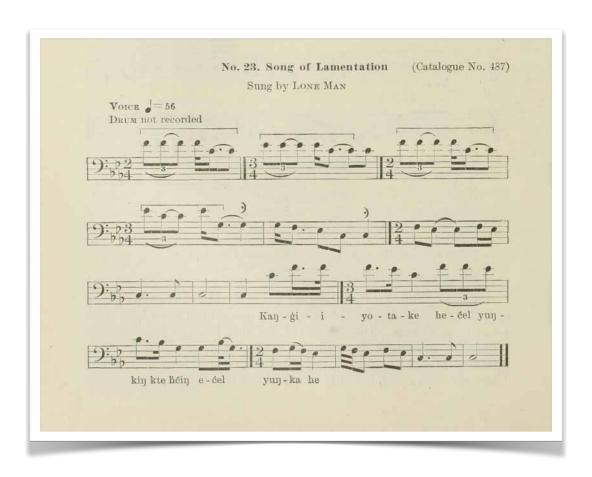
Each man remained in one place as he danced, merely turning so that he continually faced the sun, toward which he raised his face. In dancing, he raised himself on the ball of his foot with rhythmic regularity. At intervals of a few hours, the men at the drum were allowed to rest, and the dancers might stand in their places or even sit down and smoke for a short time, but if they showed any hesitation in resuming the dance, they were forced to their feet by the men who did the cutting of the arms and superintended the fulfillment of the vows.

Women whose relatives were fulfilling vows frequently danced beside them during part of the time. White Robe, singer of the following song, stated that she composed it while taking part in a Sun Dance in which her brother was fulfilling a vow. As the result of a successful raid against the Crows, he brought home many horses, which were divided among his relatives, she receiving part of the number. He had vowed that if he were successful, he would be suspended from the pole and would also have 200 cuts made on his arms.

She and her sister assumed one-half of this number, each having her arms cut 50 times. She and his other female relatives danced while he was dancing, and without preparation she sang this song, which was readily learned and sung by all the women:

The aged members of the tribe were seated comfortably in the "shade house" on the outer edge of the dancing circle. There they listened attentively to all that took place; indeed, the utmost reverence and respect for the ceremony were shown by all who attended. The spectators realized that when prayer was offered by the Intercessor "it was their duty to join in his prayer with their hearts."

Meantime many incidents were taking place in the great tribal gathering. Those who rejoiced were asking others to rejoice with them, while still others joined their friends in lamenting chiefs who had died during the year, or warriors who had been slain by the enemy. The relatives of those who took part in the Sun Dance provided feasts, and little groups were seen feasting here and there in the camp while at the same time songs of lamentation could be heard. The following song was used at a Sun Dance in commemoration of Sitting Crow, a Sioux warrior who was killed in a fight with the Crows. The words of this song are a warrior's best memorial.

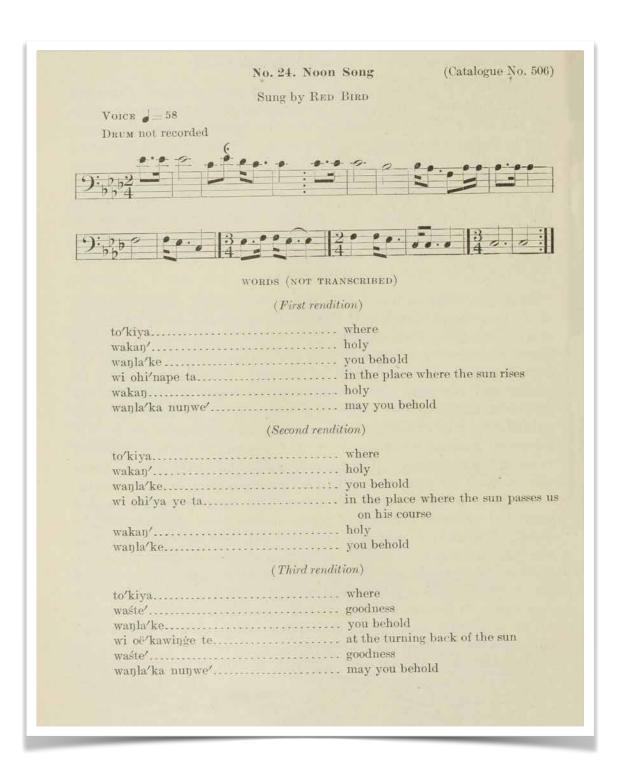


Even the children had a part in the Sun Dance, which consisted in the piercing of their ears. Frequently this was done in fulfillment to a vow made by their parents; for instance, in the event of a child's illness the parents might vow that if the child should live until the next Sun Dance its ears would be pierced. This was considered an honor, and the gifts which were required made it impossible for poorer members of the tribe. The piercing of the ears was done publicly by any experienced person, in some instances by the Intercessor, assisted by those who cut the arms of persons fulfilling vows at the ceremony. The parents of the child gave gifts to those who pierced its ears, the gifts varying according to their means. Some gave one horse, some 10 horses, and wealthy persons added large and valuable presents of goods to show their affection for the child. A wealthy family provided also rich furs on which the child was laid during the operation—soft robes of otter, beaver, or buffalo elaborately wrought on the inner side with beads or porcupine quills, and brought a pillow filled with the soft hair scraped from the deers hide, or the down of the cat-tail reeds that grow in the marshes. All these articles were left in their places after being used and were appropriated by the poor of the tribe.

The piercing of the ear was originally done with a bone awl, this instrument being replaced later by one of metal. After the puncture a piece of copper was inserted so that the wound would heal rapidly. One or both ears might be pierced, and if desired more than one hole was made in each ear.

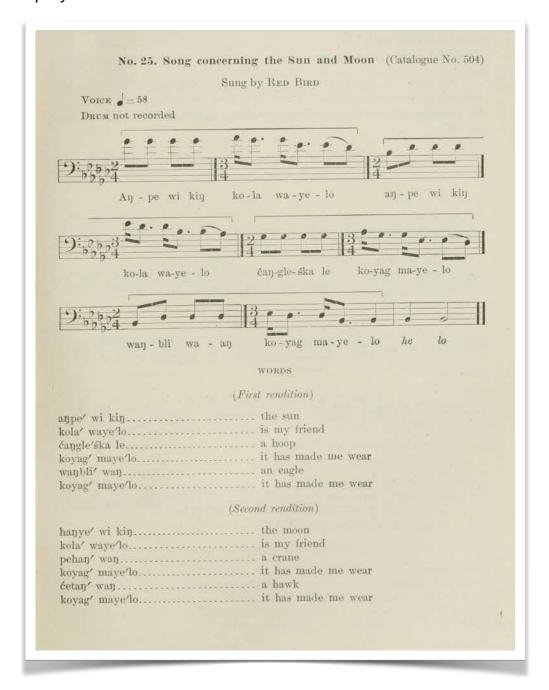
The children whose ears were thus pierced were considered somewhat related in status to the men whose flesh was lacerated in the Sun Dance, and feasts were given by their relatives in honor of the event.

About noon of either the first or second day of the dancing, the Intercessor sang the following song, the drum being silent and the entire assembly listening as he sang:

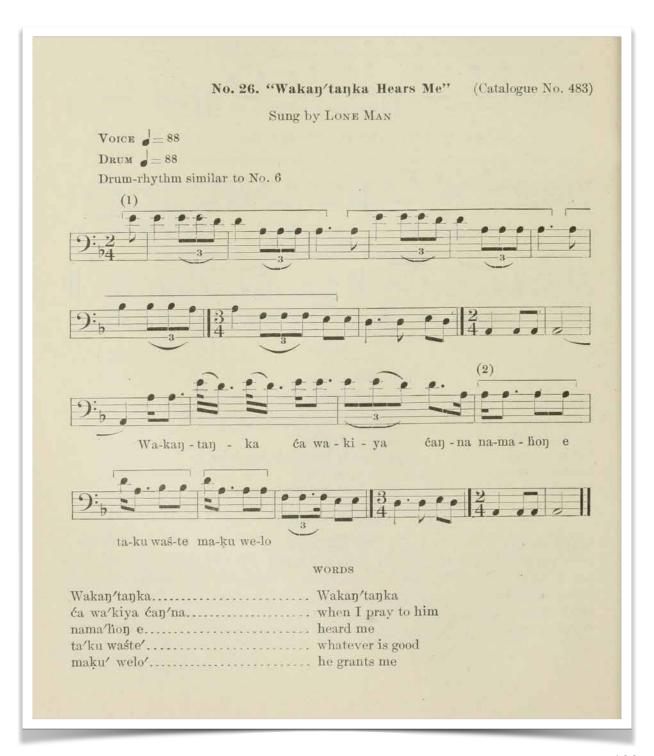


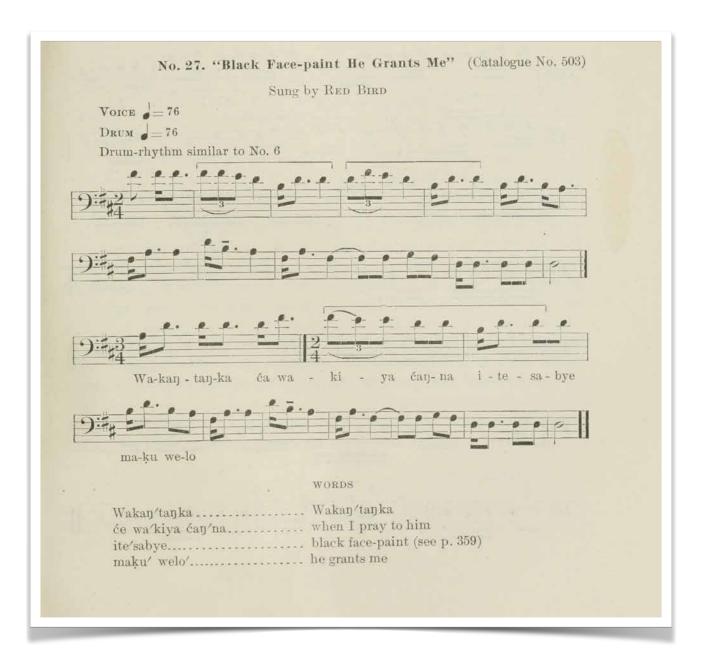
The following song was sung by the Intercessor during one of the periods when the drummers rested; the people listened attentively. In explanation of this song, Red Bird said:

"This is a song concerning a dream of an Intercessor. In his dream, he saw the rising sun with rays streaming out around it. He made an ornament which represented this. At first he alone wore it, but afterward others wore the same ornament. It is a hoop with feathers fastened lightly to it. The hoop represents the sun, and the feathers fastened to it are feathers of the eagle, which is the bird of day, the crane, which is the bird of night, and the hawk, which is the surest bird of prey."

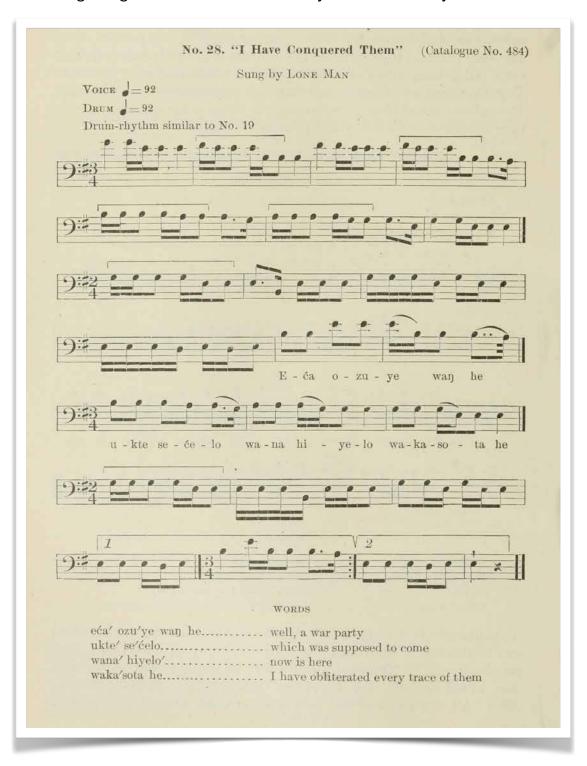


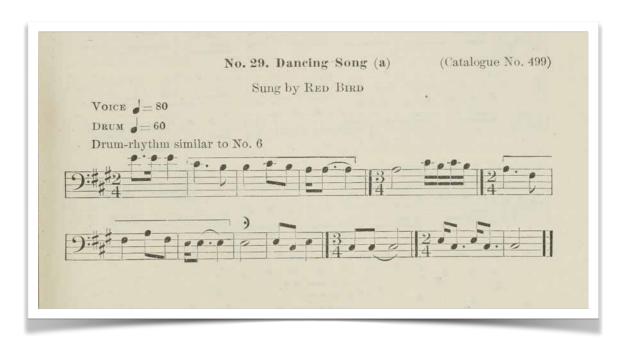
The songs of the hours of dancing are peculiarly rhythmic, the following being examples. Those songs were not used exclusively in the Sun Dance, some of them being songs of the various War societies.

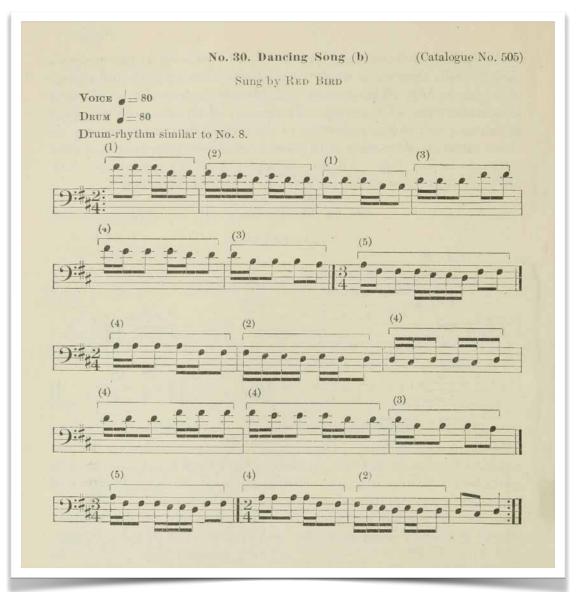


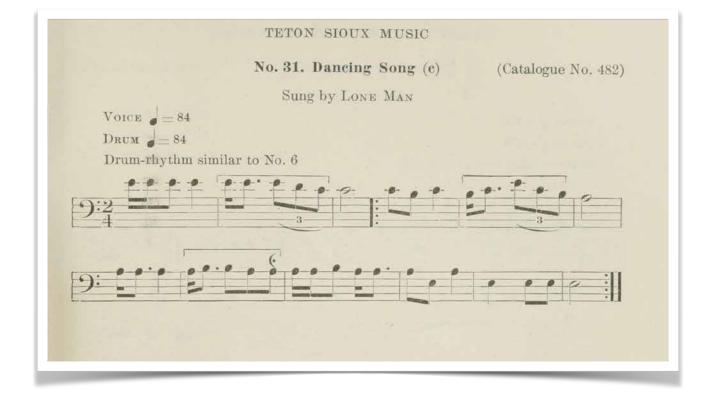


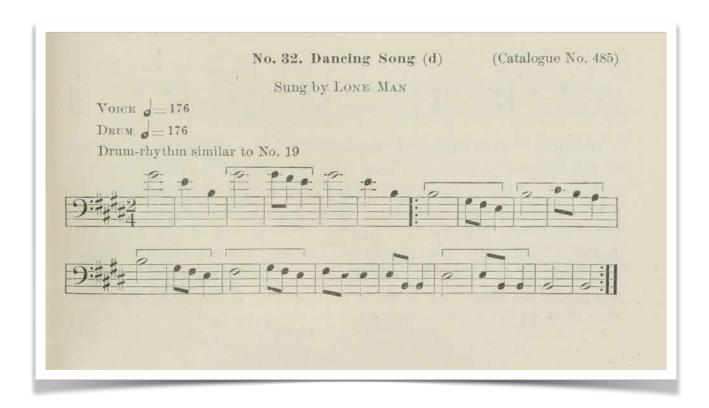
The following song commemorates a victory over the enemy:



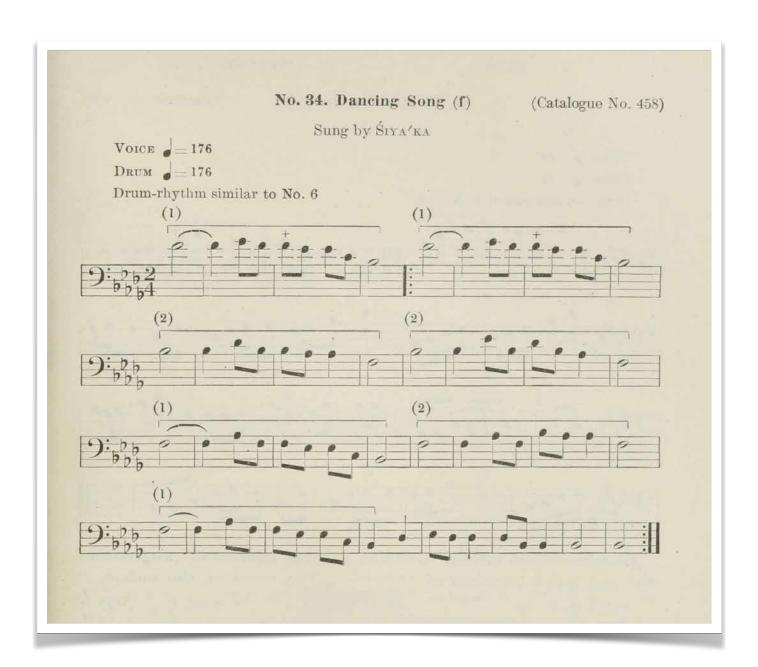












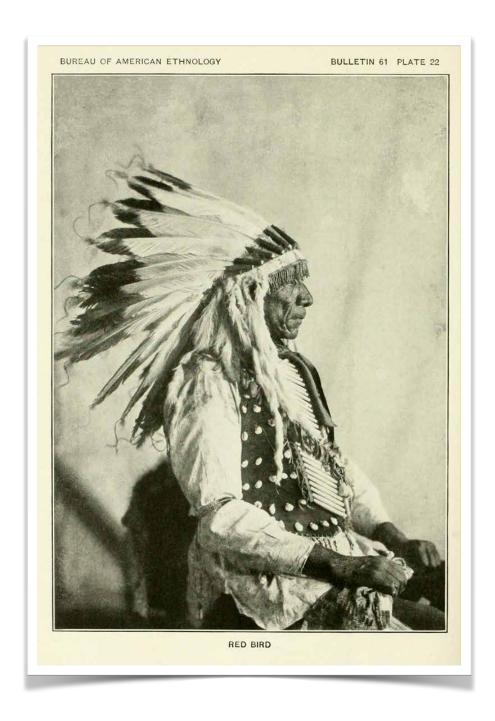


All night the men danced, with the intervals of rest already described. As the sun rose on the second day, the Intercessor greeted it with the following song:



This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection

On the second day, the men were allowed a brief intermission; they might even return to their lodges, but were not allowed to take food or water. During this day, the men, one after another, fell from exhaustion. Red Bird said that he had a vision in the Sun Dance. On the second day, as he was dancing, he noticed that the Intercessor held a small mirror in his hand, and that he threw the light reflected from this mirror into the face of one dancer after another, each man falling to the ground when it flashed into his eyes. At last Red Bird felt the flash of light in his own face and fell unconscious. Then he saw something in the sun; it was a man's face, painted, and as he looked at it he saw that the man in the sun was the Intercessor. It was said that this vision was sufficient to entitle Red Bird to act as Intercessor, after he had received the proper instructions concerning the duties of that office.



As soon as a man fell from exhaustion, he was carried into the shade, where he gradually regained consciousness.

Those who had taken part in the Sun Dance returned to their respective lodges at the close of the dancing. Before partaking of food or water, they spent some time in the vapor lodge. Their first sip of water was taken in the following

manner: A large bowl was filled with water, and beside it was placed a bunch of sweet grass. Having dipped this into the water, the dancer placed it to his lips. He was then given a small piece of cooked buffalo meat, and later sat down to a meal which was spread in his own lodge.



When the entire ceremony was finished, the Intercessor took from its ceremonial position the pipe given by the Leader of the Dancers, and carried it to his own lodge. There he broke the seal of buffalo fat, and having lighted the pipe, offered it to such of his friends as felt themselves worthy to smoke it. No one who knew himself to be unworthy ever dared to touch the Sun Dance pipe.

Among the Indians here dealt with, camp had to be broken before the evening of the second day. The sacred pole and its offerings, the red-painted buffalo skull, and the bits of white eagle down remained on the prairie. As the last man left the camping ground, he looked back and saw them in their places. Then he left them with Wakhan Thanka and the silent prairie.

After the people reached their homes, the boys of the tribe began a childish enactment of the Sun Dance, which continued at intervals during the entire summer. Boys whose fathers or grandfathers had taken part in the ceremony were given preference in the assigning of parts. Mr. Robert P. Higheagle, the interpreter, stated that he well remembered the gravity with which the grandson of an Intercessor imitated the actions of that official.

A fine was exacted from any boy who failed to do his part in the proper manner, or who showed disrespect toward the performance. Whistles in imitation of Sun Dance whistles were made of reed, the plumy blossom representing the eagle down, and long red and green grasses being wound around the reed in imitation of the porcupine-quill decoration.

Through the summer woods, the boys sought for wild grapes and berries with which to color their bodies and their decorations. Removing the outer bark from trees, they took long, thin layers of the inner bark for streamers, coloring these with the juice of the grapes and berries.

The tree for their sacred pole was carefully selected, and was brought home with much pomp and ceremony. Boys with good voices were assigned the part of singers and seated themselves around an old pan. A hoop was sometimes covered with a bright handkerchief or cloth; this more nearly resembled the Sun Dance drum in appearance, but the pan was considered more satisfying. The torture was imitated by thrusting a stiff cactus-spine through a boy's skin; this was fastened to the pole by means of a very frail thread. When his movements in dancing broke this thread the boy was considered released.

Thus the boys of the tribe were trained in their play to become the men of the future

OLD SONGS

1. Ceremonial Songs

This group comprises such songs of the Alówaŋpi, Spirit Keeping, and Sun Dance ceremonies as are sung only by persons specially qualified to sing them. The song of the Spirit Keeping ceremony (No. 1) is given in connection with the account of the Gift of the White Buffalo Calf Pipe. The Hunka songs are Nos. 2 and 3, and the Sun Dance songs Nos. 4, 11, 12, 18, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 36; the latter group being sung only by the Intercessor, and forming part of the instructions which he received in qualifying himself for that office. This group comprises songs a majority of which are believed to be 50 to 150 years old.

DREAMS AND THEIR OBLIGATIONS

The obligation of a dream was as binding as the necessity of fulfilling a vow, and disregard of either was said to be punished by the forces of nature, usually by a stroke of lightning. Dreams were sought by the Sioux, but it was recognized that the dream would correspond to the character of the man. Thus it was said that "a young man would not be great in mind so his dream would not be like that of a chief; it would be ordinary in kind, yet he would have to do whatever the dream directed him to do." The first obligation of a dream was usually an announcement to the tribe. This was by means of a performance which indicated the nature of the dream and allied the man to others who had similar dreams. If the dream were connect to the sacred stones, or with herbs or animals concerned in the treatment of the sick, it was considered obligatory that the man himself avail himself of the supernatural aid vouchsafed to him in the dream, and arrange his life in accordance with it.

Below will be found three groups of dream songs which, as noted among Chippewa as well as Sioux, are songs believed to be supernaturally received in dreams. The first of these groups comprises the songs of the Heyókňa (Dreamers of the Thunderbird) and songs of those who dreamed of birds or

animals. The numbers of these songs are 37-58, inclusive; with few exceptions they were recorded by the men who received them in their dreams. Two other groups follow; these comprise songs of the sacred stones and songs connected with the treatment of the sick.

Heyókha káğa (Fool Impersonation)

A dream of the thunderbirds was considered the greatest honor which could come to a man from a supernatural source, and for this reason the obligation of the dream was heavier than that of any other.

The manner in which the thunderbirds are regarded was indicated by Shooter, who said:

"Dreamers have told us of these great birds in the sky, enwrapped in the clouds. If the bear and other vicious beasts are regarded as dangerous, how much more should we fear the thunderbirds that cause destruction on the face of the earth. It is said that the thunderbirds once came to the earth in the form of giants. These giants did wonderful things, such as digging the ditches where the rivers run. At last they died of old age, and their spirits went again to the clouds and resumed their form as thunderbirds. While they were on earth, the rain fell without sound of thunder or flash of lightning, but after their return to the sky the lightning came—it is the flash of their eyes, and the thunder is the sound of their terrible song. When they are angry, the lightning strikes a rock or tree as a warning to men. The bodies of these giants became stone, and parts of them are found in many places, indeed the whole body of more than one of these giants has been found in the land of the Dakotas."

The Heyókȟa káğa was a ceremony of public humiliation in which the man who had been selected by the thunderbirds to receive a manifestation of their presence in a dream voluntarily exposed himself to the ridicule of the lowest element in the tribe. His self-abasement was exaggerated to the greatest possible degree. The superficial and unthinking heaped their scorn and derision upon him, but the wise of the tribe understood that, to the end of his life, that

man could command the powers of the sky to help him in his undertakings. In the opinion of the writer's informants, the enacting of the part of a fool in connection with a thunderbird dream was an example of the antithesis by which Indians sometimes disguise their meaning. In this it might be said to resemble the "sacred language," which is unintelligible to those who are not initiated into its mysteries.

Several of the writer's informants, after consultation, gave the following meanings (or uses) for the word heyókȟa: A man who has dreamed of the thunderbirds; a person who does things contrary to the natural way of doing them; and, in some instances, a joker. In connection with the ceremony in fulfillment of a thunderbird dream, the word is translated "fool," because only a foolish or half-witted person would behave, under such circumstances, in the manner assumed by the dreamer, while the merriment provoked by the action gives rise to the term "clown." The writer's informants stated that in their youth they had never heard of heyókȟa being regarded as gods by the Teton Sioux. In their opinion, the heyókȟa resembled characters in the field of folk tales, rather than in that of religion.

Two dreams of the thunderbirds were related to the writer, one by Lone Man, followed by an account of the Heyókȟa ceremony in fulfillment of his dream, the other by Charging Thunder, this dream being the source of his name, which is literally translated "Charger-of-the-Thunderbird." In describing his dream, Lone Man said:

"One day when I was on the warpath I sat down to rest and was at some distance from the other members of the party. I looked up at the sky and the rolling clouds. I fell asleep, and while I slept I had a dream. My face was toward the west, and I heard thunder in that direction. There was a sound of hoofs, and I saw nine riders coming toward me in a cloud, each man on a horse of a different color. Then I heard a sound in the north and saw nine riders coming toward me from that direction, each on a white horse. They joined the riders from the west and came toward me. One of them spoke to me, and said they had appointed me to make the first attack upon the enemy. He said the man to be attacked was painted red and was standing in the water, and he said that if I could conquer that man I would gain something which would be useful to me all the rest of my

life. Then a voice from among the company of riders said that, having been appointed to make this attack, I would be considered part of their company and could always call on them for help in time of need.

"In my dream, I found the enemy as they had described. I ran at him, thrust him through with my spear, and was bearing him away when he was transformed into a reed standing in the water. The same voices spoke again, hailing me as one of their number and saying that ever after I would be able to do things which no ordinary man could do, because I had obeyed them. They also told me that the frog must not be harmed, as he watches everything in the water and has been given this peculiar power. They told me a great deal about the creatures that live in the water, saying they are taken care of, and water is sent them from the sky when they need it; therefore they should never be treated cruelly.

"The horsemen in the cloud then told me to look down at the earth and observe everything on the land and in the water, and to consider them all as mine. The voice also said, 'The sacred stones will look upon you as a man whom they are to guard and protect.' Concerning this, they taught me a song."

WORDS	
maka/tat	the earth
e'tonwan yo	
lena'	
nita'wa	
ktelo'	
maka'tat	
e'tonwan yo	
lena'	
nita'wa yelo'	



Before recording this song, Lone Man made the following prayer, speaking reverently and in a low tone. His position before the phonograph made it possible to secure a record of this prayer, which was afterwards translated.

Ho thunkášila akhé nithá olówan wanží awáhiyayin kta čha tanyán anámağoptan yo. Lená anpétu iyóhila wanžígži kiksúya mayáši k'un lehán anpétu kin wanží wéksuyin ktelo

(Translation)

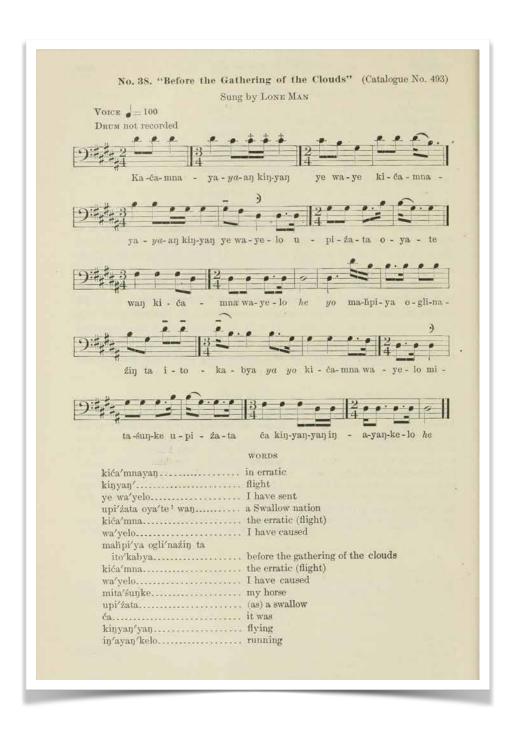
Great grandfather, again one of your songs I shall sing, listen to me. These you required me to sing each day, and now, this day, I shall recall one.

Continuing his narrative, Lone Man said:

"Before the riders in the cloud went away, they gave me a charm (wótňawe), which I always carried. If I were in great danger and escaped alive I attributed it to the charm and sang a song in its honor. The song relates to the swallow whose flying precedes a thunderstorm. When I sang the song of my charm I fastened the skin of a swallow on my head. This bird is so closely related to the thunderbird that the thunderbird is honored by its use. The action of a swallow is very agile. The greatest aid to a warrior is a good horse, and what a warrior desires most for his horse is that it may be as swift as the swallow in dodging the enemy or in direct flight. For this reason, my song is in honor of the swallow as well as of my charm."

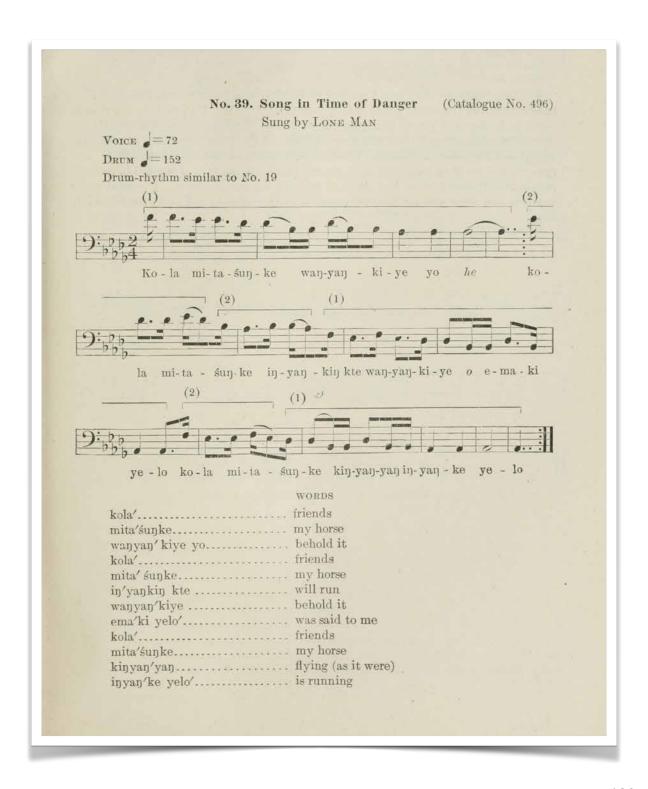
Lone Man said: "When I found myself in danger I remembered my dream of the riders in the clouds and their promise to give me help. Therefore I painted my horse with streaks of lightning and sang the following song."

Before singing, Lone Man made this prayer, which was recorded by the phonograph: Akhé thunkášila nithá olówan wanží wéksuya čha awáhiyayin ktelo. (Translation) "Again, great-grandfather, one of your songs I have remembered and I shall now sing it."



Resuming the story of his dream, Lone Man said: "After my return to the camp, I wanted to do something to show that I realized my unworthiness of the honor given me by the thunderbirds. No one told me that I ought to do this, and yet all who dream of the thunderbirds in any of their manifestations have a deep sense of their own unworthiness. I knew that I was only an ordinary mortal and had often done wrong, yet the riders in the air had disregarded this. By appearing to

me, they had given me a chance to redeem myself. I wanted to make a public humiliation to show how deeply I realized my unworthiness. I wanted to do as others had done who saw the thunderbirds in their dreams, so I made the following song."

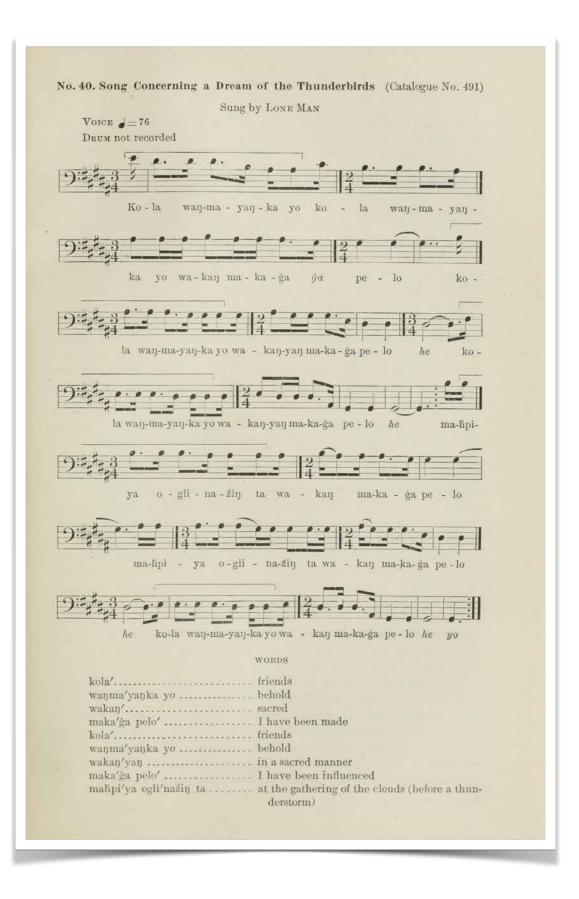


As already stated, the ceremony called Heyo'ka Ka'ga is a ceremony of public humiliation and is enacted chiefly by those who have dreamed of the thunderbirds. A man is required to be leader in only one such ceremony, but when other thunderbird dreamers are enacting the ceremony for themselves, he is expected to join them. If a man who has seen the thunderbird in a dream should become arrogant or fail to express his unworthiness, it is said that Wakháŋ Tháŋka would punish him through the agency of some of the great forces of nature. Thus every man who has been favored with this wonderful dream tries to demonstrate that, in his own estimation, he is below the least in the tribe. A man signifies his intention of performing this ceremony by placing a decorated robe, tobacco, or some other offering to the thunderbirds high on the poles of his tent. All who see such offerings know that the man intends to fulfill the obligations of his dream at the earliest opportunity, after which he will feel free to mingle with his relatives and friends.

The ceremony may be held at any time after the thunderstorms begin in the spring. In fulfilling the obligation of his dream, Lone Man erected within the tribal circle a tent such as only the poorest member of the tribe would use, in this, as in other respects, following the custom of the ceremony. The tent was often ragged, and its furnishings were always of the most inferior quality. On the day of the ceremony, he clad himself in the poorest garments.

Lone Man said:

"A man enacting this ceremony often tied a bunch of grass or sage to the lock of hair over his forehead, wearing this as a warrior would wear his medicine. Some were so humble that they covered their faces. It was the custom that a man go with bare head, and he often had his face painted in black and white, or blue and white, his arms and legs being painted with streaks of lightning. If a man wished to express the greatest possible humiliation and did not feel that he could even go through the ceremony, he cut off part of his hair and put it with the entire body of a dog which had been killed for the purpose, both being placed on a pole beside his lodge."



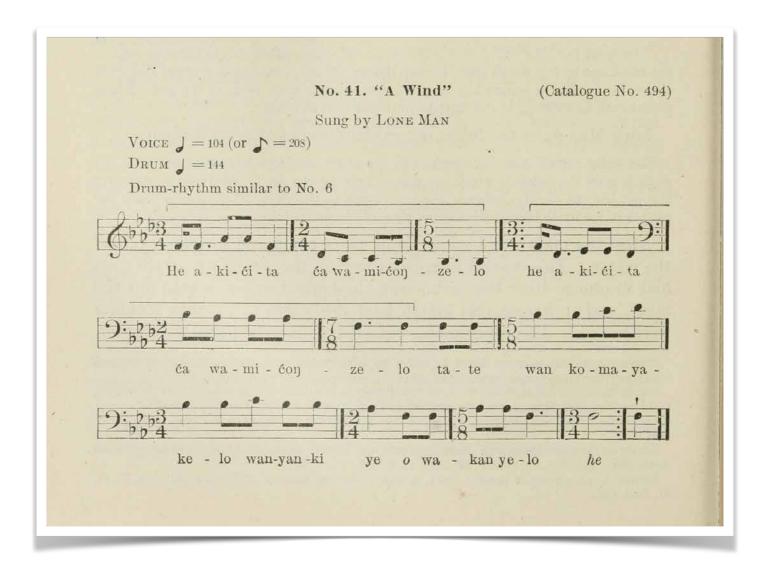
"The man who was to show his humiliation engaged the services of a Medicine Man to have charge of the ceremony. For this, he selected a man who had had many dreams of the wolf, horse, and other animals, and compensated him liberally, probably giving him a horse.

"On the appointed day, the Crier announced to the tribe that a certain man (giving his name) had had a dream of the thunderbird and wished to fulfill the dream, and that he requested all who had had similar dreams to join him in the ceremony of humiliation. Sometimes women also had these dreams, and they were under the same obligations as the men.

"The Medicine Man led the dreamer in tattered garments out of his tent. If the man were rich, a horse was ready for him to ride, one was provided for the Medicine Man, and his relatives accompanied him on horseback as he went around the tribal circle, followed by a jeering crowd, who treated the matter as a jest. On their return they dismounted, sang, and told their dreams. A fire was burning in front of the specially erected tent, and a pot of boiling water was hung over the fire. For this pot, the man provided as valuable an offering of meat as he could afford; this might be a buffalo tongue and sometimes a dog was given. He did not put this into the pot himself, but gave it to the Medicine Man, who held it toward the west, then toward the north, east, and south as he sang of his own dreams and also told the dreams of the man who was making his humiliation. He then turned toward the pot and pretended that he would throw the meat into it. He did this three times, and the fourth time he released the meat [see p. 74], which sped through the air, falling into the pot without splashing the water. All who joined him in the ceremony put some meat in the pot. These constituted an offering to the thunderbird and were symbolic."

Lone Man gave the following explanation of this symbolism:

"The water comes from the clouds, the fire is the sun which warms the earth, the meat is from the animals, which are placed here for the use of the Indians, and over the pot are the clouds of steam like the clouds in the sky. These are to teach the people to meditate on how Wakhan Thanka by these means is taking care of them."



After the meat was cooked, there was a command to take it out of the water. This was an important part of the ceremony, as the men had to plunge their bare arms into the boiling water to take out the meat, and it was in this action that medicines to prevent scalding were tested. These medicines consisted of herbs prepared with water, which were rubbed on the hands and arms. A specimen of the herb most often used for this purpose was secured by the writer and was identified as *Malvastrum coccineum* (scarlet false mallow).

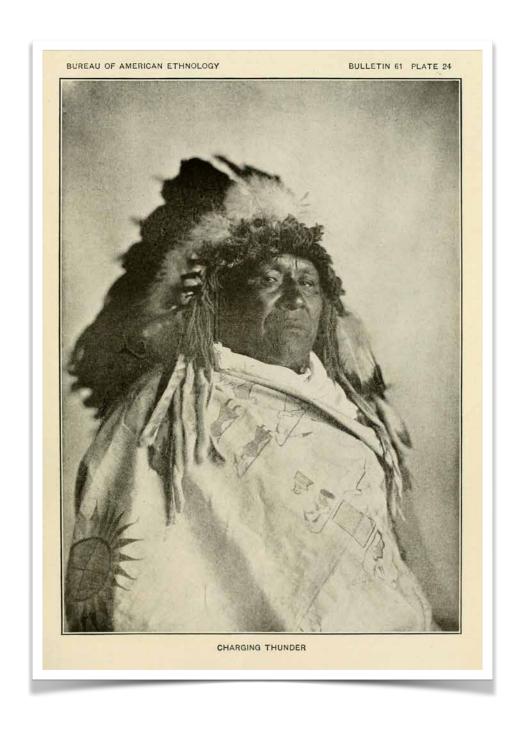
The man for whom the ceremony was given was the first to put his hand into the boiling water, and it was expected that he would try to take out the piece of meat he had put into the pot. He did not eat it himself but gave it to someone in the assembly. The other dreamers followed him, and the meat was distributed.

No other food was eaten at the time, and the occasion was not regarded as a feast. It was a ceremony enacted to teach a great lesson. Ignorant persons or children laughed at the tattered garments and the actions of the dreamers, who in every movement attempted to imitate persons not only poor but lacking in judgment. All intelligent members of the tribe, however, regarded the ceremony with greatest reverence.

This and the following song were sung by Lone Man when enacting his part in this ceremony. The words of the song require explanation. From the time of a dream until the time when the dreamer has fulfilled its requirements, he regards himself as belonging to the elements and under an obligation of obedience to them. A Medicine Man may wear the head of a bird as a sign of his power, indicating that bird to be subject to his commands. So in this song, the elements are said to be "wearing" the singer, who has not yet fulfilled his obligations to them. In the second rendition of the song the word meaning "wind" was replaced by wasú, "hail"; in the third by wakȟáŋgli, "lightning"; and in the fourth by maȟpíya, "clouds."



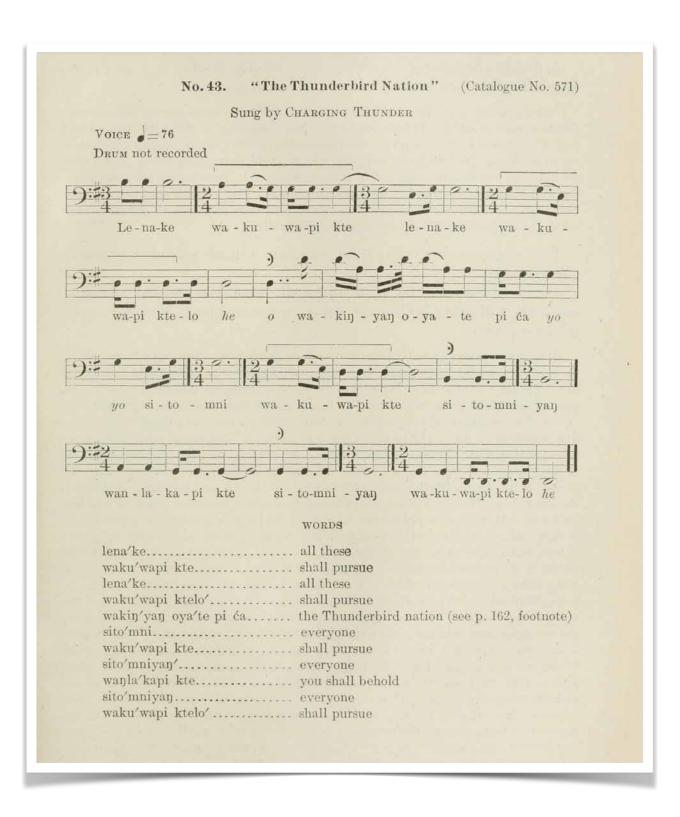
kola'	friends
wanma'yanka yo	
	in a sacred manner
waku' welo'	
oya'te	
wanma'yanka yo	
	in a sacred manner
waku' welo'	
	kin the nation sitting holy
kola'	
wanma'yanka yo	
	in a sacred manner
waku' welo'	
oya'te	
wanma'yanka yo	
	in a sacred manner
waku' welo'	



Charging Thunder related his dream of the thunderbirds, in which, as in Lone Man's dream, they assumed the form of men riding on horses. From this dream he received his name Wakin'kpe. This is literally translated "Charger-of-the-Thunderbird," but he is commonly called Charging Thunder. In narrating his dream of the thunderbird, Charging Thunder said:

"Soon after the Standing Rock Agency was established, I asked the agent (an Army officer) if I might go hunting. I said that, before I settled down and adopted the ways of the white man, I would like to go hunting for an indefinite length of time. Permission was granted, and I went out alone. As I was going north, near Timber Lake, I saw a deer coming toward me from the north. I wanted to shoot the animal, but thought I would wait until it came nearer. The deer must have come very slowly, for while I was waiting I fell asleep and dreamed. In this dream, I saw the deer still coming toward me, and behind it were several men riding on painted horses with grass tied on their forelocks. The riders seemed to be pursuing some object. I became one of these riders, and they told me to lead the party. Then they told me to make a charge on the object which they were pursuing. At first I was not sure what this was, but I soon saw it was a wolf standing toward the west with its face toward the north. I was chosen to do this, because some day I would need the protection of those riders, who were thunderbirds who had assumed human form. They told me that because I had been chosen to make that charge and had become one of their number, I would ever thereafter be called Wakinyan Wathakpe [Charger-of-the-Thunderbird]. After I had attacked and defeated the wolf, I saw beyond it a camp with many horses and a man lying dead on the ground. This signified that someday I would conquer an enemy and capture his horses. Ever since that time, my greatest enemy has always seemed to me like a wolf, and whenever there is a thunderstorm I am reminded of my dream."

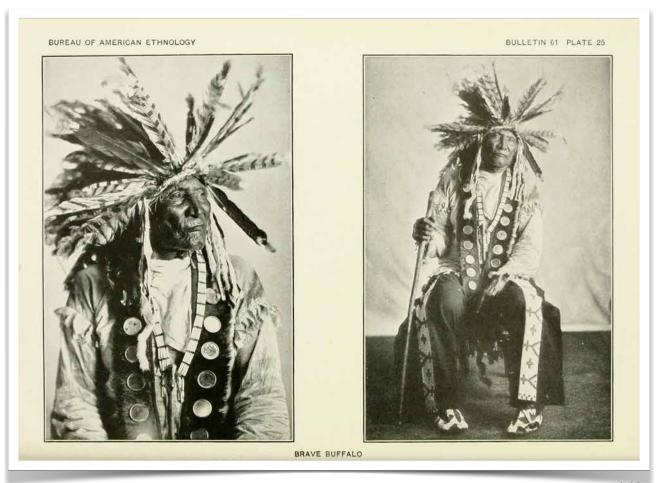
The following is the song of Charging Thunder's dream:



Dreams Concerning Animals

A dream concerning an animal was greatly desired by the Sioux. Brave Buffalo said:

"I have noticed in my life that all men have a liking for some special animal, tree, plant, or spot of earth. If men would pay more attention to these preferences and seek what is best to do in order to make themselves worthy of that toward which they are so attracted, they might have dreams which would purify their lives. Let a man decide upon his favorite animal and make a study of it, learning its innocent ways. Let him learn to understand its sounds and motions. The animals want to communicate with man, but Wakhaŋ Thaŋka does not intend they shall do so directly—man must do the greater part in securing an understanding."



This suggests that a fancy for a certain animal preceded a dream concerning it. Shooter, a thoughtful man and well versed in the old customs, made the following statement, given in the words of Mr. Higheagle, the interpreter:

"All living creatures and all plants derive their life from the sun. If it were not for the sun, there would be darkness and nothing could grow—the earth would be without life. Yet the sun must have the help of the earth. If the sun alone were to act upon animals and plants, the heat would be so great that they would die, but there are clouds that bring rain, and the action of the sun and earth together supply the moisture that is needed for life. The roots of a plant go down, and the deeper they go the more moisture they find. This is according to the laws of nature and is one of the evidences of the wisdom of Wakhan Thanka. Plants are sent by Wakhan Thanka and come from the ground at his command, the part to be affected by the sun and rain appearing above the ground and the roots pressing downward to find the moisture which is supplied for them. Animals and plants are taught by Wakhan Thanka what they are to do. Wakhan Thanka teaches the birds to make nests, yet the nests of all birds are not alike. Wakhan Thánka gives them merely the outline. Some make better nests than others. In the same way, some animals are satisfied with very rough dwellings, while others make attractive places in which to live. Some animals also take better care of their young than others. The forest is the home of many birds and other animals, and the water is the home of fish and reptiles. All birds, even those of the same species, are not alike, and it is the same with animals and with human beings.

"The reason Wakhan Thanka does not make two birds, or animals, or human beings exactly alike is because each is placed here by Wakhan Thanka to be an independent individuality and to rely on itself. Some animals are made to live in the ground. The stones and the minerals are placed in the ground by Wakhan Thanka, some stones being more exposed than others. When a Medicine Man says that he talks with the sacred stones, it is because of all the substance in the ground these are the ones which most often appear in dreams and are able to communicate with men.

"All animals have not the same disposition. The horse, dog, bear, and buffalo all have their own characteristics. This is also true of the fowls of the air, the living

creatures in the water, and even the insects, they all have their own ways. Thus a man may enjoy the singing of all the birds and yet have a preference for the melodies of certain kinds of birds. Or he may like all animals and yet have a favorite among them.

"From my boyhood, I have observed leaves, trees, and grass, and I have never found two alike. They may have a general likeness, but on examination I have found that they differ slightly. Plants are of different families, each being adapted to growth in a certain locality. It is the same with animals; they are widely scattered, and yet each will be found in the environment to which it is best adapted. It is the same with human beings, there is some place which is best adapted to each. The seeds of the plants are blown about by the wind until they reach the place where they will grow best—where the action of the sun and the presence of moisture are most favorable to them, and there they take root and grow. All living creatures and all plants are a benefit to something. Certain animals fulfill their purpose by definite acts. The crows, buzzards, and flies are somewhat similar in their use, and even the snakes have a purpose in being. In the early days, the animals probably roamed over a very wide country until they found their proper place.

"An animal depends a great deal on the natural conditions around it. If the buffalo were here today, I think they would be different from the buffalo of the old days because all the natural conditions have changed. They would not find the same food nor the same surroundings. We see the change in our ponies. In the old days, they could stand great hardship and travel long distances without water. They lived on certain kinds of food and drank pure water. Now our horses require a mixture of food; they have less endurance and must have constant care. It is the same with the Indians; they have less freedom and they fall an easy prey to disease. In the old days, they were rugged and healthy, drinking pure water and eating the meat of the buffalo, which had a wide range, not being shut up like cattle of the present day. The water of the Missouri River is not pure, as it used to be, and many of the creeks are no longer good for us to drink.

"A man ought to desire that which is genuine instead of that which is artificial. Long ago there was no such thing as a mixture of earths to make paint. There were only three colors of native earth paint—red, white, and black.['] These could be obtained only in certain places. When other colors were desired, the Indians mixed the juices of plants, but it was found that these mixed colors faded and it could always be told when the red was genuine—the red made of burned clay."

Four men told their personal dreams of animals and sang the songs which, they said, were received by them in these dreams. Brave Buffalo related his dreams of the buffalo, elk and wolves; Charging Thunder, his dream of the wolves; and Šiyáka, his dream of the crow and the owl.

The following group comprises, in addition to narratives by the dreamers, certain accounts of dreams and their songs which were given by men who had heard them related by others, and also a few dream songs whose history is unknown.

DREAMS CONCERNING THE BUFFALO

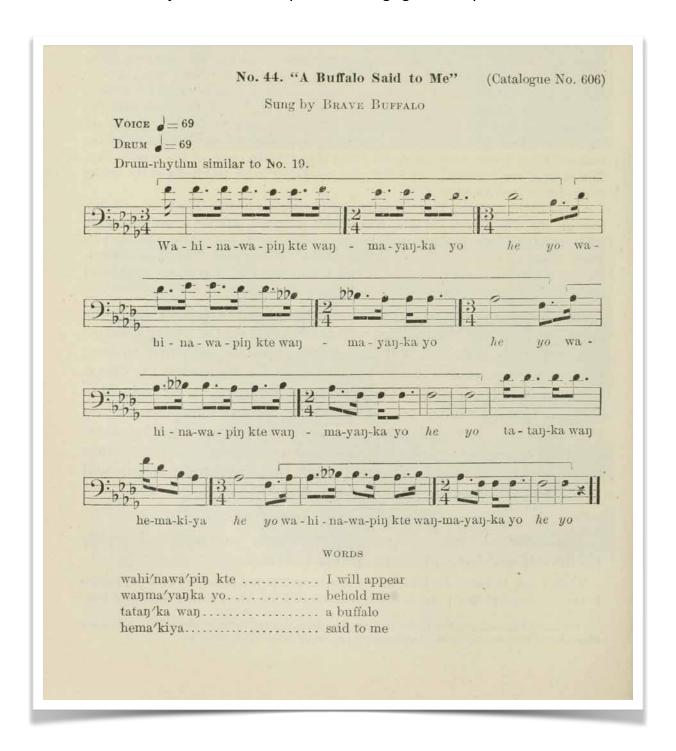
Brave Buffalo gave the following narrative concerning his first dream, from which he received his name:

"When I was ten years old I dreamed a dream, and in my dream a buffalo appeared to me. I dreamed that I was in the mountains and fell asleep in the shade of a tree. Something shook my blanket. It was a buffalo, who said, 'Rise and follow me.' I obeyed. He took a path, and I followed. The path was above the ground. We did not touch the earth. The path led upward and was smooth like smooth black rock. It was a narrow path, just wide enough for us to travel. We went upward a long distance and came to a tent made of buffalo hide, the door of which faced us. Two buffalo came out of the tent and escorted me in. I found the tent filled with buffalo and was placed in the midst of them.

"The chief buffalo told me that I had been selected to represent them in life. He said the buffalo play a larger part in life than men realize, and in order that I might understand the buffalo better day by day, they gave me a plain stick (or cane) and told me that when I looked at it I should remember that I had been

appointed to represent them. The cane was similar to the one which I now carry and have carried for many years. I would not part with this cane for a fortune."

Brave Buffalo said that the following song was given him in the lodge filled with buffalo, and that by it he received power to engage in the practice of medicine.



"The buffalo in my dream told me that I would live to be 102 years old. Then they said: 'If you are to show people the great value of the buffalo, one proof which you must give them is a demonstration of your endurance. After properly qualifying yourself you will be able to show that weapons can not harm you, and you may challenge anyone to shoot you with arrows or with a gun."

Brave Buffalo said that, on waking from his dream, he went home and thought the matter over seriously. After qualifying himself for the ordeal, he requested his relatives to erect a very large tent of buffalo hide in which he would give his demonstration and challenge anyone to shoot him with arrows. He clothed himself in an entire buffalo hide with the head and the horns. The whole tribe came to see whether anyone could wound him. Many tried with arrows, but could not do so. The arrows did not penetrate his skin. Several years later the test was repeated with guns, and Brave Buffalo stated that they were not able to injure him.

Brave Buffalo said that he sang the following song before being made a target for arrows and bullets. No words were sung, Brave Buffalo saying that "the words were in his heart."



DREAMS CONCERNING THE ELK

A dream of the elk has a peculiar significance. The elk is a favorite animal among the young men. Shooter explained this as follows:

"The best part of a man's life is between the ages of 18 and 33. Then he is at his best. He has the strength and ability to accomplish his aims. He is brave to defend himself and others and is free to do much good. He is kind to all, especially to the poor and needy. The tribe looks to him as a defender, and he is expected to shield the women. His physical strength is at its best. He is light on his feet and can reduce long distances to short ones. He is taught true politeness and is very gallant. What animal has these traits more than any other? It is the elk, which is the emblem of beauty, gallantry, and protection. The elk lives in the forest and is in harmony with all his beautiful surroundings. He goes easily through the thickets, notwithstanding his broad branching horns. In observing the carcass of an elk, it is found that two teeth remain after everything else has crumbled to dust. These teeth will last longer than the life of a man, and for that reason the elk tooth has become the emblem of long life. We desire long life for ourselves and our friends. When a child is born, its parents desire long life for it, and for this reason an elk tooth is given to a child if its parents can afford the gift."

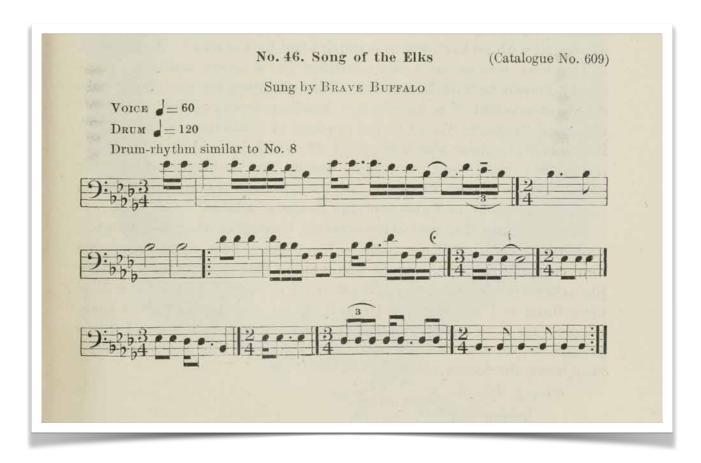
Brave Buffalo gave the following narrative concerning his dream of the elk:

"When I was about 25 years of age I was able to think for myself. I was not afraid to go into the woods, on a mountain, or in any dangerous place. At that time, I was at my best in health and in worthiness, for I had conducted myself rightly in my youth, complying with all that is required of a boy and young man and living in a manner worthy of my parents and grandparents. I had a clean record when I dreamed of the elk.

"The dream came to me when I was asleep in a tent. Someone came to the door of the tent. He said he had come for me, and I arose and followed him. It was a long and difficult journey, but at last he led me to a beautiful lodge. All the surroundings were beautiful. The lodge was painted yellow outside, and the door

faced the southeast. On entering the lodge, I saw drawings on the walls. At the right of the entrance was a drawing of a crane holding a pipe with the stem upward, and at the left was a drawing of a crow holding a pipe with the stem downward. I could see that the occupants of the lodge were living happily and luxuriously. I was escorted to the seat of honor opposite the entrance and reached it with difficulty, as the lodge was filled with brush, and I was not accustomed to making my way through thickets".

"The elks in the lodge watched me with interest and encouraged me to go on, saying they had something they wished to tell me. At last, I managed to reach the seat assigned me, and when I was seated the elks rose and said they had heard that I was a great friend of the buffalo, and that they wanted me to be their friend also. They said they had tested me by requiring me to reach this difficult place, and as I had succeeded in doing so they were glad to receive me. They then said that they were going to sing a song and wished me to learn it. They sang the following song, which has no words."



After teaching Brave Buffalo this song, the elks gave him numerous instructions. He noticed that every elk had a downy white eagle feather tied on its right horn to indicate that it could run as fast as the eagle flies. He was told to wear a similar feather on his head, and at the time of giving this narrative he had a downy eagle plume fastened on the right side of his felt hat. The elks told him to paint his tipi in a manner similar to theirs, yellow outside with drawings of the crane and the crow on its inner walls, saying that these birds would protect him. This style of painting the tipi he has always carried out. The elks told him further that before he would be fully entitled to make a request for help from them he must go through a performance which he himself should devise, by which he would show the people that he was acting under their patronage.

On reaching home, Brave Buffalo made a mask of elk hide, using for this purpose the skin of the head with the horns. He then painted himself yellow and held in each hand a hoop wound with elk hide and decorated with an herb which is much liked by the elks. A specimen of this herb was secured and identified as *Monarda mollis* L., commonly known as wild bergamot. This was used by the young men chiefly on account of its fragrance. Another variety of the "elk herb" was used by Eagle Shield in his practice of medicine. Brave Buffalo made also a hoop similar to the one he carried when enacting his dream. As the flowers of the "elk herb" were not then in season, he used flowers resembling them as nearly as possible, and also such fur as was available.

Brave Buffalo said that after arraying himself as described he went around the camp, passing close to the tents. Two virgins preceded him, carrying his pipe. As he was making this circuit and imitating the actions of the elk, a thought occurred to him: "Now I have done everything as I was directed to do it, and I wish I might show these people that I have the power of the elk. There is a spot of damp ground before me. I wish that when I step on this damp ground I may leave the footprints of an elk."

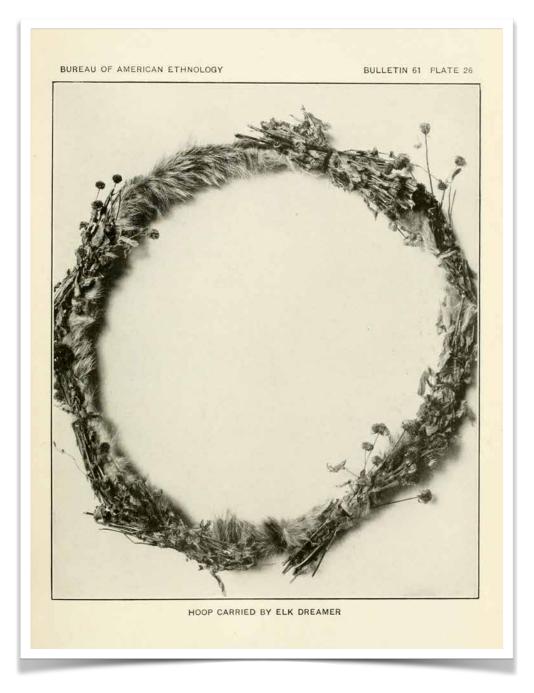
A crowd of people followed him, and after he had passed over this spot they saw the footprints of an elk instead of those of a man.

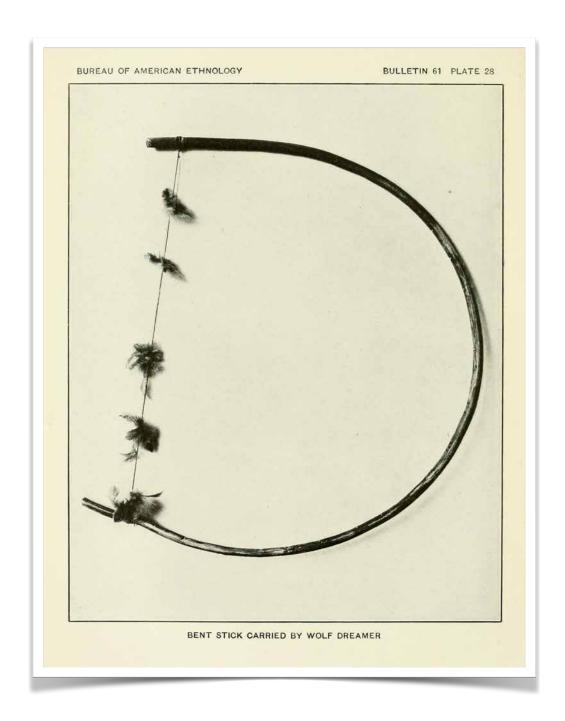
He was not required to repeat this demonstration, but if another elk dreamer were giving a similar performance and asked him to join, he would do so,

wearing the same mask as on the first occasion. During a demonstration of an elk dream, no woman is allowed on the windward side of the person giving the demonstration and no one is allowed to come near him.

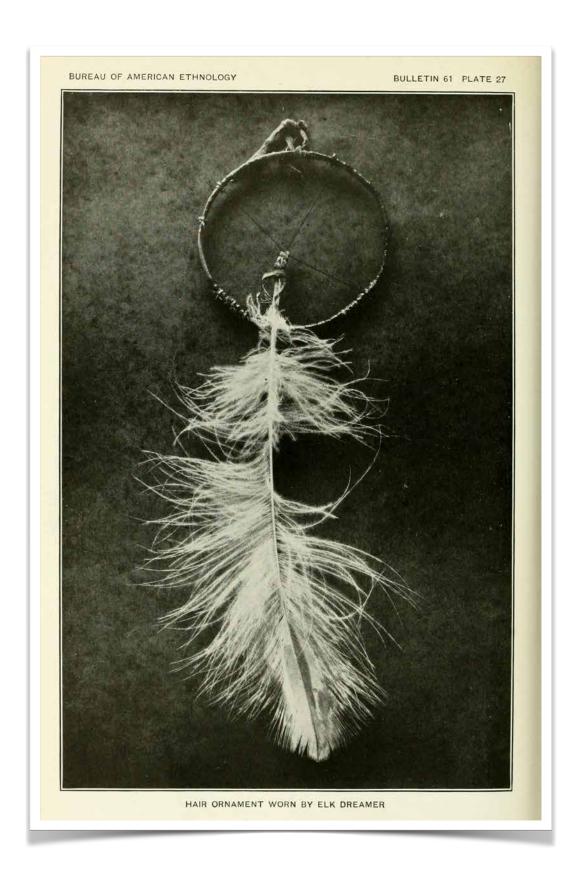
Brave Buffalo stated that after this demonstration the elks gave him power to find medicinal herbs. At the present time if he is in doubt what herb to use in treating a sick person, he appeals to the elks and they tell him what to use and where to find it.

The emblem of the elk is a circle, exemplified by the hoop which an elk dreamer carries in his hand when "acting out his dream."





The young men wear a hair ornament consisting of a small hoop wound with porcupine quills and having a downy white eagle feather suspended in the center. Such an ornament is shown in plate 27; the eagle feather is suspended by a tiny loop of hide at the end of the quill. This ornament is fastened by a narrow strip of hide to a lock of hair on top and at the left side of a man's head.



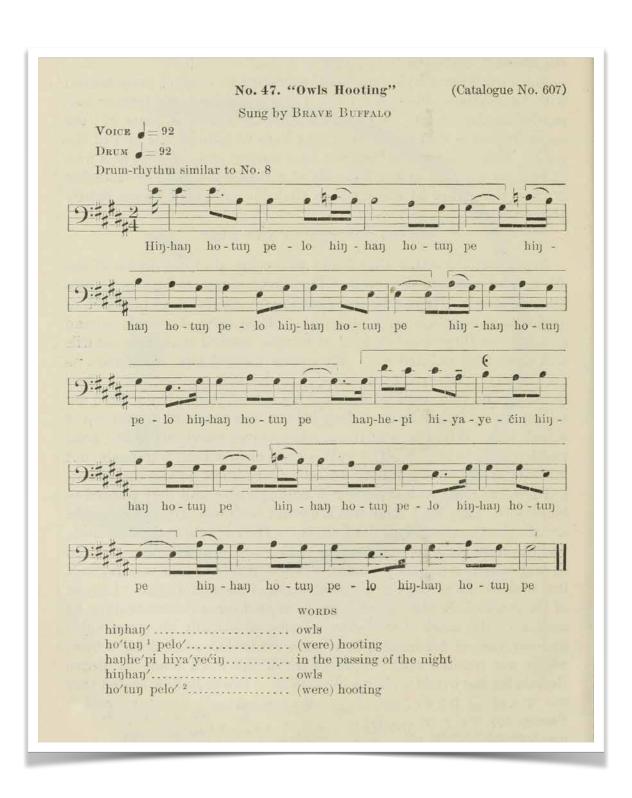
The fastening is from the center of the hoop so that the ornament hangs lightly above the ear.

DREAMS CONCERNING THE WOLF

Brave Buffalo stated that about two years after his dream of the elk he had a dream of a wolf. This dream came to him as he was hunting alone. He had been wandering for several days in search of game when he met a pack of wolves. They formed a circle around him, and as they stood looking at him he noticed that their nostrils and paws were painted red. They came toward him, whereupon he grew dizzy. When they reached him he was unconscious. They stood around him until he regained his senses; then they moved on, telling him to follow them. They led the way to a wolf den on top of a high hill. While he was there, more wolves came out of the hole, painted like the others. The wolves have always been wanderers, not knowing where they would find food. They knew he had been hunting and had had much difficulty in finding game, and they wanted to help him. They said there was a certain herb which, if dried, would enable him to catch all kinds of snakes. He was told to dry this herb, and put it on the ground where the snakes are wont to come. He did so and caught a live rattlesnake. The wolves told him to carry this live snake when living; the demonstration of his wolf dream. Instead of the mask of elk hide which he wore in his former demonstration, he used a similar mask of wolf skin, wearing practically the entire hide and carrying in his hand a bent stick somewhat resembling a bow, which was painted red.

Brave Buffalo stated that he carried this and the snake in the same hand, the snake coiling itself around the bow. He held the snake close to its head during the demonstration and let it go after the demonstration was closed. The wolves told him that when he was making this demonstration a live owl would alight on his back. Bravo Buffalo said that this actually happened. After this dream and its demonstration he "prayed to the wolves" when he wanted to locate game, and they always told him where to secure it.

The following song, which was taught Brave Buffalo in this dream, is one which he afterwards used in treating the sick. He said that it was his custom to sing this song every night.



Some Medicine Men consider the owl especially sacred among birds. Two reasons were given for this by an Indian, who said:

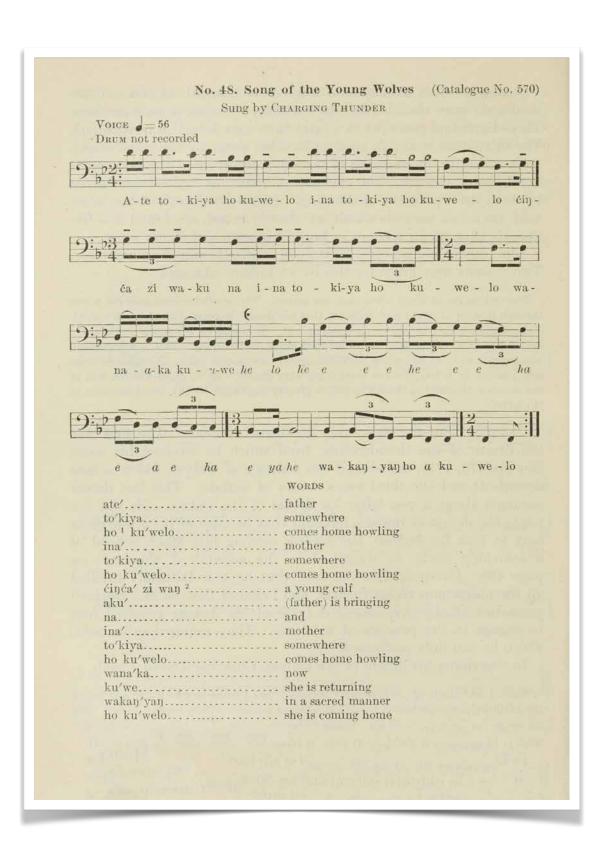
"The owl moves at night when men are asleep. The Medicine Man gets his power through dreams at night and believes that his dream is clear, like the owl's sight. So he promises that he will never harm an owl. If he did so, his power would leave him. For this reason, some Medicine Men wear owl feathers. The Medicine Man also regards the owl as having very soft, gentle ways, and when he begins to treat sick persons he is supposed to treat them very gently. So in night wisdom and in the manner of carrying itself the owl is greatly respected by the Medicine Men of the tribe."

Charging Thunder had three dreams of animals. The first was the dream of the thunder birds, from which he received his name; the second was a dream of wolves, which is here described; and the third was a dream of buffalo. This last dream occurred about a year after his dream of the wolves. He did not relate the dream of buffalo, but said that because of it he was often sent to look for buffalo, the leaders sending him alone instead of a searching party.

Charging Thunder said that he had faithfully fulfilled all the obligations of his dreams, and believed that he had received great benefit thereby, but that none of his dreams required him to engage in the practice of medicine. They required other acts, which he had duly performed.

In describing his dream of the wolves, Charging Thunder said:

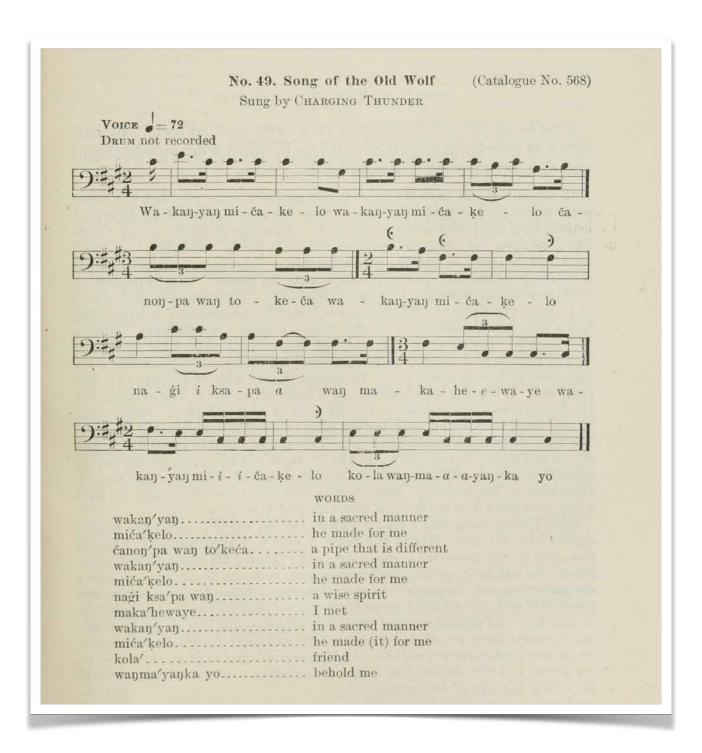
"When I was about 22 years of age I dreamed that I came to a wolf den and found the little wolves unprotected by either father or mother. They seemed to say, 'We are left here helpless, but our parents will soon return.' I learned their song, which was as follows:"



Resuming the narrative of his dream, Charging Thunder said:

"Soon I saw the old wolf returning and behind him came a buffalo calf. This old wolf told me how to make a pipe, telling me to smoke it when I was on the warpath and saying that the smell of the pipe would be so strong that the enemy would not detect my approach and thus I would be able to steal their horses. The old wolf said that by the aid of this pipe I would be able to outwit the wisest and craftiest of my enemies. I made the pipe as he directed and carried it on the warpath and had good success. It did not look any different from an ordinary pipe, but it had been 'made sacred' by a Medicine Man. The following song was taught to me by the old wolf:"

Three renditions were recorded, the repetitions being without a break in the time.



DREAM OF THE CROW AND OWL

Šiyáka, in his youth, dreamed of a crow and an owl. His narrative as here given reveals the manner in which a dream was sought and also the importance attached to it:

"All classes of people know that when human power fails they must look to a higher power for the fulfillment of their desires. There are many ways in which the request for help from this higher power can be made. This depends on the person. Some like to be quiet, and others want to do everything in public. Some like to go alone, away from the crowd, to meditate upon many things. In order to secure a fulfillment of his desire, a man must qualify himself to make his request. Lack of preparation would mean failure to secure a response to his petition. Therefore when a man makes up his mind to ask a favor of Wakhaŋ Thaŋka he makes due preparation. It is not fitting that a man should suddenly go out and make a request of Wakhaŋ Thaŋka. When a man shuts his eyes he sees a great deal. He then enters his own mind, and things become clear to him, but objects passing before his eyes would distract him.

"For that reason, a dreamer makes known his request through what he sees when his eyes are closed. It has long been his intention to make his request of Wakhan Thanka, and he resolves to seek seclusion on the top of a butte or other high place. When at last he goes there he closes his eyes, and his mind is upon Wakhan Thanka and his work. The man who does this usually has in mind some animal which he would like for protection and help. No man can succeed in life alone, and he cannot get the help he wants from men; therefore he seeks help through some bird or animal which Wakhan Thanka sends for his assistance. Many animals have ways from which a man can learn a great deal, even from the fact that horses are restless before a storm.

"When I was a young man I wanted a dream through which I could know what to depend upon for help. Having this desire, I went to a Medicine Man and told him about it. He instructed me what to do, and I followed his instructions in everything.

He told me to get four well-tanned robes, with one for my own use, also a decorated pipe and offerings of tobacco, and to appear before him on a certain day prepared to seek my vision. I prepared the articles as he directed and went to him on that day. He painted my face white, and before leaving him we went together into the sweat lodge, and while we were there he told me of his own dream and gave me an idea of what a dream was like. I had already selected a hill on which to await my dream, and after leaving him I went to this hilltop to follow his instructions.

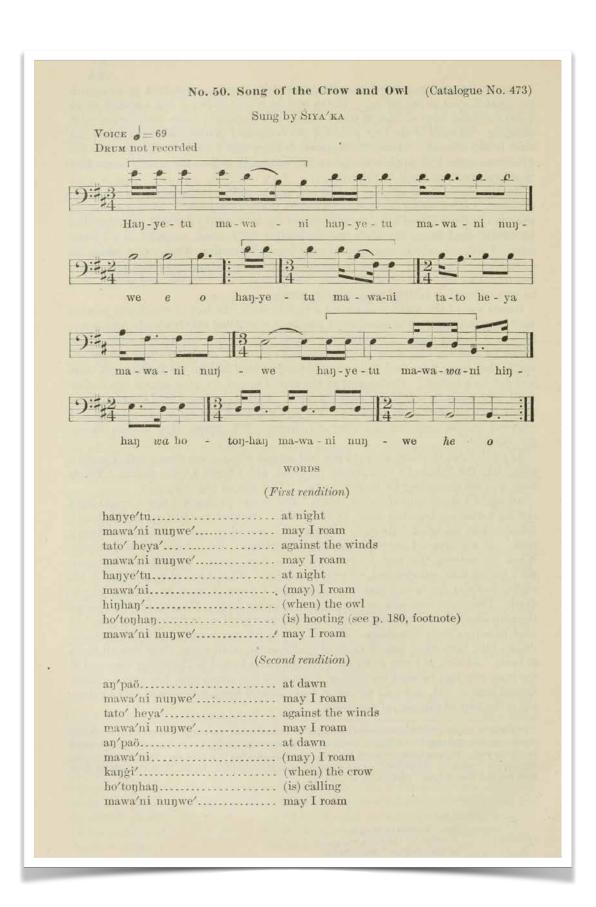
"Having placed these offerings in position, and according to the advice of the Medicine Man, I stood facing the west and watched the sun disappear. As soon as the sun was out of sight, I closed my eyes and turned my face toward the east, standing thus for a while, then facing the north and the south. So I stood, wrapped in a buffalo robe. I was not exactly singing, but more nearly lamenting, like a child asking for something. In the crying or lamenting of a young man seeking a vision, two things are especially desired: First, that he may have long life, and second, that he may succeed in taking horses from the enemy.

"Beside me, at the north, was placed a buffalo skull, the face of which was painted with blue stripes. The openings of the skull were filled with fresh sage, and it was laid on a bed of sage. The skull was placed with its face toward the south. The reason for this was that when the buffalo come from the north, traveling toward the south, they bring news that Wakháŋ Tháŋka has provided food for the Indians and there will not be a famine. During part of the time, I rested my pipe against the buffalo skull, with the stem pointing toward the north. Part of the time, I held the pipe in my hands, with the stem away from me. The pipe was filled, but not to be lighted until I returned to the Medicine Man after my dream.

"As I still faced the west, after the sun had set and when it was almost dark, I heard a sound like the flying of a bird around my head, and I heard a voice saying, 'Young man, you are recognized by Wakhan Thanka.' This was all the voice said.

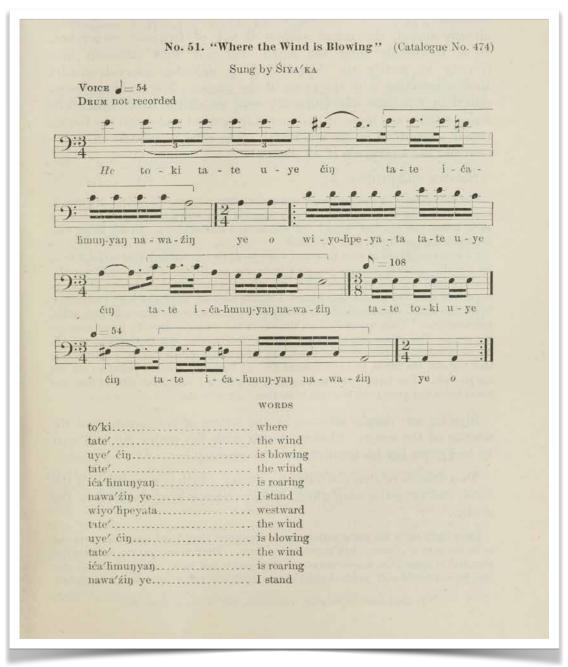
"All night I stood with my eyes closed. Just before daybreak, I saw a bright light coming toward me from the east. It was a man. His head was tied up, and he

held a tomahawk in his hand. He said, 'Follow me,' and in an instant he changed into a crow. In my dream, I followed the crow to a village. He entered the largest tent. When he entered the tent he changed to a man again. Opposite the entrance sat a young man, painted red, who welcomed me. When I was thus received I felt highly honored, for as this was the largest tent, I knew it must be the tent of the chief. The young man said he was pleased to see me there. He said, further, that all the animals and birds were his friends, and that he wished me to follow the way he had used to secure their friendship. He told me to lift my head. I did this and saw dragonflies, butterflies, and all kinds of small insects, while above them flew all kinds of birds. As soon as I cast down my eyes again and looked at the young man and at the man who had brought me thither, I saw that the young man had become transformed into an owl, and that my escort had changed again into a crow. The following is the song of this part of my dream.



Šiyáka continued:

"The owl said, 'Always look toward the west when you make a petition, and you will have a long life." After this, the owl commanded me to look at him. As soon as I did this he was changed to an elk, and at his feet were the elk medicine and a hoop. As soon as I saw him changing, I began to wonder what marvel would be next. Then I heard a song. I tried to learn the song, and before I realized what I was doing I was singing the song. The following is the song taught to me by the elk in my dream."



Šiyáka said further:

"The hilltop where I had my dream was quite a distance from the camp. My friends knew I had gone there, and in the early morning they sent a man with my horse. I came home, and the first thing I did was to take a sweat bath. In the lodge with the Medicine Man, I told him my dream.

"I was a young man at that time and eager to go on the warpath and make a name for myself. After this dream, my stronghold was in the east, but the west was also a source from which I could get help. All the birds and insects which I had seen in my dream were things on which I knew I should keep my mind and learn their ways. When the season returns, the birds and insects return with the same colorings as the previous year. They are not all on the earth, but are above it. My mind must be the same. The elk is brave, always helping the women, and in that way the elk has saved a large proportion of his tribe. In this I should follow the elk, remembering that the elk, the birds, and the insects are my helpers. I never killed an elk nor ate its flesh. The birds that continually fly in the air I would not kill. I may kill water birds and grass birds if suitable for food, but only these."

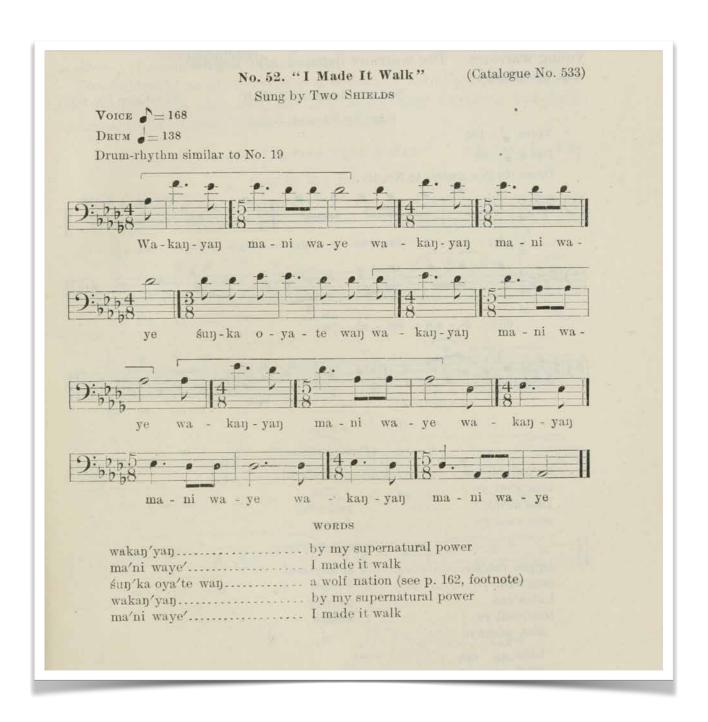
Šiyáka was deeply affected by the telling of this dream and the singing of the songs. Shaking hands with the writer, he said that he had given her his most cherished possession.

Two Shields related the following dream, which is a tradition in the tribe, and sang the song which is said to have been received in the dream:

"Many years ago a war party was in their camp when they heard what they believed to be the song of a young man approaching them. They could hear the words of the song and supposed the singer was one of their party, but as he came nearer they saw that he was an old wolf, so old that he had no teeth, and there was no brush on his tail.

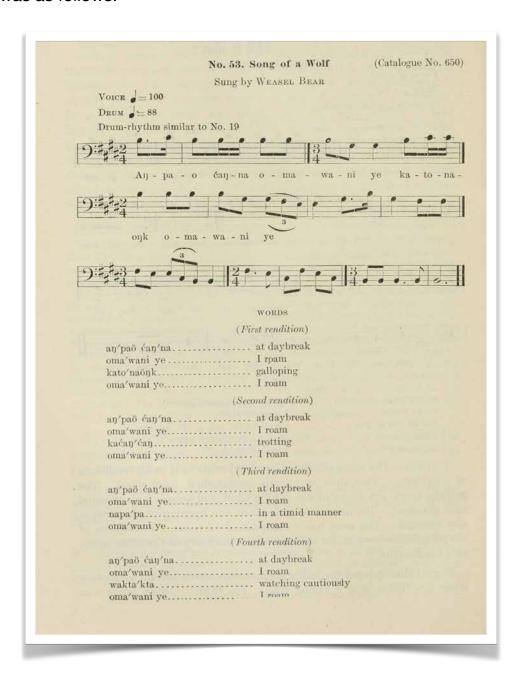
"He could scarcely move, and he lay down beside their fire. They cut up their best buffalo meat and fed him. Afterward they learned his song, which was the beginning of all the wolf songs (war songs). After this, too, the warriors began the custom of carrying a wolf-skin medicine bag."

The writer was told by Looking Elk and others that the wolf-skin medicine bag carried by warriors had been known to "come to life" and walk about the camp, and it had been heard to sing this, the first wolf song of the Sioux:

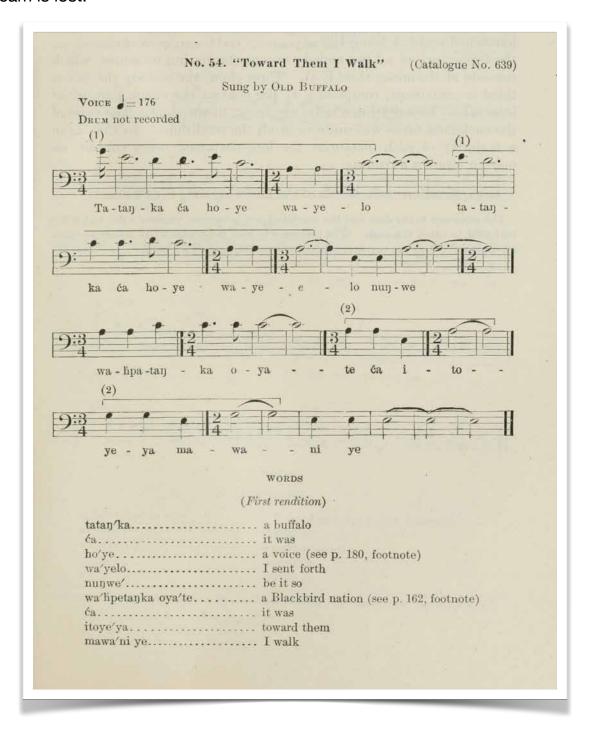


Weasel Bear related the following incident, which he said took place when his father was a young man.

His father, whose name was Metal Knee (Hu´pahu-ma´za), was with a number of men on the warpath. On stopping beside a hill, they heard what they believed to be a man singing. They counted their party, but all were there. One of them climbed the hill and, looking over, saw a wolf sitting with his back to the hill. The wolf was looking away off and singing. The words of the four renditions suggest the change from enthusiasm to caution, and are interesting as being sung by an old wolf to the young warriors. The warriors listened and learned the song, which was as follows:



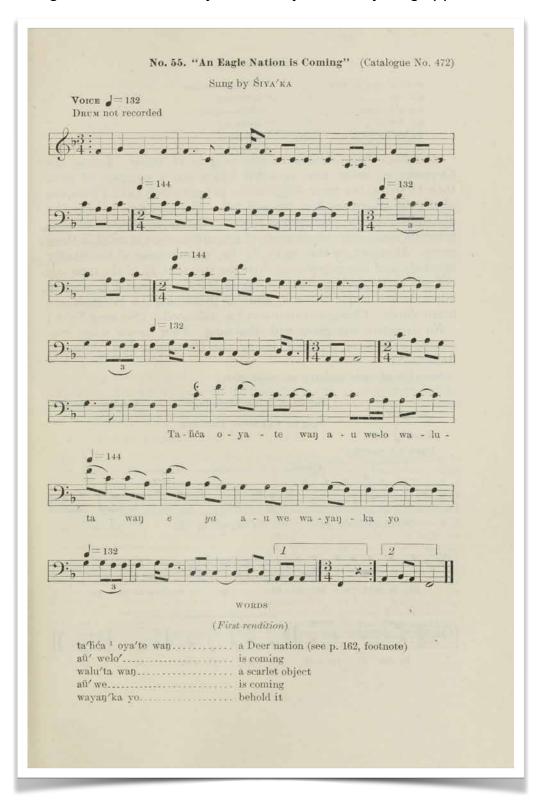
The following song concerning a dream of a buffalo was sung by Old Buffalo. In this and the four succeeding numbers the song remains, but the story of the dream is lost.



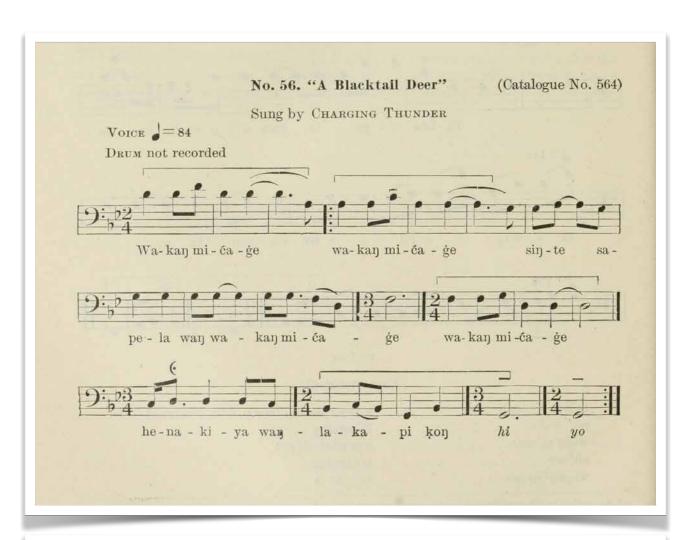
This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection

In explanation of the words of the following song Siya'ka said:

"The reference to the deer and the scarlet object is because venison is red and is the bait used to catch the eagle. The reference to blue is because when trying to catch an eagle we look at the sky so steadily that everything appears blue."



No narrative was given with this song



	WORDS
wakaŋ'	. sacred
mi/ćaģe	
wakaŋ'	
mi'ćaģe	
sinte' sa'pela wan	
wakan'	
wanla'kapi kon	
mi'ćaģehena'kiya	. he made for me . those

SONGS CONCERNING THE BEAR

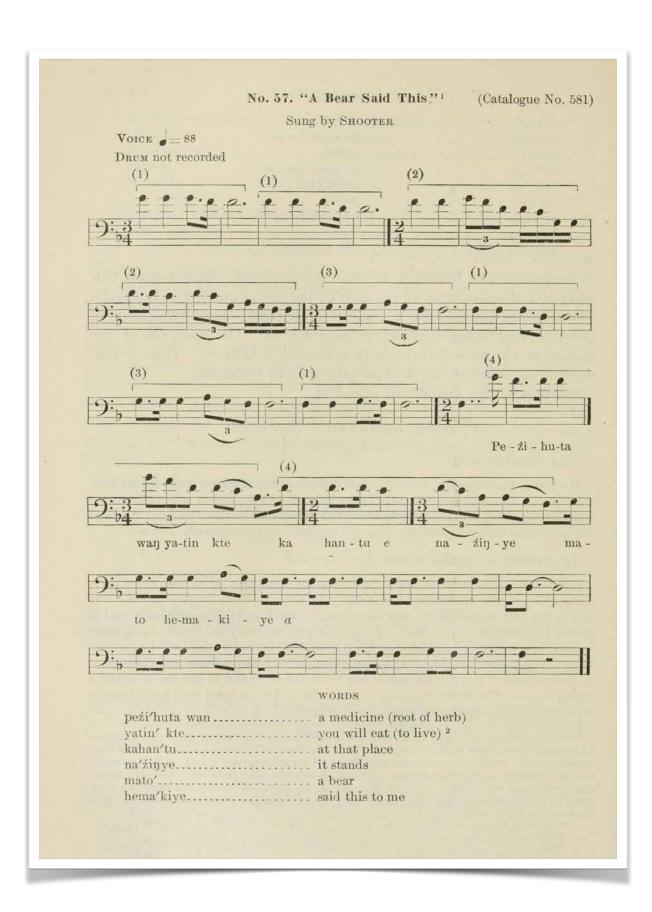
Two Shields said:

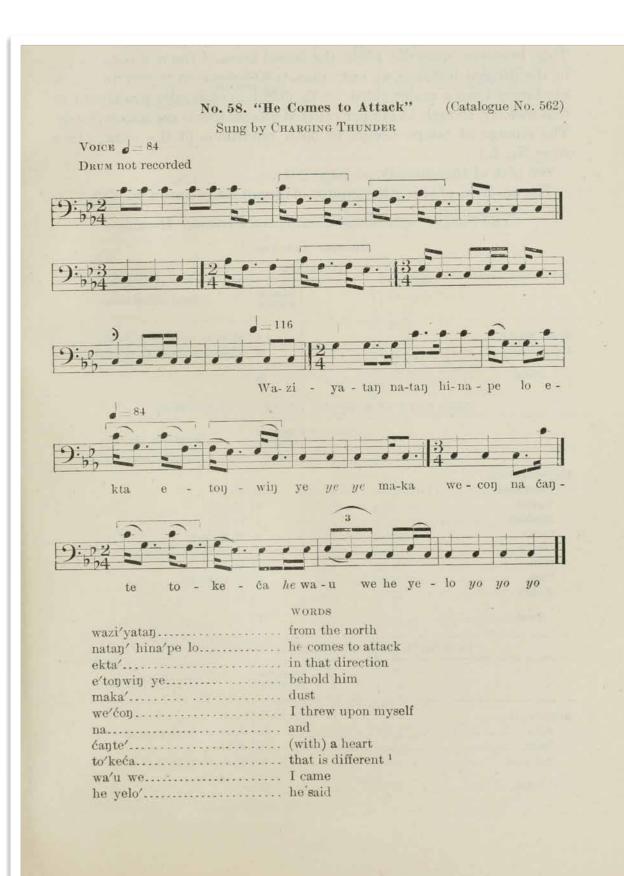
"The bear is the only animal which is dreamed of as offering to give herbs for the healing of man. The bear is not afraid of either animals or men and it is considered ill-tempered, and yet it is the only animal which has shown us this kindness; therefore the medicines received from the bear are supposed to be especially effective."

In somewhat similar strain Siya'ka said:

"The bear is quick-tempered and is fierce in many ways, and yet he pays attention to herbs which no other animal notices at all. The bear digs these for his own use. The bear is the only animal which eats roots from the earth and is also especially fond of acorns, June berries, and cherries. These three are frequently compounded with other herbs in making medicine, and if a person is fond of cherries we say he is like a bear. We consider the bear as chief of all animals in regard to herb medicine, and therefore it is understood that if a man dreams of a bear he will be expert in the use of herbs for curing illness. The bear is regarded as an animal well-acquainted with herbs because no other animal has such good claws for digging roots."

Authors note: "A majority of these songs are believed to be 50 to 150 years old"





The Sacred Stones (Thunkán)

Songs relating to the sacred stones constitute the second group of songs received in dreams. To dream of a small stone was regarded by the Teton Sioux as a sign of great import, indicating that the dreamer, by fulfilling the requirements of his dream, would become possessed of supernatural power, in the exercise of which he would use the sacred stones. This power would be shown in an ability to cure sickness, to predict future events, and to tell the location of objects beyond the range of his natural vision. The stones were the native brown sandstone, usually spherical in shape, though oval stones and stones slightly flattened were also used, the principal requirements being that they should be regular in outline and untouched by a tool. The symbolism of the stones was given by Chased-by-Bears as follows:

"The outline of the stone is round, having no end and no beginning; like the power of the stone, it is endless. The stone is perfect of its kind and is the work of nature, no artificial means being used in shaping it. Outwardly it is not beautiful, but its structure is solid, like a solid house in which one may safely dwell. It is not composed of many substances, but is of one substance, which is genuine and not an imitation of anything else."

The term used by the Sioux in speaking of these stones is said to be an abbreviation of *thuŋkásila*, "grandfather." The word *thuŋkáŋ* is an example of the "sacred language" and gives the meaning of this word as, "In the sacred language, *a stone*, and *the moon*." Thus it is seen that the term "sacred stones," used in the present work, is not a translation of *tunkan*," but is a term expressing more nearly the idea in the mind of the Sioux.

It is said that a Medicine Man, in demonstrating his power to acquire information by means of the sacred stones, sends them long distances. After a time, the stones return and give him the desired information. He is the only person who can understand what they say, and therefore he repeats their message to the man who requested him to make the inquiry. During a demonstration for the curing of the sick it is said that the stones, flying through the air in the darkened tent, sometimes strike those who have refused to believe in them. This power of

the sacred stones to move through the air is connected in the mind of the Sioux with *Tákuškaŋškaŋ*, this term being composed of *táku*, 'something', and *škaŋškáŋ* to stir, move about, change place. Several of the writer's most reliable informants, after consultation, expressed the opinion that *Tákuškaŋškaŋ* could correctly be said to be one of the native Dakota gods.

Miss Alice C. Fletcher uses the term "Something that moves," and a connection between this mysterious power and the small stones appears in her article on "The religious ceremony of the Four Winds," Miss Fletcher says:

"An intelligent Santee Indian said to me: 'The Four Winds are sent by "the Something that moves." There is a "Something that moves" at each of the "Four Directions or Quarters." Among the Santee (Sioux) Indians, the Four Winds are symbolized by the raven and a small black stone, less than a hen's egg in size."

The desire for a dream of this small black stone and the manner of its treatment are similar to those connected with the sacred stones.

Distinct from these small stones, which were carried on the person, were the large stones or rocks in the field which were "objects of worship." Large boulders were selected and adorned with red and green paint, whither the devout Dakota might go to pray and offer his sacrifice. An interesting account told of such a stone, known as *Íŋyaŋ šá* or "Red Rock," which was situated near the site of St. Paul, Minnesota, and was last visited by the Sioux shortly before their outbreak in 1862. Many stones on the Dakota prairie are said to have been similarly regarded by the Sioux.

To talk of these stones is "sacred talk" to the Sioux, and the material comprised in this chapter was treated with the same reverence as that relating to the dream of the Thunderbird or the Ceremony of the Sun Dance.

Songs and information concerning the sacred stones were secured from men who, in their relation to these objects, may be said to represent five different standpoints, as follows:

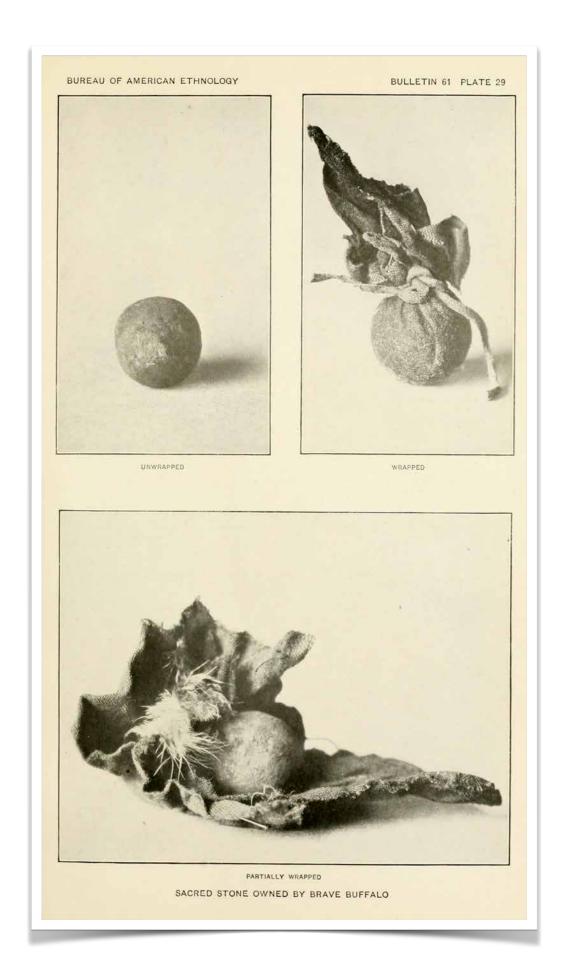
- 1. Men who have dreamed of the sacred stones, possess one or more of them, and have used them successfully in treating the sick or in locating lost articles. Those of this class who furnished information were Brave Buffalo (*Thatháŋka Ohítika*) and Goose (Maǧá).
- 2. Men who possess sacred stones, and believe they have been helped in various ways by their presence. Chased-by-Bears (*Mathó Khúwa*) had in his possession more than 40 years a sacred stone, which he acquired by purchase. He appealed to it when in danger and anxiety, but never attempted to secure through its use benefits for others than his immediate family. Lone Man (*Išnála Wičhá*) possesses one stone, and believes he has been greatly helped by wearing it on his person.
- 3. A man who possesses a stone but does not use it. Charging Thunder (Wakinyan Wathakpe) has had a sacred stone for many years, but has not been able to command it as the Medicine Men do. He attributes this lack of efficiency to the fact that he "does not place his faith wholly upon it, but believes in the help of many other agencies." The stone was given him at a time when he was sick, in the belief that it would restore him to health and also act as a charm. His father was skilled in the use of the stones, and Charging Thunder recorded songs which he said were composed by his father.
- 4. A man who has not used the sacred stones, but who was one of the singers when White Shield (*Waháčhaŋka Ská*) gave his wonderful demonstrations with them. It was customary for six or eight singers to sit at the drum and sing with the man who was giving the demonstration. Two Shields (*Waháčhaŋka núŋpa*) recorded two songs of White Shields' which had been used on such occasions. Two Shields is a close adherent of the old beliefs, the missionaries having made no impression on him.
- 5. Men who have witnessed demonstrations with the sacred stones in the camp, on the hunt, and on the warpath and were familiar with songs used at such times. Songs were recorded by Gray Whirlwind (*Wamniomni Hóta*), Shooter (*Okhúte*), Teal Duck (*Šiyáka*), and Bear Eagle (*Mathó Wanbli*). Additional information, as well as corroboration and personal reminiscence, was furnished by Buffalo Head (*Thathánka Phá*) and Standing Soldier (*Akíčhita Nážin*).

Among the above-mentioned informants the man whose use of the sacred stones is most open at the present time is Brave Buffalo, a prominent Medicine Man of the Standing Rock Reservation. He was born near the present site of Pollock, South Dakota, and at the time of giving his information was about 73 years of age. His father was a leading Medicine Man of the tribe. In describing his dream of the sacred stone Brave Buffalo said:

"When I was ten years of age I looked at the land and the rivers, the sky above, and the animals around me and could not fail to realize that they were made by some great power. I was so anxious to understand this power that I questioned the trees and the bushes. It seemed as though the flowers were staring at me, and I wanted to ask them, 'Who made you?' I looked at the moss-covered stones; some of them seemed to have the features of a man, but they could not answer me. Then I had a dream, and in my dream one of these small round stones appeared to me and told me that the maker of all was Wakhaŋ Thaŋka, and that in order to honor him I must honor his works in nature. The stone said that by my search I had shown myself worthy of supernatural help. It said that if I were curing a sick person I might ask its assistance, and that all the forces of nature would help me work a cure."

Soon after this dream, Brave Buffalo found on the top of a high butte his first sacred stone, which is still in his possession. About a month later, he found several others, one of which is in the possession of the writer. This is almost a perfect sphere. On one side is a number of dots, the grouping of which suggests a tiny face, a characteristic pointed out by Brave Buffalo. The stone is dyed red with native dye. The color, which is a favorite color of Brave Buffalo, has no significance. The stone, surrounded by eagle down, is kept in a wrapping of red cotton cloth. It was said that there is something between the eagle down and the stone, because when surrounded by eagle down, it cannot get away. The stone can be sent on errands of observation by its owner, and when not in use is imprisoned by the downy eagle feathers.

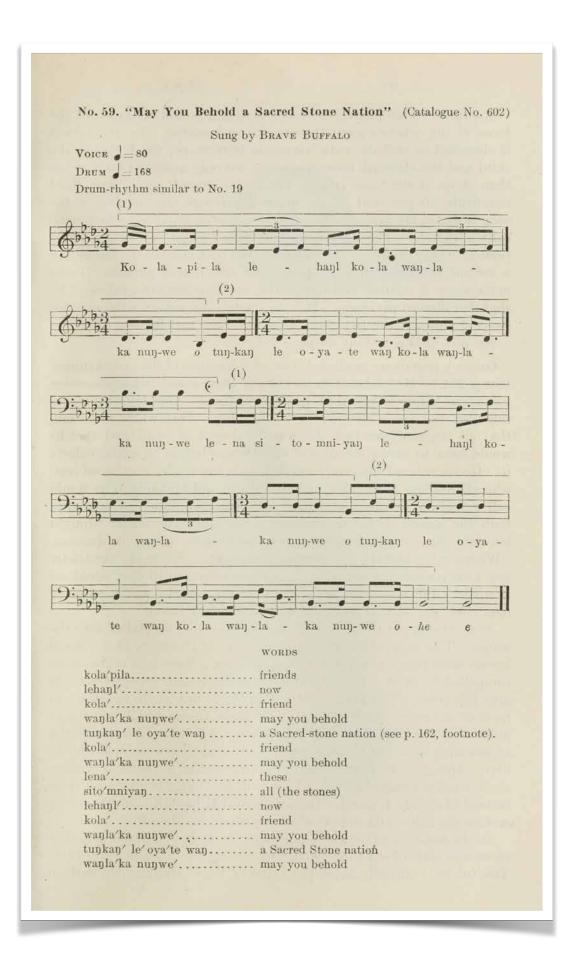
Brave Buffalo said that he had cured many illnesses by means of this stone, which he said is "a brother of the first stone" he found. He said further that he "had no authority to secure its sisters, but that it was good to have several

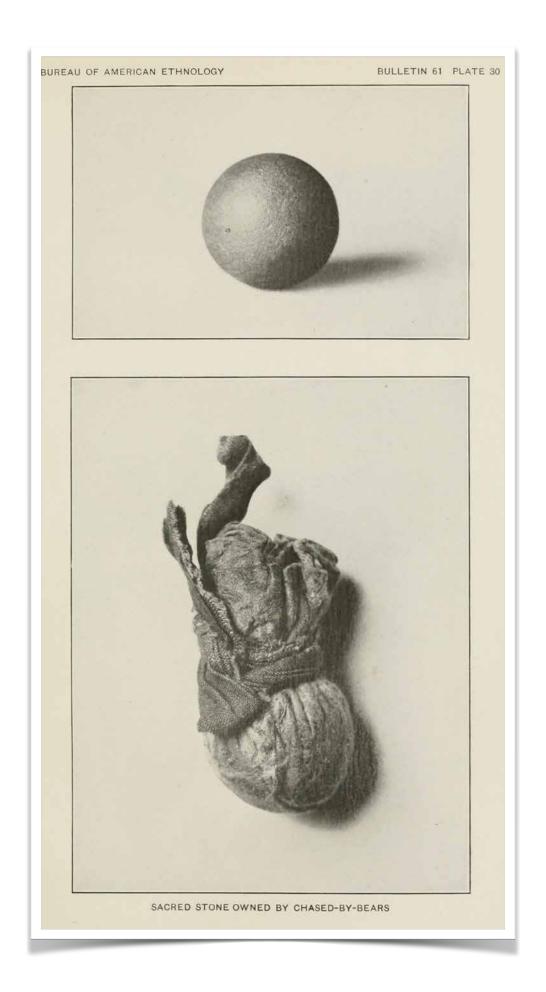


brothers of the original stone to cooperate with it." He "can feel if he is near a relative of the original stone" and always secures it. These relatives he may give away if he so desires, but the original stone has been seen by very few except the sick persons in whose treatment it has been used.

Concerning the nature of the sacred stones, Brave Buffalo said:

"It is significant that these stones are not found buried in the earth, but are on the top of high buttes. They are round, like the sun and moon, and we know that all things which are round are related to each other. Things which are alike in their nature grow to look like each other, and these stones have lain there a long time, looking at the sun. Many pebbles and stones have been shaped in the current of a stream, but these stones were found far from the water and have been exposed only to the sun and the wind. The earth contains many thousand such stones hidden beneath its surface. The Thunderbird is said to be related to these stones, and when a man or an animal is to be punished, the Thunderbird strikes the person, and if it were possible to follow the course of the lightning, one of these stones would be found embedded in the earth. Some believe that these stones descend with the lightning, but I believe they are on the ground and are projected downward by the bolt. In all my life, I have been faithful to the sacred stones. I have lived according to their requirements, and they have helped me in all my troubles. I have tried to qualify myself as well as possible to handle these sacred stones, yet I know that I am not worthy to speak to Wakhan Thánka. I make my request of the stones and they are my intercessors."





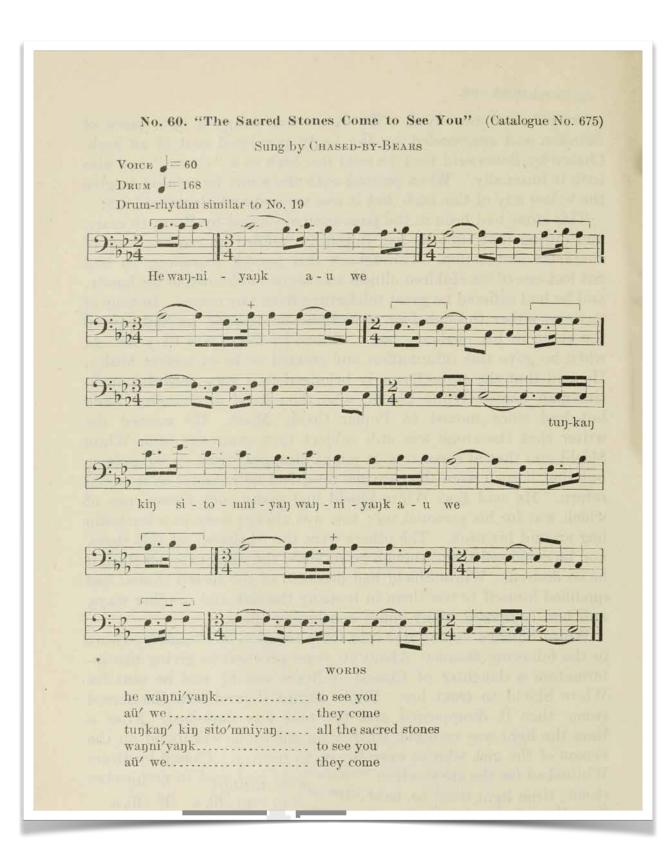
Goose, a prominent Medicine Man, also dreamed of the sacred stones. He said that he had two of these stones in his possession some time before he tested his power over them. One day a fur trader ridiculed the Medicine Men in his hearing. This white man said that all the Medicine Men did was by sleight of hand, and that he would have to see an instance of their power before he would believe it. Goose entered into conversation with the trader on the subject, who offered him ten articles, including cloth and blankets, if he would call a buffalo to the spot where they were standing. Goose sent both the sacred stones to summon a buffalo. The trader brought his field glasses and looked across the prairie, saying in derision, "Where is the buffalo you were to summon?" Suddenly the trader saw a moving object, far away. It came nearer until they could see it without the aid of the glasses. It was a buffalo, and it came so near that they shot it from the spot where they stood.

At a subsequent time Goose found a rifle which had fallen into the water. This occurred near the present site of Pierre, South Dakota. Some horses were being taken across the river on a ferry and others were compelled to swim. In the confusion, a white man dropped his rifle into the river. The man regretted his loss, but made no effort to recover the rifle. After the man had gone, Goose decided to try to find it by the aid of the sacred stones. Accordingly he took the stones with him, and rowed on the river until the stones told him to dive. Doing so, he found the rifle on the bed of the river, a strange circumstance being that when he was in the water it appeared clear instead of cloudy as usual. Goose afterwards had an opportunity to restore the rifle to its owner, who rewarded him liberally.

In addition to the stone purchased from Brave Buffalo, another stone was transferred to the writer by Chased-by-Bears in July, 1912. This is slightly larger than that of Brave Buffalo; the surface is smooth and not dyed. The stone was wrapped in a piece of deerskin and surrounded by the finely powdered root of an herb. Chased-by-Bears said that he used this herb as a "charm" and also took it internally. When parting with the stone he refused to give the writer any of this herb, but it was secured and identified later.

This stone had been in the possession of Chased-by-Bears for 40 years, and during that time he had faithfully fulfilled its requirements of character and action. Throughout this period, moreover, he had not lost one of his children, illness was almost unknown in his family, and he had suffered no great misfortune from any cause. In times of anxiety, either through fear of sickness or disaster, he had carried the stone in his medicine bag. Chased-by-Bears was 64 years old when he gave this information and seemed to be in perfect health. He said that the stone formerly belonged to a very powerful Medicine Man named White Shield, who then lived at Standing Rock but had since moved to Poplar Creek, Montana. He warned the writer that the stone was still subject to a summons from White Shield and that at some time it might disappear from its wrappings, but that if such were the case she need feel no anxiety, as it would return. He said that White Shield had many such stones, one which was for his personal use; this was always worn in a buckskin bag around his neck. The others were "helpers" of this stone, and he could sell them, though he retained the right to recall them if he so desired. White Shield had dreamed of the sacred stones, had qualified himself to use them in treating the sick and in other ways, and had composed many songs concerning them.

White Shield's stone came into the possessions of Chased-by-Bears in the following manner: About 40 years previous to giving this information a daughter of Chased-by-Bears was ill, and he sent for White Shield to treat her. White Shield showed him the sacred stone, then it disappeared and the tent was darkened. After a time the light was restored, whereupon the stone was found on the person of the girl, who at once began to recover. Chased-by-Bears then asked for the stone which White Shield had used in performing the cure, and White Shield transferred it to him together with the song which he sang at the time and which he said should always be sung when any request was made of the stone. In exchange for these Chased-by-Bears gave a horse. The song, which follows, is believed to have been composed by White Shield.



In parting with the sacred stone and in singing its song, Chased-by-Bears seemed actuated by a sincere desire that his grandchildren should understand the native religious ideas which had governed his life, and that the white man might better know the mind of the Sioux. But misfortune followed his action. After a few weeks, the writer, on returning to the reservation, was informed that Chased-by-Bears had suffered a stroke of paralysis, which was attributed to his sale of the sacred stone and its song. Mr. Higheagle was requested to visit Chased-by-Bears and ascertain whether the reports were correct. It was found that Chased-by-Bears seemed to be in danger of death. Mr. Higheagle was then instructed to tell him that the stone would be returned to him as soon as it had been measured, weighed, and photographed. Every effort was made to allay the nervous tension under which the aged man was suffering. After a time, Chasedby-Bears was well enough to come and camp near the agency. He walked heavily, leaning on his cane. Food was sent to his camp, and when he was able to come to the writer's office, she played for him the phonograph records of sacred stones songs which others had sung endeavoring to impress him with the idea that he had not transgressed more than they. At length, the subject of the herb used with the stone was broached, and it was suggested that if the stone were to be returned perhaps he would be willing to loan a portion of the herb for identification, which, together with the stone, would subsequently be given to him by Mr. Higheagle. After several conferences Chased-by-Bears brought the plant, which was identified by Washington as Aster. With this, he had in his medicine bag a root which, he said, he powdered and mixed with the root of the first plant. It was a pithy root, but as none of the upper part of the plant was available it could not be identified. Chased-by-Bears was encouraged to be present when other Indians were recording songs, and it was observed that his health steadily improved. When the writer left the reservation a few weeks later he had almost regained his strength, and a year afterwards he appeared to be in his usual health. Both the stone and the herbs were returned at the earliest opportunity, but it is interesting to note that the man's physical recovery began before these were actually restored to his possession. Chasedby-Bears' misfortune did not seem to arouse any antagonism toward the writer or her work. In conversation with those who were considered authorities on the subject, it was said that he "should have known better than to sell a stone when he had only one." A Medicine Man could sell the "helpers" of his special stone,

but even a Medicine Man would not part with the stone which was the center of his power.

As an introduction to his narrative concerning the sacred stones, Lone Man said:

"Ever since I have known the old Indians and their customs, I have seen that in any great undertaking it is not enough for a man to depend simply upon himself. Most people place their dependence on the Medicine Men, who understand this life and all its surroundings and are able to predict what will come to pass. They have the right to make these predictions. If as we sit here we should hear a voice speaking from above, it would be because we had the right to hear what others could not hear, or we might see what others had not the right to see because they were not properly qualified. Such are some of the rights and privileges of the Medicine Men, and those who desire to know mysterious things must seek their aid. If a man desires success in war or the hunt, or if he wishes to make the greatest of all requests, which is the request for long life, he should make it through a Medicine Man, who will give him a charm, probably a root of herb wrapped in buckskin, and he will wear this charm. It is not enough for a man to make known his request. There is a way which it has been found best to follow, and that is to make an offering with the request.

"When I was a young man I went to a Medicine Man for advice concerning my future. The Medicine Man said: 'I have not much to tell you except to help you understand this earth on which you live. If a man is to succeed on the hunt or the warpath, he must not be governed by his inclination, but by an understanding of the ways of animals and of his natural surroundings, gained through close observation. The earth is large, and on it live many animals. This earth is under the protection of something which at times becomes visible to the eye. One would think this would be at the center of the earth, but its representations appear everywhere, in large and small forms—they are the sacred stones. The presence of a sacred stone will protect you from misfortune.'

"He then gave me a sacred stone which he himself had worn. I kept it with me wherever I went and was helped by it. He also told me where I might find one for myself. Wakhan Thanka tells the sacred stones many things which may happen to people. The Medicine Man told me to observe my natural surroundings, and

after my talk with him I observed them closely. I watched the changes of the weather, the habits of animals, and all the things by which I might be guided in the future, and I stored this knowledge in my mind.

"The Medicine Man also told me that the sacred stone may appear in the form of a person who talks and sings many wonderful songs. Among these was the following song, in which the sacred stone says that all living creatures look to him for protection. This and the song next following were composed and used by Ité ókšan lúta (Red-Streaked Around-the-Face), a man who dreamed of the rainbow and therefore painted his face with an arch of color. He used red for this arch, as red was his favorite among the colors of the rainbow."

The carrying of a sacred stone in order to secure a benefit from its presence is, in the mind of the Sioux, on an entirely different plane from the wearing of a "charm" (wo tahe). This is one of many instances in which the English language lacks a brief equivalent for the shades of meaning in an Indian language.

TETON SIOUX MUSIC

No. 61. "I Sing for the Animals" (Catalogue No. 489)

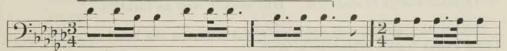
Sung by LONE MAN

VOICE _ 84

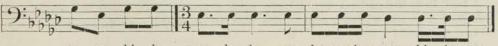
DRUM = 96

Drum-rhythm similar to No. 6

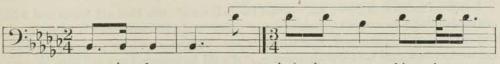




ka tan-han wa - ki - lo-wan ye - lo he sun - ka-wa-kan o - ya -

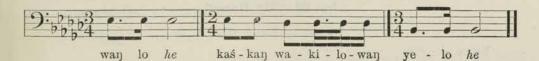


te wa - ki - lo - wan lo he ma - ka tan-han wa - ki - lo-wan



ye - lo he yo ma - kaś - kaŋ wa - ki - lo - waŋ





WORDS

maka' tanhan'..... out of the earth

waki'lowan yelo'..... I sing for them

śunka'wakan oya'te..... a Horse nation (see p. 162, footnote)

waki'lowan yelo' 1. I sing for them maka' tanhan' out of the earth waki'lowan yelo' I sing for them

wama'kaśkaŋ ²..... the animals

waki'lowan yelo..... I sing for them

After singing this song Lone Man bowed his head and reverently made the following prayer. It was not his expectation that this and the prayers which preceded two other songs (Nos. 53, 55) would be recorded, but as he was seated at the phonograph it was possible to secure the records without attracting his attention, and the records were afterwards translated. His prayer was as follows:

"Makȟátaŋhaŋ wičáša waŋ wičhóȟaŋ waŋ awáhiyaya tkȟá hená úŋ úŋšimala yo, tuwá waŋkátaŋhaŋ inítȟaŋčhaŋ héčhena"

(Translation)

"A man from the earth I am, I have sung concerning an event, for which have compassion on me, whoever from above, you (who are) the supreme ruler."

Continuing his narrative, Lone Man said:

"Another instruction given me by the Medicine Man was that all herbs and roots are made for the benefit of animals or man. Some herbs and roots vary in color according to the season of the year, and others do not. All are carefully tested, and if one is found to be a cure for a certain disease, it should be regarded as a gift from Wakhaŋ Thaŋka, and intended especially as a remedy for that disease. It should be reverenced, and this reverence should be closely observed, as without it the herb will have no effect. Because of the reverence due to these medicinal herbs, certain songs are used expressing this feeling. This, like the preceding song, was used by the man who dreamed of a rainbow. It may have been used when painting a horse on the warpath.



In closing, Lone Man said:

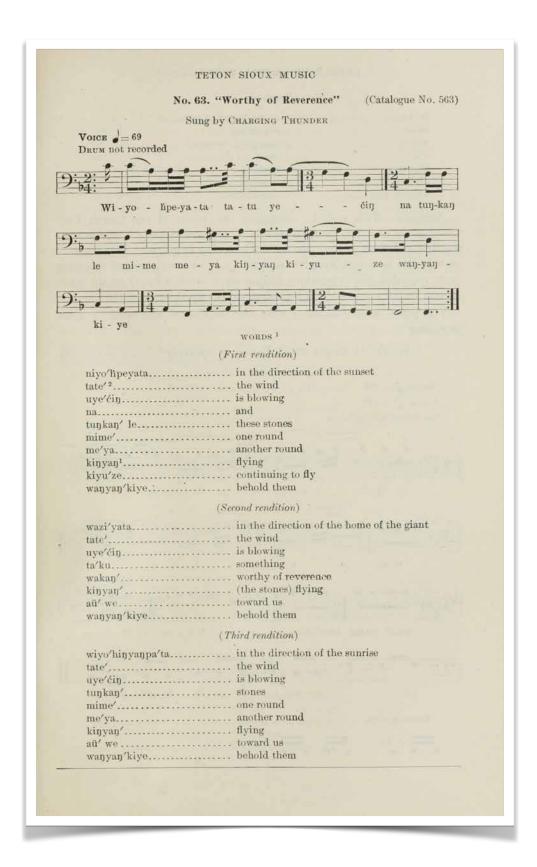
"After the Medicine Man had given me this advice and instruction and had taught me the songs, he told me how to act in various emergencies, after which I realized that I must depend on myself, and that if I failed I must seek help from other sources, as he did not expect that I would return to him."

Four songs concerning the sacred stones were recorded by Charging Thunder, who does not use the stones himself, but who learned the songs from his father, Bear Necklace (*Mathó Nap'íŋ*), a prominent Medicine Man. The first of these songs was received in a dream of the sacred stones.

Charging Thunder said that his father, while on a buffalo hunt, was thrown from his horse, falling on a pile of stones and injuring his head. He lay unconscious almost all day and was found in the evening. His wound was dressed, and when he regained consciousness he said that all the rocks and stones "were people" turned to stone." After this he found some stones. He could talk to them and depended on them for help. Once a war party had been gone two months; no news of them had been received, and it was feared that all were killed. In their anxiety, the people appealed to Bear Necklace, asking him to ascertain, by means of the sacred stones, what had become of the war party. Bear Necklace requested them to tie his arms behind him, then to tie his fingers and toes, interlacing them with twisted sinew. He was then wrapped in a buffalo robe and tied with ropes. His medicine drum, medicine bag, and a bell were hung high on the tent poles, and he was laid on the ground beneath them. The tent was darkened, he sang the following song and told his dreams. Then the tent began to tremble, the articles hanging from the pole dropped to the ground, his cords loosened, and he stood entirely free. As soon as the medicine articles fell to the ground, there appeared a row of four or five small round stones ready to tell him what he wanted to know. Sitting Bull was present and made an offering of a buffalo robe to the sacred stones and asked that he might become famous. Bear Necklace wrapped one of the stones in buckskin and gave it to him. Sitting Bull wore it in a bag around his neck to the time of his death, and it was buried with him.

Bear Necklace then gave correct information concerning the absent war party. At that time he proved his power to give information by the help of the sacred stones, and afterwards the stones always told him the names of those who were killed in war, the names of the survivors, and the day on which they would return. This information was always correct. The following song was composed by Bear Necklace at the time he was hurt, and was sung by him when demonstrating his power. The words refer to the passing of the stones through the air in the darkened tent while an exhibition of his power was in progress. It is

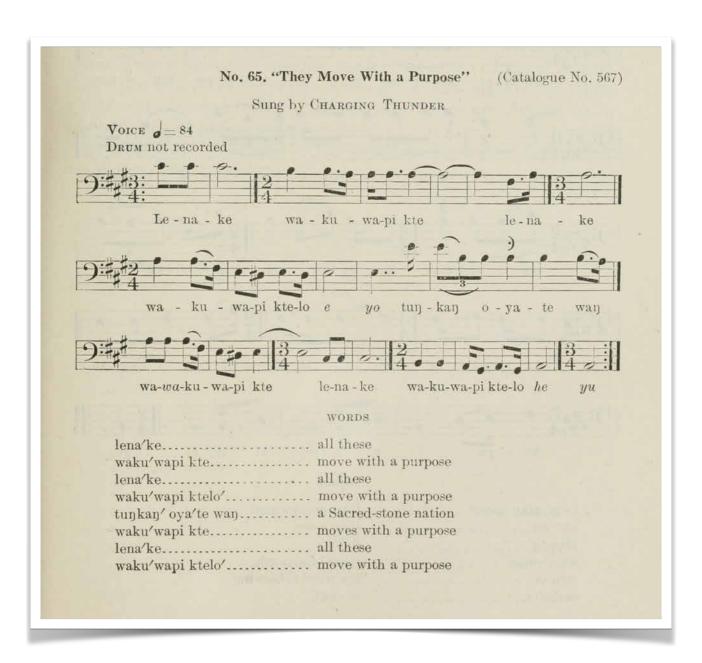
said that a person who did not believe in the power of the stones was frequently struck by them, or by other objects hurtling through the air in the spirit-filled darkness.

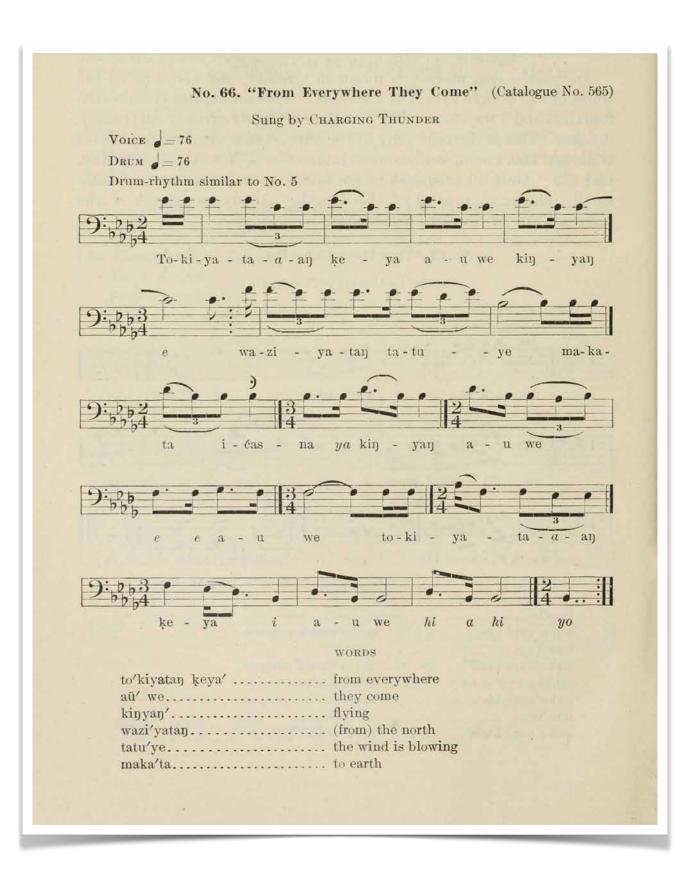


The three songs following were also composed and used by Bear Necklace.

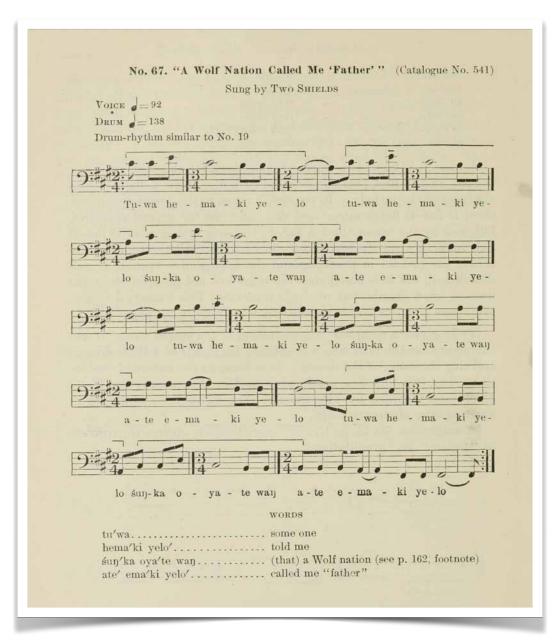


This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection



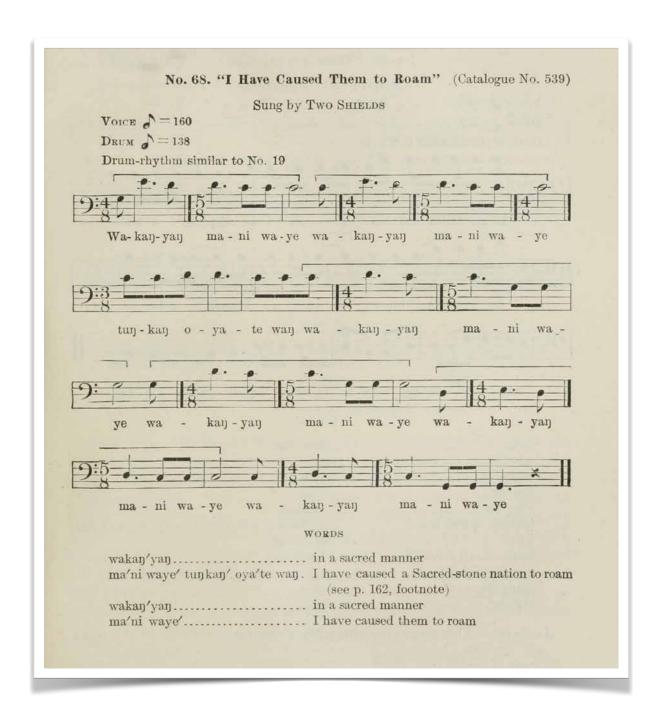


In giving a complete demonstration of the sacred stones, it was customary for the man who was proving his power to tell his dreams and sing the songs of the dreams, these being in the nature of credentials. The two following songs were used in this manner by White Shield and recorded by Two Shields. The words are obscure, as in the majority of dream songs.



This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection

Two Shields stated that he had frequently sung at the drum when White Shield used this song, the singers at the drum carrying the song with him. In the second rendition, the words "wolf nation" were used instead of those for "stone nation." It was said that on more than one occasion when the words "wolf nation" were used, a wolfskin medicine had become alive and walked around.

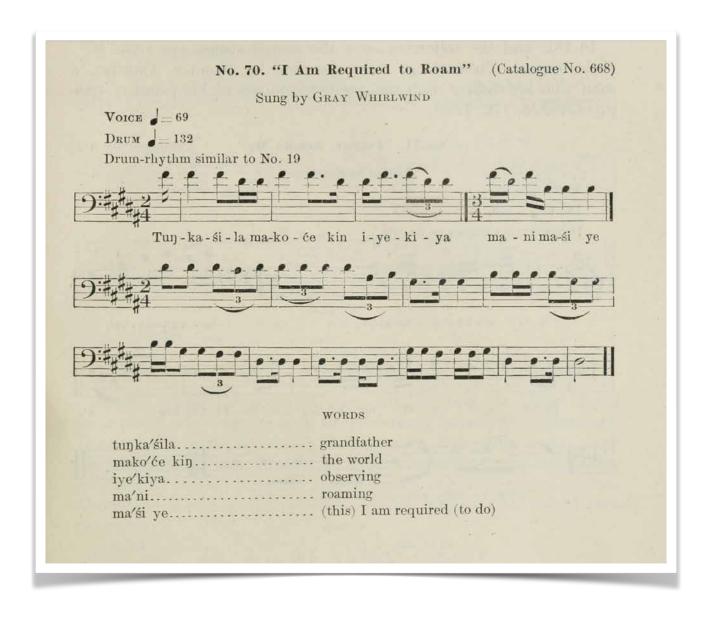


Gray Whirlwind also sang a song, which was used by White Shield in his demonstrations.

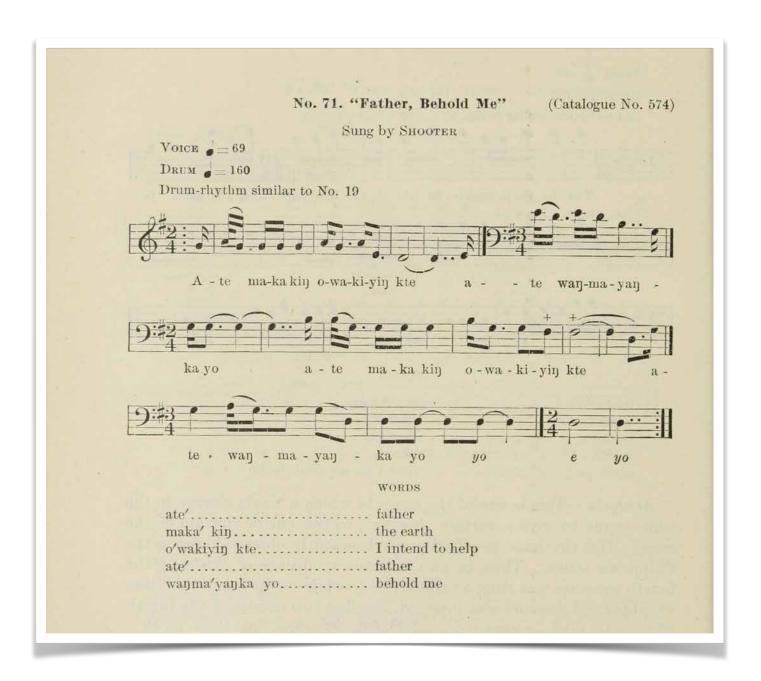


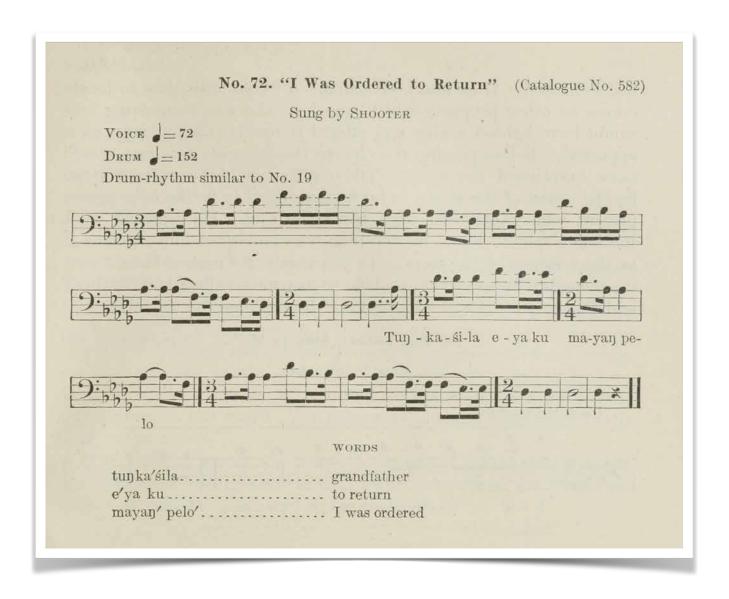
Three renditions were recorded. Between the renditions the singer gave prolonged cries or calls. In one of these instances the drum was continued, and in the other it was silent. The usual custom is for the drumbeat to be continued during these cries or calls.

In the following song the stone addresses its owner as "grandfather:"



In this and the following song, the sacred stones are addressing their owner. These songs were recorded by Shooter (Okhúte), a man who is familiar with the ancient customs of his people.





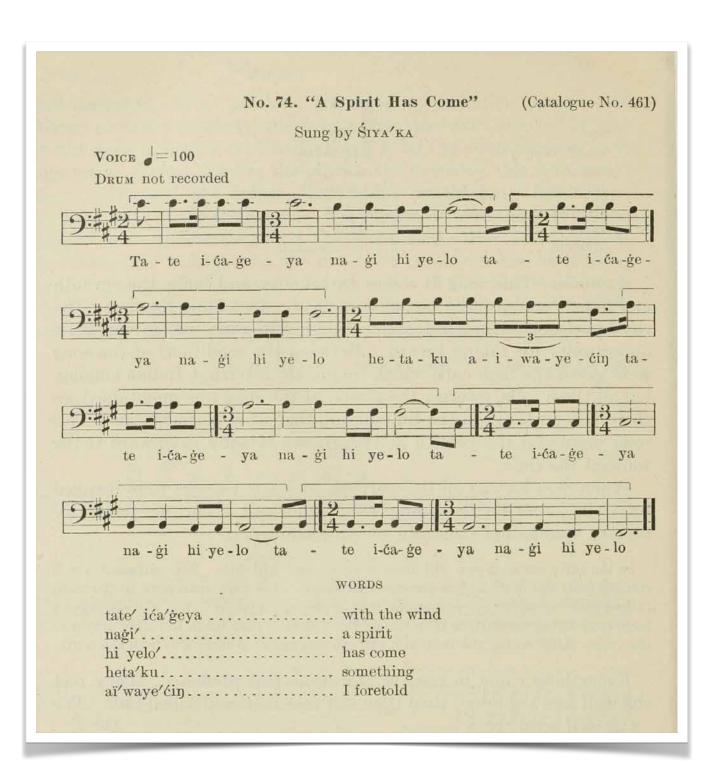
Šiyáka sang three songs of the sacred stones and related instances in which he had heard of their use in locating buffalo and finding the enemy. He first described a performance by Crooked Foot (Siháňmi), who died in 1877. Crooked Foot was asked to ascertain by means of the sacred stones where buffalo could be found. The stone which he used was egg-shaped, and he was said to have found it on top of the highest butte near his home. When giving this performance, Crooked Foot had the stone encased in a bag. He said: "The stone has now gone to look for the buffalo, but when it comes back you will see it." The people then prepared a place on which it was expected that the stone

would appear. This was done by pulverizing the earth for a space about a foot square and covering this place with buffalo hide or with part of a red blanket. All watched this place, and after a time the stone appeared upon it. Crooked Foot questioned the stone concerning the location of the buffalo, and the tribe, acting on his advice, found the herd as he had indicated. If he had been employed by an individual to locate horses or other property which was lost, the man employing him would have lighted a pipe and offered it to the stone as soon as it appeared. Before passing the pipe to the assembly, this man would have questioned the stone. The replies would have been given by the owner of the stone, as he was supposed to be the only person present who understood what the stone said. He repeated what the stone said to him, and the man who employed him received it as the message of the stone. In the words of Crooked Foot's song, the stone is represented as speaking to its owner, calling him "father" and asking that he will not require of it anything unreasonable.

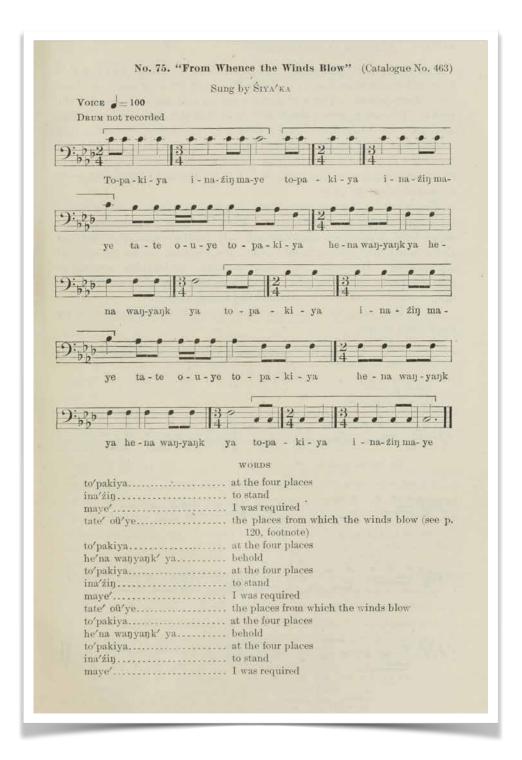
When Šiyáka was on the warpath, the sacred stones were invoked by Heňáka Nážiŋ (Standing Elk), who sent them on their customary search, and then said to the warriors:

"In the early morning, you will meet one man and kill him. You will meet a wolf coming from the north before you see the enemy. Let each man pray to the wolf, calling him 'grandfather' and asking that he may get a count. You will also meet a large crow flying toward you from the north. Let each man make the same prayer to the crow. After seeing the crow, you will see one enemy coming also from the north."

Everything came to pass as the stone had predicted. They met the wolf and the crow; then they saw one man and killed him. The man was a scout, but the Sioux did not know this. The war party of the enemy, following the scout, made a charge on the Sioux. There were 19 in the enemy's party and four brave Sioux stood against them and drove them back. The enemies were Arikaree and Mandan. After peace was established, the Sioux talked with them about this battle and learned that the name of the scout was One Feather. Šiyáka was one of the four men who drove them back and won a count at that time. He said that the following song was used by Standing Elk in making his request of the stones. No drum was used with this song.



At another time Šiyáka was with a war party, the leader of which was Waŋblí Wičháša (Eagle Man), who was also a Medicine Man. Eagle Man had an assistant named He lúta (Red Horn). They started out and had gone some distance when Eagle Man said he would ask the sacred stones for news of the enemy. He told his followers to prepare a spot of ground and to bring him a small pebble. Having painted the pebble red, he laid it on the red blanket which had been spread over the prepared earth. He then sang the following song:

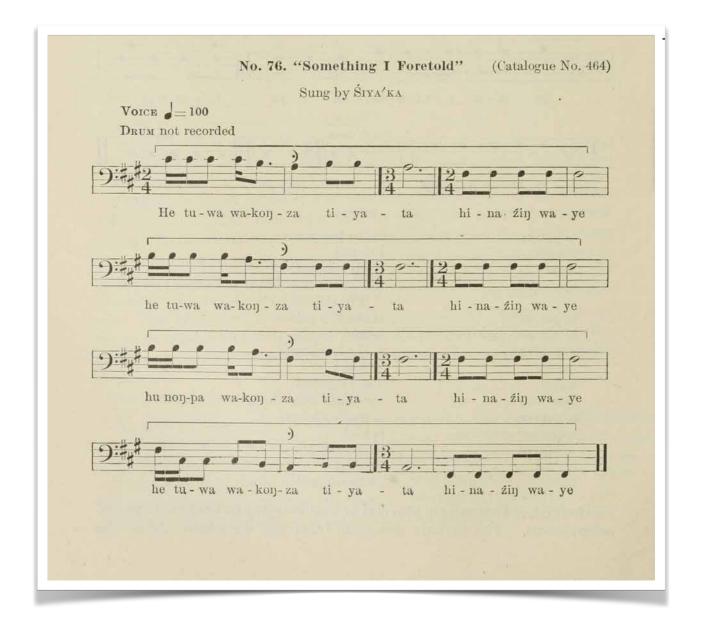


Red Horn then offered the pipe to the little red stone and asked it to go before them as a scout. Eagle Man sang his song again, and the stone disappeared. The war party went on and made a camp for the night. Toward morning, Eagle Man said that the stone had returned, and that, on being questioned concerning the enemy, the stone had stated that they would meet the enemy the next day, but did not name the hour, adding that there would not be more than ten men in the enemy's party. The stone was left on the red blanket where it appeared after its quest.

That morning the war party went on again, and Šiyáka and another man were chosen to act as scouts. They found six men drinking at a water hole, whereupon they immediately returned and reported this to the war party. They tried to surround the men but failed, and the six escaped. However, they met one man—an Omaha—coming to join this party and killed him. Red Horn shot him, thus securing the first "count," and Siya´ka secured the fourth count.

Eagle Man sang the following song during this demonstration by the sacred stones.

words tu'wa	TETON	SIOUX MUSIC
I pretend to be ya'ta hina'zin waye' stands at the place where I have caused him (to stand) a man akon'za I pretend to be ya'ta hina'zin waye' (he who) stands at the place where I have caused him (to stand) tu'wa one whom akon'za I pretend to be ya'ta hina'zin waye' stands at the place where I have caused him (to stand) stu'wa stands at the place where I have caused him (to		WORDS
stands at the place where I have caused him (to stand) a non/pa 1	he tu'wa	one whom
stands at the place where I have caused him (to stand) a non/pa 1	wakon'za	I pretend to be
I pretend to be ra'ta hina'zin waye'		stands at the place where I have caused him (to
I pretend to be 'a'ta hina'zin waye'	hu non'pa 1	a man
va'ta hina'ziŋ waye' (he who) stands at the place where I have caused him (to stand) tu'wa one whom ukoŋ'za I pretend to be va'ta hina'ziŋ waye' stands at the place where I have caused him (to		
akon'za I pretend to be ya'ta hina'źiŋ waye' stands at the place where I have caused him (to		(he who) stands at the place where I have caused
va'ta hina'zin waye' stands at the place where I have caused him (to	he tu'wa	one whom
va'ta hina'zin waye' stands at the place where I have caused him (to		
Stante)		



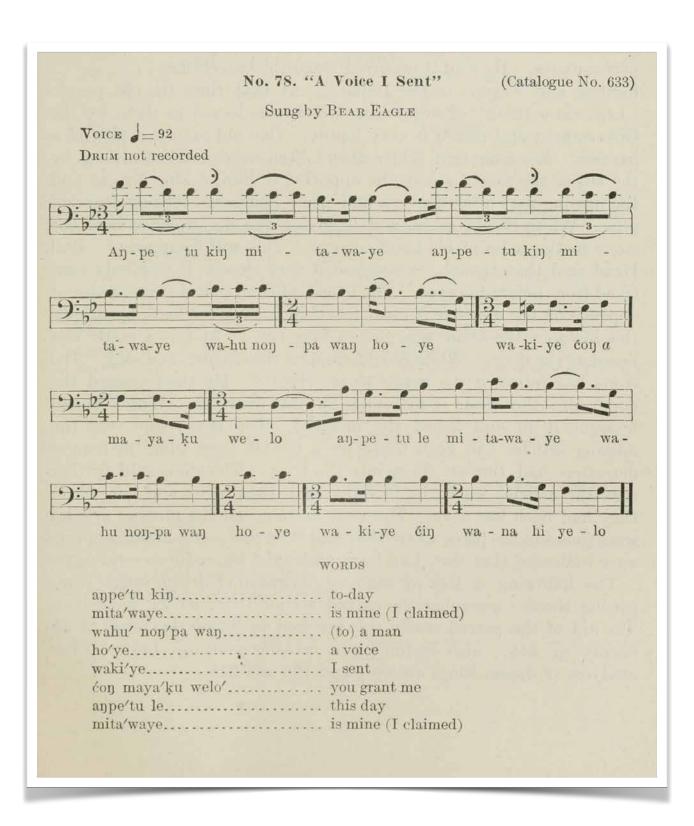
A remarkable demonstration of the sacred stones by White Shield was related by Šiyáka. Šiyáka said that on one occasion he had lost two horses and asked White Shield to locate them. Before being bound with sinews, White Shield asked, "What sign shall the stone bring to show whether your horses are by a creek or on the prairie?" Šiyáka replied: "If they are by a creek, let the stone bring a little turtle and a piece of clamshell, and if they are on the prairie let the stone bring a meadowlark."

White Shield then sent the stone on its quest. While the stone was absent, the people prepared a square of finely pulverized earth as already described. It was evening when the stone returned. The tepee was dark, as the fire had been

smothered, but there was dry grass ready to put on it when White Shield ordered light. At last the stone appeared on the place prepared for it, and beside it was a little turtle with a small piece of clamshell in one of its claws [...]"

The two following songs were said to have been sung by Shell Necklace while giving this demonstration. The first concerns himself, setting forth his qualifications to ask favors of the sacred stones. The second concerns his power as a Medicine Man, which enables him to control persons at a distance.





The following account of a performance by White Shield differs from preceding narratives in that it took place in a house, and the stone was held in White Shield's hand instead of being laid on the ground. The narrative was given by Bull Head, who witnessed the performance. He said it occurred when the Government first issued harnesses and wagons to the Indians. At that time the old people "kept close track" of everything which was issued to them by the Government and prized it very highly. One old man lost part of a harness. Knowing that White Shield often recovered lost articles by the aid of the sacred stones, he appealed to him, asking him to find the missing part of his harness and also a handsome tobacco bag and pipe. White Shield came, and in giving the performance held the stone in the palm of his hand, saying, "This will disappear." Bull Head said that though he watched it very closely, it suddenly vanished from before his eyes. The length of time that a stone is absent depends on the distance it must travel in finding the lost object. In this instance, the stone was gone a long time. At last a rattle was heard at the door. White Shield stopped the singing, and said, "The stone has returned; be ready to receive it." He then opened the door, and the stone was found on the doorstep. White Shield brought it in and heard the message. The stone said that the missing articles had been taken by a certain man who, for fear of detection, had thrown them into the river. The stone said further that the articles would be brought back that night and left where they had been last seen. The next morning all the missing articles were found in the place where they had been last seen. Their appearance indicated that they had been under the water for several days.

The following is the second analysis group of dream songs, comprising those concerning the sacred stones. The aid of the sacred stones was invoked to locate the camp of an enemy; also in finding a missing man.

Treatment of the Sick

This is the third of the groups of songs received in dreams. All treatment of the sick was in accordance with dreams. No one attempted to treat the sick unless he had received a dream telling him to do so, and no one ever disregarded the obligations of such a dream. Each man treated only the diseases for which his dream had given him the remedies. Thus Shooter said:

"In the old days, the Indians had few diseases, and so there was not a demand for a large variety of medicines. A Medicine Man usually treated one special disease and treated it successfully. He did this in accordance with his dream. A Medicine Man would not try to dream of all herbs and treat all diseases, for then he could not expect to succeed in all nor to fulfill properly the dream of any one herb or animal. He would depend on too many and fail in all. That is one reason why our Medicine Men lost their power when so many diseases came among us with the advent of the white man."

Three methods of treating the sick were used by the Sioux—by means of the sacred stones, "conjuring," and the giving of herbs. The first kind of treatment might be given by a wakan han. This term was applied to the highest type of Medicine Men—those qualified to command the sacred stones, to bring fair weather, or to fill such important ceremonial positions as that of Intercessor in the Sun Dance. A man who "conjured" the sick was called wapi ya, "one who repairs," and a man who treated the sick by means of herbs was called phežúta wičhak'u, "one who places his confidence in roots of herbs." It was not unusual for the same man to use more than one of these methods, but he was best known by the one which he employed the most.

Treatment of the sick by means of the sacred stones and by conjuring has been forbidden by the Government in recent years, but certain of the old men are allowed to continue treating the sick by administering herbs. Four such men described the method they were using at the time of giving the information; one (Used-as-a-Shield) gave an account of "conjuring" from the standpoint of the

patient; another (Old Buffalo) narrated his fasting prayer for a sick relative; and additional information was received from other informants.

When a man skillful in the use of the sacred stones was called to attend a sick person he was expected to give a demonstration of his supernatural power. Many were invited to witness this exhibition, and it is said that harm would come to those who did not "believe in the sacred stones." The sick person filled a pipe, which he gave to the Medicine Man. After smoking it, the man was tightly bound with thongs, even his fingers and toes being interlaced with sinews like those of which bowstrings are made, after which he was firmly tied in a hide. The tent was dark, and the Medicine Man sang songs addressed to the sacred stones; he sang also his own dream songs. Strange sounds were heard in the darkness, and objects were felt to be flying through the air. Voices of animals were speaking. One said, "My grandchild, you are very sick, but I will cure you." Frequently a buffalo came, and those who did not believe in the sacred stones were kicked by the buffalo or struck by a flying stone or bundle of clothing. At last the Medicine Man called, "Hasten, make a light!" Dry grass, which was ready, was placed on the fire. In its light, the man was seen wedged between the poles near the top of the tipi, with all restraining cords cast from him.

Brave Buffalo said that in treating a person by means of the sacred stones, he rolled a stone on the person's body "to locate the ailment," and that if the sick person wished to hold the stone in his mouth he was allowed to do so, as this produced an internal effect.

In many instances of treating the sick by "conjuring," no medicines were given, the conjuror claiming that he removed the disease from the person's body by sucking it out. A performance of this kind was described to the writer by Mrs. James McLaughlin, who witnessed it on the Devils Lake Reservation in North Dakota. Mrs. McLaughlin said, concerning this Santee demonstration:

"I saw a conjuror named Sip'to (Beads) give a performance in an attempt to cure a boy who was suffering from hemorrhages of the lungs. Sip'to was an old man. He wore nothing but his breechcloth, his whole body was painted red, his face also was painted red, and his hair was short and loose. The boy lay in a tipi. If a conjuring performance were held in a log house it was necessary to take up a

portion of the floor, as the conjuring must be done on bare ground. I have seen a house in which a large portion of the floor had been cut away for this purpose.

"When I entered the tipi the conjuror was in the place of honor, opposite the door. This place was clean of turf, and the bare ground had been made very smooth. The boy lay with his head near the conjuror. In the middle of the lodge was a fire with many red coals. A young girl brought water and placed it beside the conjuror. When this had been done, the conjuror rinsed his mouth, put a piece of root in his mouth and chewed it. Removing a coal from the fire with a stick, he took it up in his hands and put it in his mouth. He then dropped on all fours and began to tear up the ground with his fingers and toes, as though they were claws. He made a cry like an animal and approached the boy as though he were a wild beast. With the coal still in his mouth, he stooped over the boy's chest and sucked so violently that the blood came to the surface. Then he gave a whistling, puffing sound and spit into a dish which was partly filled with water. When this performance was completed he sat down in a dripping perspiration and immediately the boy had a hemorrhage from the lungs. The same performance was enacted four times and after each time the boy had a hemorrhage. Then the boy complained that the treatment was making him worse, and the boy's father asked the conjuror not to work over the boy any longer. The boy's father gave the conjuror a horse, as it is a belief of the Santee that sickness will return if the 'doctor' is not paid."

The following is an account of a somewhat similar treatment which included the administering of medicine. This account was given by Used-as-a-Shield, a reliable informant, who sang a number of songs in the present work and took part in several discussions of serious topics by the old men. He described his own experience in receiving treatment by a conjuror, saying:

"The first thing done in summoning a Medicine Man to treat a sick person was to put black paint on the stem of a pipe. Charcoal was ordinarily used in making this paint, which was smeared on the stem of the pipe, an eagle feather being tied next to the mouthpiece. A messenger took this painted pipe to the Medicine Man's lodge, carrying it with the bowl next to him. If the Medicine Man were at home, the messenger near the lodge turned to the left. Without speaking, he handed the pipe to the Medicine Man, who smoked it in token of his assent. A

request to visit a sick person was never refused unless the Medicine Man was physically unable to go. If the man were not at home, the messenger left the pipe in the place of honor, with the bowl toward the door. The relatives of the Medicine Man then made an effort to find him as soon as possible.

"It was in this manner that many years ago I sent for a Medicine Man to treat me. When he entered my lodge, he seated himself back of the fire. After a time he came and sat by my head, looking me over. He then took up a lock of hair on my forehead and tied a wisp of grass around it, letting the rest of my hair hang loose. Then he had me placed so that I lay facing the east and began his preparations for the treatment. Opening a bundle he took from it a whistle (šiyótňaŋka), a small drum (čháŋčheğa), and a rattle (wagmúha) which he used in beating the drum. He also took out a black cloth, which he tied over his eyes. Then he dropped on one knee, facing me, holding the drum in his right hand and the rattle in his left hand.

"Beating the drum rapidly with his rattle he said: 'Young man, try to remember what I tell you. You shall see the power from which I have the right to cure sicknesses, and this power shall be used on you this day.' Then he told the dream by which he had received his power as a Medicine Man. When he rose to his feet I noticed that a horse's tail hung at his side, being fastened to his belt. Standing, he offered his drum to the cardinal points, then beat it as hard as he could, sometimes louder, sometimes softer. A wooden bowl which he carried was placed next to my head. Then he came toward me, still beating his drum. As he came near me his breath was so forcible it seemed as if it would blow me before it. Just before he reached me, and while blowing his breath so strongly, he struck his body on the right side and on the left side. He was still telling his dream and singing, but when he paused for an instant I could hear the sound of a red hawk; some who were there even said they could see the head of a red hawk coming out of his mouth. He bent over me and I expected that he would suck the poison from my body with his mouth, but instead I felt the beak of a bird over the place where the pain was. It penetrated so far that I could feel the feathers of the bird. The Medicine Man kept perfectly still for a time; then he got up with a jerk to signify that he had gotten out the trouble. Still it was the beak of a bird which I felt. A boy stood near, holding a filled pipe. It was soon apparent that the Medicine Man had swallowed the poison. He took four whiffs of the

pipe. Then he must get rid of the poison. This part of the performance was marked by great activity and pounding of the drum. At times he kicked the bare ground in his effort to get rid of the poison; he paced back and forth, stamped his feet, and used both rattle and drum. Finally he ejected the poison into the wooden bowl. Then he told the people that he had sucked out all the poison, that none remained in my body, and that I would recover. Opening his medicine bag, he took out some herbs and placed them in a cup of cold water. He stirred it up and told me to drink it and to repeat the dose next morning, and that in less than ten days I would be well. I did as he told me, and in about ten days I was entirely well."

Brave Buffalo is considered one of the most powerful Medicine Men on the Standing Rock Reservation, and was actively engaged in the practice of native medicine when he held his conferences with the writer. In describing his treatment of the sick he said:

"Some people have an idea that we Medicine Men, who get our power from different sources, are the worst of human beings; they even say that we get our power from the evil one, but no one could disregard such dreams as I have had, and no one could fail to admire the sacred stones. Wakhan Thanka is all-powerful, and if we reverence his work he will surely let us prove to all men that these things are indeed his doing. It is a very strict requirement that a Medicine Man shall act out his dream and that he maintain absolute integrity of character. If he fails to do this, he will be punished and will not live long. I am not required to fast, only to smoke, showing that I am at peace with all men. Dreams come to me now in a natural way. Often during the day when I am alone on a journey, and my mind is on many things, I stop to rest awhile. I observe what is around me, and then I become drowsy and dream. Often I see the sacred stones in my dreams."

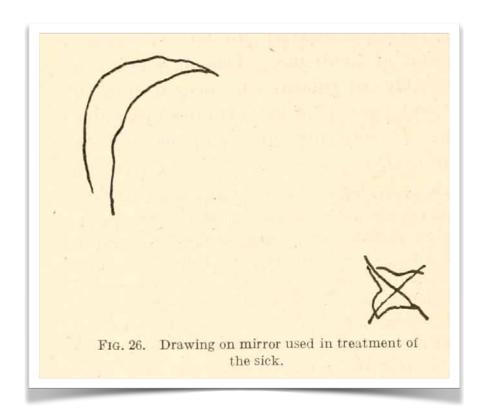
Brave Buffalo's conference with the writer was interrupted by a call to visit a sick person many miles away. On his return several days later he said that he left his patient recovering. He had with him a bag containing articles which he had used in treating this sick person, and on his hat he wore a bone about five inches long instead of a feather which had been fastened to his hatband on his previous visit. In describing his treatment, he said that he "sucked out the disease"

through the bone, and ejected it from his mouth into a bowl of water. Opening his bag he took from it a small mirror enclosed in a flat frame of unpainted wood, the whole being about four by six inches. On the mirror was a drawing of a new moon and a star. This design was copied by Brave Buffalo and is shown in figure 26.

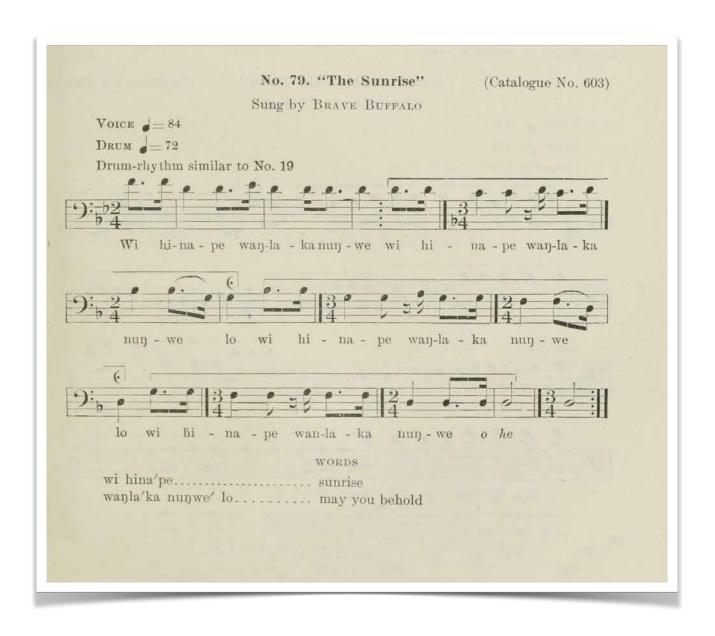
He said: "I hold this mirror in front of the sick person and see his disease reflected in it; then I can cure the disease."

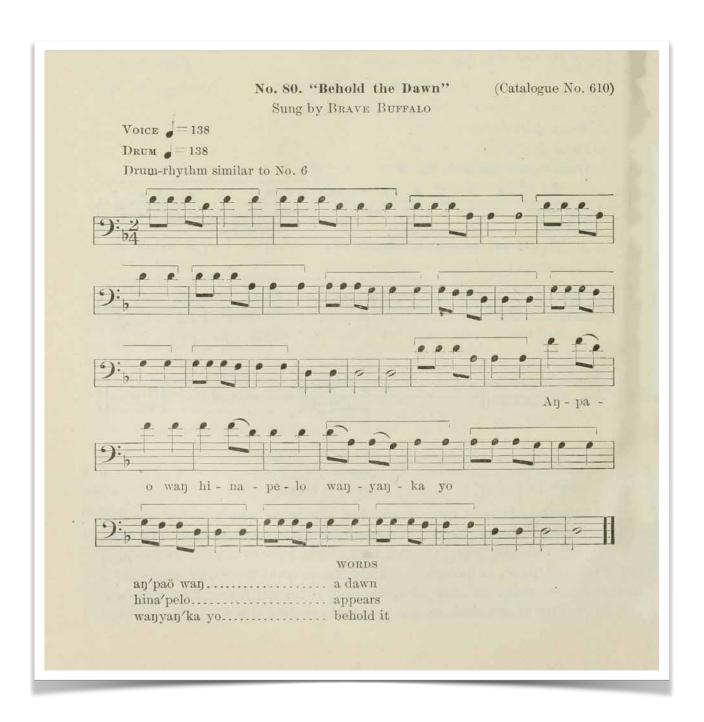
Concerning the drawing on the glass, Brave Buffalo said: "The new moon is my sign. I am strongest when the moon is full; I grow weaker as the moon wanes, and when the moon dies my strength is all gone until the moon comes back again."

One of the songs used by Brave Buffalo in treating the sick was recorded. Before singing this he said: "Some diseases are affected by the day and others by the night. I use this song in the cases which are worse at night. I composed it myself and always sing it at night, whether I am treating a sick person or not. I offer smoke to the four winds and sing this song."



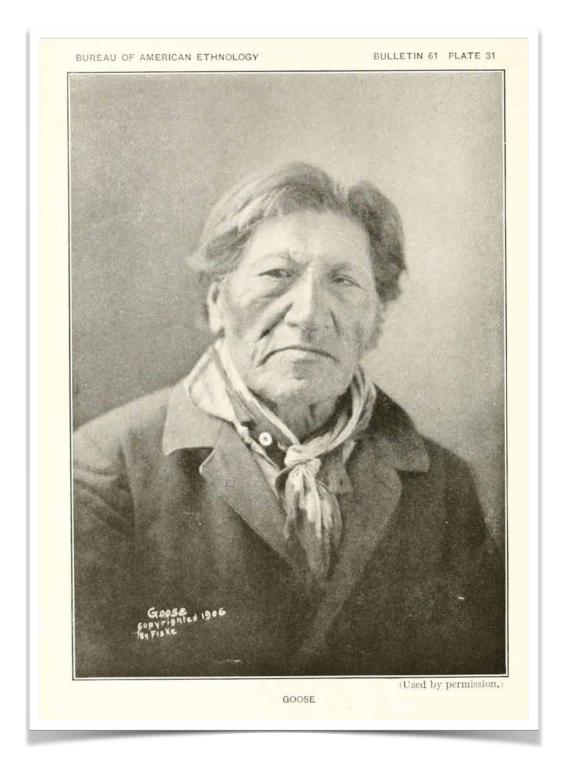
The following song also was used by Brave Buffalo, but the occasion of its use was not designated.





Brave Buffalo sang also one of his father's medicine songs. Crow Bear (Kȟaŋǧí Matȟó), the father of Brave Buffalo was a famous singer and Medicine Man, who lived to the age of 80 years. In one of his dreams he saw a bear , and a majority of the songs he composed concerned or were addressed to the bear. The song recorded by Brave Buffalo was not of this number, but was a song which his

father sang every morning, as required by one of his dreams. In a dream it was required also that anyone who passed him, even though he were smoking or eating, must pass in front of him. If anyone accidentally passed behind him the physical effect was immediate. His teeth chattered and he became unconscious, much effort being necessary to restore him.

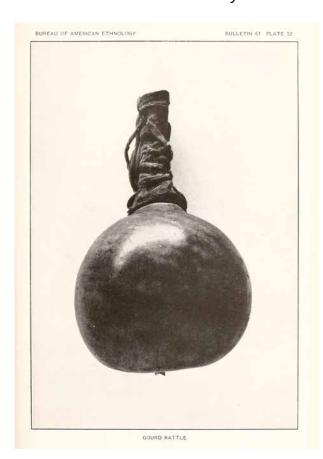


Goose, a widely-known Medicine Man, is what might be termed a specialist in the treatment of consumption and is said to have had no small degree of success in his work. Information concerning the Sun Dance and the sacred stones was also given by him. Goose narrated the dream by which he felt himself authorized to undertake the treatment of the sick. It was impossible to record the songs when the story of the dream was given, and unfortunately another opportunity did not occur. In describing the dream Goose said:

"When I was a young man I was an excellent marksman with bow and arrows." After coming in contact with the Army, I was given a rifle and cartridges and never missed my aim. One morning I arose before daybreak to go on a hunting trip. As I went around a butte I saw an antelope, which came toward me and stood still a short distance away from me. The antelope looked at me and then began to graze. I took my rifle and fired several shots with no effect. I fired IG cartridges and wondered what could be the matter. I put in four more cartridges and fired again, but with no effect whatever. Then the animal stopped grazing and began to move slowly away. Then I heard a voice speaking three times, then a fourth time, and the voice said it was going to sing something, and I must listen. The voice was above me and commanded me to look at the sun. I looked and saw that the rising sun had the face of a man and was commanding all the animals and trees and everything in nature to look up. In the air in front of the sun was a booth made of boughs. In front of the booth was a very bright object and between this and the booth was a man, painted and wearing an eagle-down feather, while around him flew all kinds of birds. The bright object was a sacred stone, and it was heated red hot. After seeing this I heard another voice telling me to look and receive what would be given me. Something in the form of a bird came down, and where it touched the ground an herb sprang up. This occurred three times. The voice above me said that I was to use these three herbs in the cure of the sick. The fourth time the descending object started in the form of a bird, but a human skeleton came to the ground. Then the voice above me told me to observe the structure of the human body. I then saw blood run into the skeleton, and a buffalo horn appeared on the back, between the shoulders, and drew the blood out of the skeleton. The voice above me said this was a sign that I would have power more than any other to cure diseases of the blood. The voice came from the sacred stone and said I must use the buffalo horn in curing diseases of the blood, a practice which I have followed ever since. I do not

consider that I dreamed this as one dreams in sleep; it appeared to me when I was early on the chase.

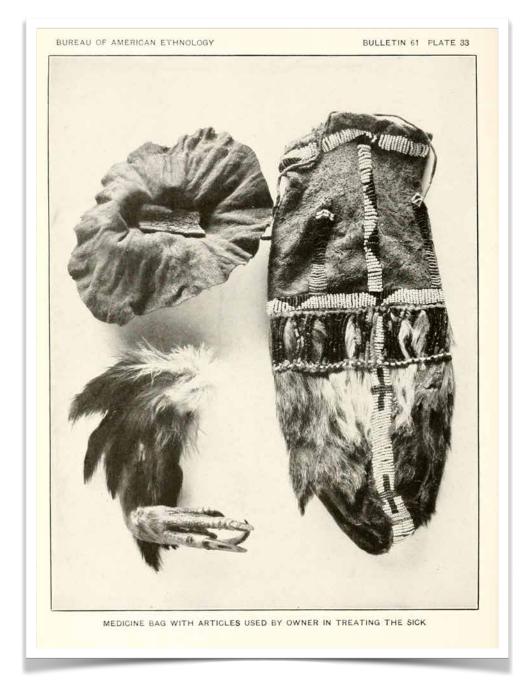
One of the greatest things it taught me is that the first thing a sick person should do is to take a sweat bath, to take out all the impurities, so that the body will respond to remedies. The booth showed how the sweat lodge must be constructed, and the hot stone showed the use of heated stones in the lodge. The hot stone is taken into the lodge, and water is sprinkled upon it. The oftener this bath is taken, the healthier a person will be. In case of illness, the sick person must take this bath the first thing, and as often afterward as the Medicine Man directs. I always prescribe the sweat bath the first thing. I also claim that a sick person cannot recover unless the diet is changed. Certain kinds of food and of wild fruit are bad in certain illnesses, and certain kinds of game or venison are injurious to a sick person. The food must be lighter than usual, and the person must avoid unnecessary exertion. My requirements are the sweat bath, light diet,



and rest. I have treated consumption, and if the disease is not too far advanced the person usually recovers. The treatment depends on the seriousness of the case. All three herbs which I saw in my dream were prepared in a certain way and were intended for use in consumption, which is caused by improper circulation of the blood. I do not want the patient to make any undue exertion, but I try especially to keep up his circulation. The sweat bath makes the circulation better. In the old days, a person did not take cold after a sweat bath. The sick person did not jump immediately into cold water, as is sometimes stated, but was covered with furs and allowed to cool off gradually."

Many years ago there lived among the Sioux a Medicine Man named *Čhéğa k'iŋ* (Carry-the-Kettle), who was said to have wakan' power in a remarkable degree. A gourd rattle used by him in treating the sick became the possession of the writer.

Such a rattle is called by the Sioux wagmúha. This is, however, not the only type of rattle used among the Sioux in treating the sick, the form of rattle depending on the choice of the Medicine Man.



Every Medicine Man had a bag or case in which he kept his supply of herbs and the articles used by him in treating the sick. In some instances the outer case was of decorated rawhide. A man's medicine bag was hung on a pole outside the lodge and usually brought in at night; it was often "incensed" with burning sweet grass. It was believed that the presence of "the wrong kind of person" in the

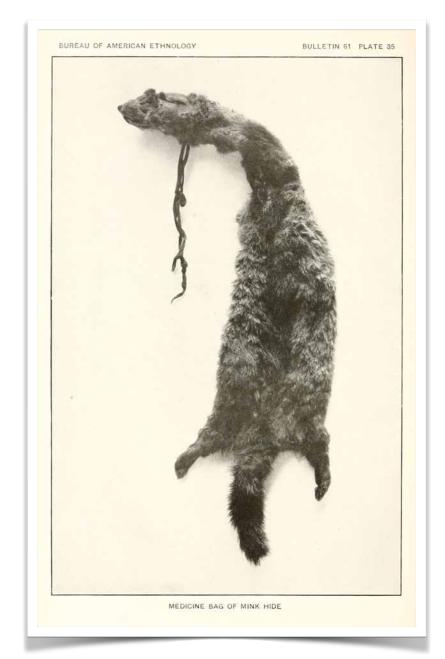
lodge would affect the efficacy of the medicine, and that if it were exposed to such influence for any considerable time its power would be entirely destroyed. The writer secured three of these medicine bags.

One belonged to a Medicine Man named *Wanbli Íyotake* (Sitting Eagle), who lived many years ago. The bag is made of four antelope ears. When Sitting Eagle died, the medicine bag and its contents passed into the possession of his niece,



who emptied most of the small bags contained in the pouch, but kept the pouch and two of the remedies.

The niece's name was Makňá Pňežúta winí (Earth-medicine Woman). One of her songs (No. 146) is contained in this work. In the pouch were seven empty medicine bags, the entire foot of an eagle, and a small piece of bone of an elk. On the inner edge of each medicine bag was a small mark by which the contents could be identified. Earth-medicine Woman said that her uncle used the eagle claw in treating scrofulous sores, especially on the neck. For this purpose he scraped the surface of the claw, mixed a small quantity of the scrapings with hot water, and applied the mixture to the skin.



The elk bone was said to be an effective remedy for broken bones. It was prepared in the same way as the eagle claw, but the mixture was taken internally.

A medicine pouch made of badger's paws is shown in plate 34; this was secured among the Teton Sioux, but its history is unknown.

Eagle Shield said that he received his knowledge of herbs from the bear and the badger, the former giving him instructions concerning most of the remedies which he used for adults, and the latter telling him of remedies for children. As already noted, those who dreamed of the bear were supposed to have particularly effective remedies.

Like others who gave

valuable information, Eagle Shield at first hesitated, but afterwards became interested, expressing a desire to make his part of the work as complete as possible. For this reason he sold his medicine bag and four small bags containing herbs which he always took with him when visiting the sick. He also secured fresh specimens of many medicinal herbs which he used in his practice. These were sent to Washington for identification, with a view to ascertaining whether any of them are used in the medical practice of the white race. Further, Eagle Shield permitted the photographing of a bear claw which he said had

been in his possession 48 years and was constantly used by him in treating the sick.

Eagle Shield's medicine bag was made of the entire skin of an animal called by the Sioux ikhúsanna, "white chin." He said that he killed this animal 44 years ago on the present site of Fort Keogh, Montana. He was hunting large game in the autumn, after the leaves had fallen, and had two antelope on his horse when he killed this little creature near the water. Ever since that time he had used the hide as a medicine pouch. The matted fur around the neck shows the manner in which it was carried. In this pouch were placed small buckskin packets of herbs, the large supply being in a bundle which was placed outside his lodge during the day and brought inside every night, being treated with great respect. The number of small packets in a medicine pouch varied according to the man who used them. Thus the medicine pouch belonging to Sitting Eagle contained seven small packets, which were said to be only part of the remedies used by him. Eagle Shield had four principal remedies, the most important of which was contained in a beaded case. This herb is described in connection with song No. 81. His four medicine packets, together with a small spoon of white bone used in giving medicine to children, are shown in plate 36.

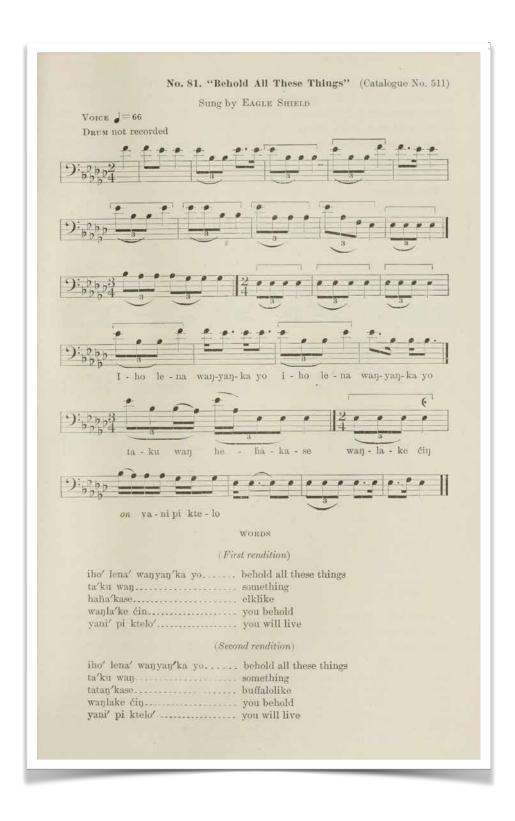
As already stated, an Indian doctor in the old days did not pretend to have a remedy for every disease. Thus Eagle Shield said that if an Indian were suffering from a malady he would go to a doctor and say, "Have you a remedy for such and such an ailment?" The doctor had no hesitation in saying he lacked the remedy if such were the case, as he was not expected to have any remedies except such as various animals had revealed to him, unless he may have acquired a few from other Medicine Men.

The herb kept by Eagle Shield in the decorated bag was called thaopi phežúta, "herb for the wounded." Many remarkable cures are said to have been wrought by Eagle Shield through the use of this remedy. A fresh specimen of the herb was secured and identified as *Achillea lanulosa* Nutt. (yarrow). It was said to "grow on hills and in the Badlands." The entire plant was dried, and instead of being prepared as a tea the patient was required to chew it. Eagle Shield said that he had treated men shot through the body and they had recovered. One man thus treated was personally known to the writer. The man had attempted

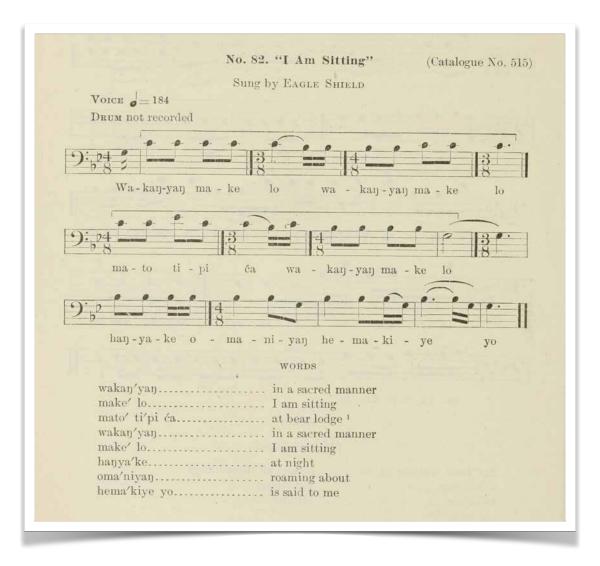


suicide by shooting himself in the left side, the bullet passing through the body and breaking the edge of the shoulder blade. As a result of the wound his arm was paralyzed, and two doctors of the white race said that it must be amputated. Eagle Shield undertook the treatment of the case and did his work so effectually that the man appears to have as free use of one arm as of the other. For this treatment Eagle Shield received a fee of \$100, a new white tent, a revolver, and a steer.

Eagle Shield said that he sang the following song when treating wounded persons with this herb. Between the renditions of all these songs he gave deep groans, like those of a man in extreme distress, frequently interspersing these with a hissing exhalation of the breath.



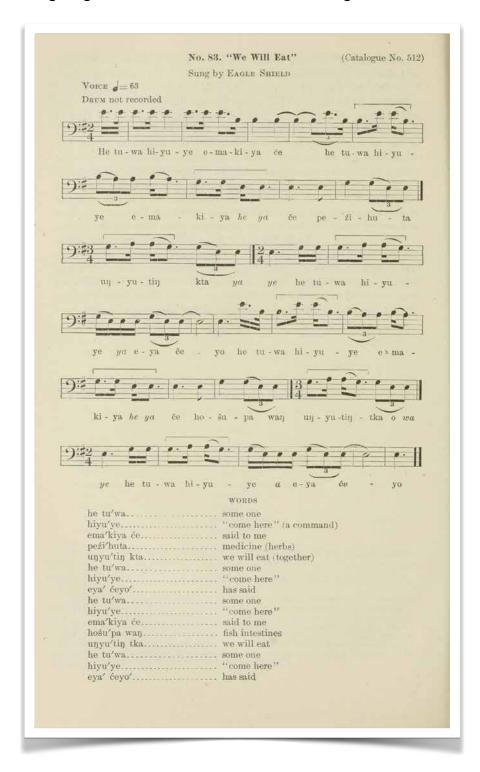
The following song was used with the same herb as the preceding and was sung when the patient began to improve.



This song probably refers to Bear Butte in the Black Hills. The Teton speak of two buttes by this name, one in South Dakota, and one in Montana which is higher and is probably the one mentioned by Red Fox in connection with his war expedition. Eight miles from Fort Meade, South Dakota is Mathó Thípii, Grizzly Bear Lodge, known to the white people as Bear Butte. It can be seen from a distance of a hundred miles. The Teton used to camp at this flat topped mountain, and pray to it. This mountain had many large rocks on it, and a pine forest at the summit. The children prayed to the rocks as if to their guardian spirits.

A remedy used by Eagle Shield for those suffering from loss of appetite was called *Ločhípi šni Pňežúta*. The plant was said to grow "near creeks and in gravel." The root only was used. This herb was identified as *Astragalus carolinianus* L. (Canadian milkvetch).

The following song was sung in connection with its use. In a short speech before singing the song Eagle Shield said that it was the song of a bear.



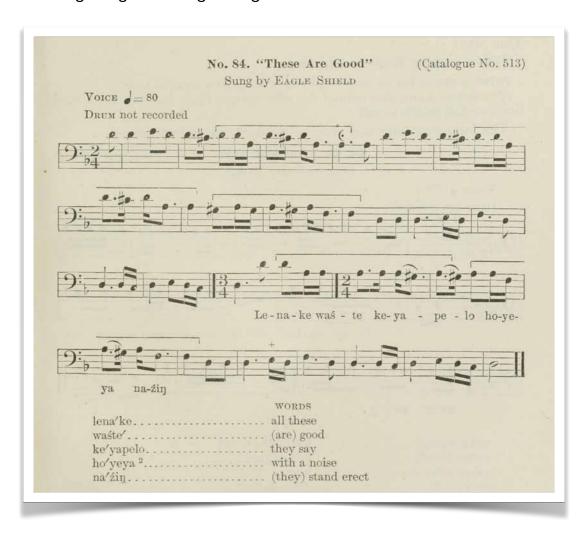
This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection

"For those suffering from headache, Eagle Shield had a special remedy—an herb called Nasúla yazáŋ íphipiya, "no appetite medicine," which grew on the prairie. The root, dried and powdered, was sprinkled on hot coals, the patient inhaling the fumes. This plant was identified as *Artemisia frigida* Willd. (fringed sage).

Before recording the song Eagle Shield spoke the following sentences: Phežúta čhič'ú ktelo thka wašté čhá yaní ktelo lenáke wašté kéyapi

(Translation) Herbs I shall give you, but (they are) good, so you shall recover, all these (are) good, they say.

The following song was sung during the treatment.



An herb called Čhanté yazánpi ičhuwa was prepared as a tea and used for those suffering from "heart trouble or pain in the stomach". This plant was identified as *Astragalus* sp. (vetch).

Before singing Eagle Shield said:

Théhan mawáni kte yazánpi šni ečhánnike yaší tokšá ečhánna mayáni ktelo.

(Translation) A long time before I can walk you may think, but (in) only a short time you shall be able to walk.

The following song was sung as the herb was administered.



Eagle Shield might be called a specialist in the treatment of broken bones. In this treatment he used an herb identified as *AUionia nyctaginea* (heartleaf umbrella wort), and called by the Sioux húhahaŋ, which was said to grow in the woods. The dried leaves and root of this plant were mixed with soft grease. When treating a fracture Eagle Shield covered his hands with this mixture and after holding them over the coals until they were warm, he rubbed the flesh above the broken bone. He said the patient often was so relieved by this treatment that he fell asleep. The treatment was repeated three times a day and continued "until the fracture was healed."

He said that when an arm or leg was first broken he "pulled it until the bone



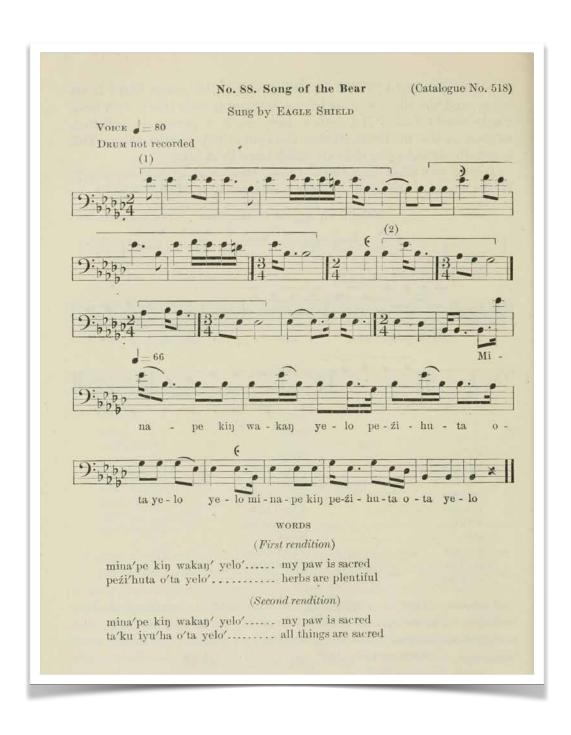
slipped into place," then covered it with a parfleche case, laced together with thongs. This case was removed for the treatment described above, but he emphasized the need of keeping the case firmly laced, and of tightening it whenever the thongs seemed to be loosening. He said the purpose of the rubbing was to keep the muscles from becoming stiff. He added that he had treated four cases in which the large bone of the leg was broken, and that in each instance the patient was able to walk in a month. One was a fracture near the hip. It had been put in iron braces by a white doctor, but the patient, not being able to stand the treatment, came to him.

Eagle Shield made a small "splint" of parfleche eight inches in length, saying this was the size he would use for a broken wrist. In it, with Indian accuracy, he put a piece of old, soft flannel, saying that was what he "would put next the person's arm." He sold to the writer a matted portion of soft hair, which he said was the shed hair of the deer; this was thick with grease. Eagle Shield said he had used this in treating fractures for more than forty years, holding it in his hand as he rubbed the flesh.

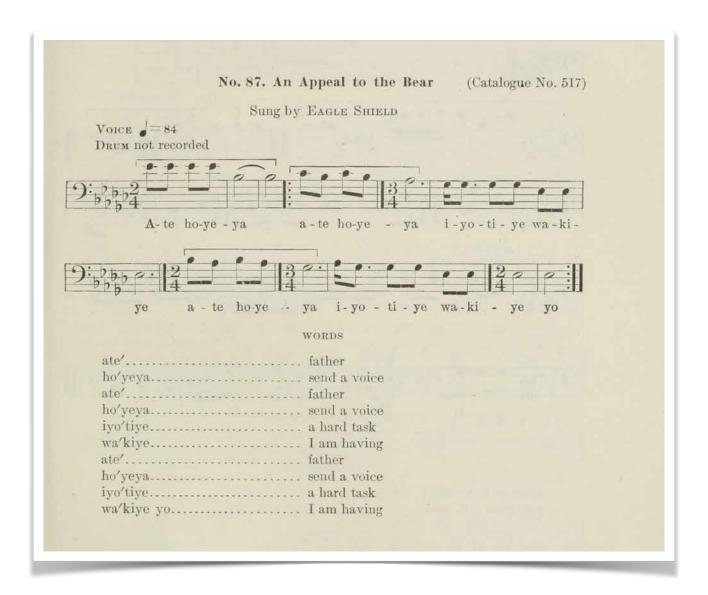
The song used by Eagle Shield in treating fractures was sung four times "while getting ready to apply the medicine."

Another remedy imparted to Eagle Shield by the bear was a remedy for diseases of the kidneys. This plant, which grew on the prairie, was called by the Sioux *Ažúntka yazánpi iyéyaye*, and was identified as *Lactuca pulchella* DC. (blue lettuce). It was dried and prepared in the form of a decoction. Eagle Shield said that not more than three doses should be prepared at a time, as it must not be allowed to stand overnight. This decoction was to be taken three times a day, and the effect was said to be better if it were taken with food. Eagle Shield said: "No matter how much a person is suffering, as soon as this medicine reaches the spot it relieves the pain. This is usually done by the time six doses have been taken."

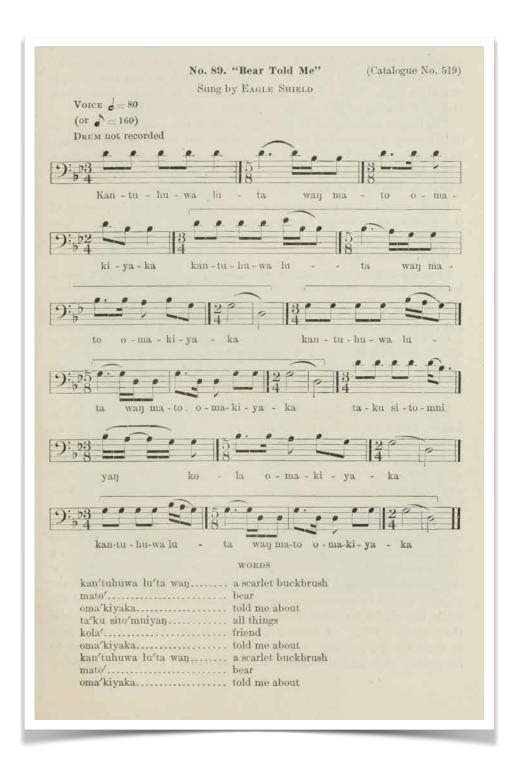
A song was sung four times during treatment with this remedy. In the words of the song, the bear is addressed as "father."



The following song is that of the bear, which digs roots with its claws. The herb used in connection with this song was identified as *Glycyrrliiza lepidota* Nutt. (wild licorice). The song and herb were used in the treatment of the sick. Eagle Shield said that when administering the herb the song was sung only three times.



A remedy to check hemorrhages, arising either from wounds or from some internal cause, was supplied by an herb called by the Sioux *Winyan wazi hutkhán*, "root of the bur," and identified as *Ratibida Columnaris* (Sims) Don. (upright prairie coneflower). This was found in damp places, along creeks. For pain in the side, a tea was made of the stalk and leaves of this plant, and for earache a decoction was made of the root and a drop put into the ear. The following song accompanied the use of this herb.



Eagle Shield gave the following narrative concerning his dream of the badger, from which he secured his remedies for children. The remedies for adults, as already stated, were received from the bear.

Eagle Shield said:

"A man appeared to me in a dream, showed me a plant, and said, 'My friend, remember this plant well. Be sure to get the right one, as this is good.' It was a badger, who appeared to me in the form of a man and said this. It was the first time that the badger came to me, but afterward he brought me other herbs. There were no songs with any of the herbs which the badger brought me. In return for the kindness of the badger I took tobacco, cut it up fine, and dug a hole in the ground. I buried the tobacco and said, 'Badger, I give you this in return for what you have told me.' When the badger is alive he eats this herb. Whatever herb the badger introduces is especially good. Some consider his medicine stronger than that of the bear, as he digs deeper and farther into the ground."

Eagle Shield said that he buried a little tobacco as an offering to the badger whenever he dug any of these roots. He said also that before giving these remedies to a child he always made a supplication similar to the following: "Wakhaŋ Thaŋka, you have made these herbs. We are going to give them to this child. We hope you will make the child well, and we hope nothing will come to prevent the usefulness of these herbs."

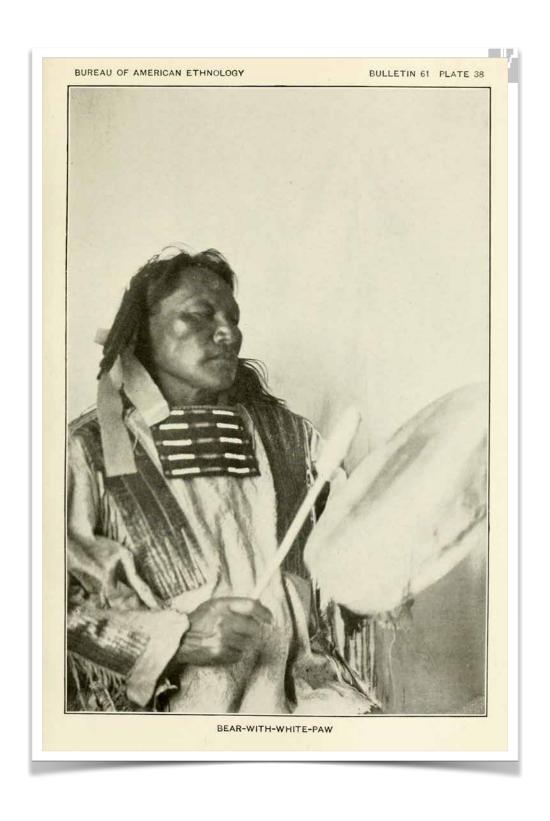
The first remedy imparted to Eagle Shield by the badger was a plant identified as *Leptilon canadense* (L.) Britton (horseweed). This was used as a remedy for pain in the bowels and for diarrhea. As it is a mild remedy and the size of the plant varies, it was difficult to describe the amount to be used as a dose. Eagle Shield said that if a plant were small it would be necessary to use all the root and a few inches of the stalk, but that if the plant were large it would be sufficient to use half the root for a dose. A decoction was made, and he said it was "well to smell the tea to judge its strength, as it should smell of the root to be right." He said it "should be taken before meals, the morning dose being the largest. If a person should take this after a meal it would cause distress, but when taken before a meal it prepares the stomach to receive and digest the

food." A small spoon made of white bone was used in giving medicine to children.

The second of Eagle Shield's remedies for children was identified as *Chenopodium album* L. (lamb's quarters). A decoction of the entire plant was used in cases of bloody dysentery. It could be given from the time a child was old enough to drink water, the dose being increased according to the age of the child.

The third remedy was for diarrhea, and was seemingly stronger than the others, as the dose was about a teaspoon full and only two or three doses were usually given. The herb was not boiled, but hot water was poured over it to make a tea. This was identified as *Aquilegia canadensis* L. (wild columbine).

The fourth remedy was for fever and headache. In this instance the herb was to be steeped. Some was given internally, and the child's entire body was rubbed with it. This herb was identified as *Rumex* (dock, sorel).

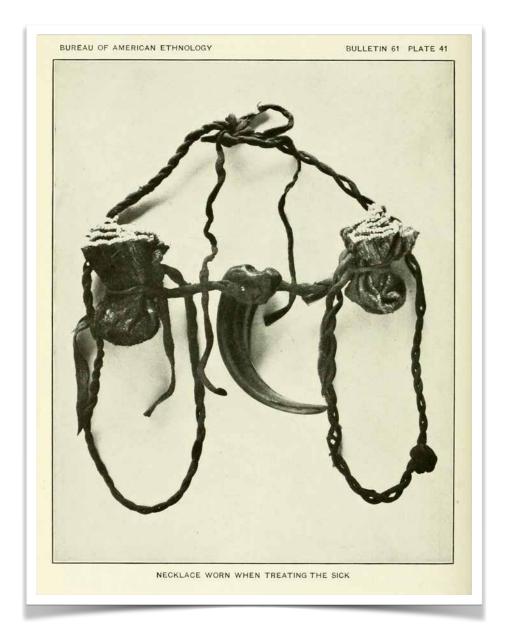


Mathó Napé Ská (Bear-with-White-Paw) was a man who showed much seriousness in describing his practice of medicine. He said that when treating the sick he wore one side of his hair unbraided, as shown in the illustration.



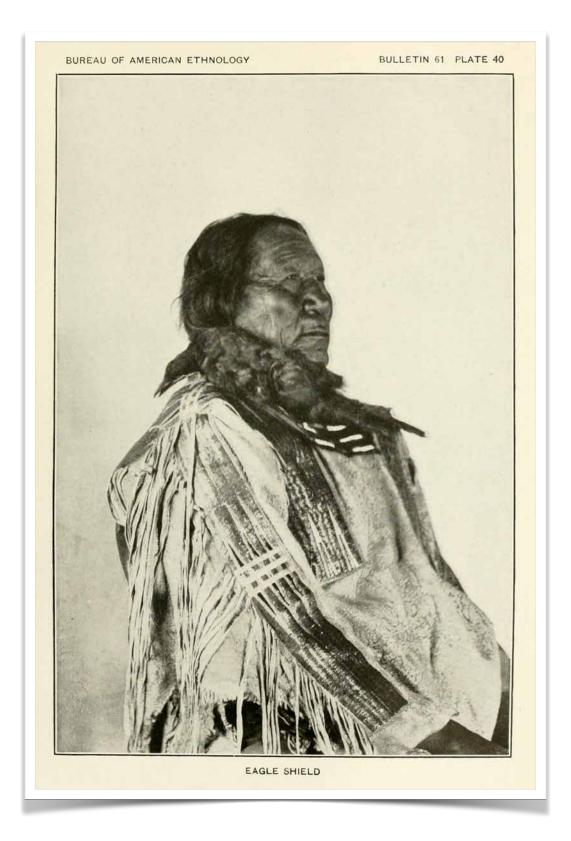
The drum which he holds is that which he used when singing his medicine songs. The term *can´cega* is applied by the Sioux to all drums, the large dance drums as well as the hand drum. The specimen here shown has a single head of rawhide and is held by means of two iron wires at the back, which are passed through a short section of iron tubing, thus forming a handle. Thongs or strips of stout cloth are also used for holds on these drums, which are common to many tribes of Indians. Drums of this type appear in the hands of members in a native

drawing by Eagle Shield. The drumstick used by Bear-with-White-Paw is elaborately decorated with porcupine quills and could be used with a large dance drum as well as with a hand drum. Such a stick might be carried to a gathering by a man who expected to sing at the drum.



A "necklace" which Bear-with-White-Paw said that he had worn for many years when attending the sick is shown in plate 41. He said that when summoned to visit a sick person it was his custom to put on this "necklace" consisting of a strip of hide to which are attached two small bags of "medicine" and a bear's claw.

He said further that he pressed this claw into the flesh of the patient in order that the medicine might enter more easily and be more effectual. Eagle Shield also used a bear's claw in treating the sick.



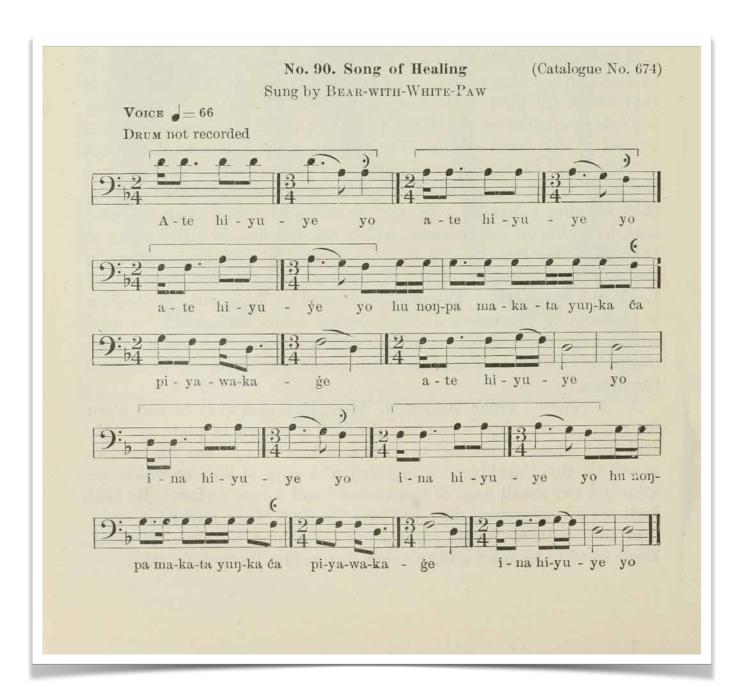
Like Eagle Shield, Bear-with-White-Paw received his knowledge of healing herbs from the bear. He said, "The bear is very truthful. He has a soul like ours, and his soul talks to mine in my sleep and tells me what to do."

Six herbs were described to the writer by Bear-with-White-Paw, and fresh specimens were furnished for identification.

Before beginning his account of the herbs and their uses he made the following supplication to the bear, a supplication which he said he would use when treating the sick (translated as follows by Mr. Higheagle):

"My friend, I am poor and needy. Listen well to me. This day I have something in my mind, and I wish to tell you. All these medicines you have made known to me, and you have commanded me to perform certain things in order to attend to certain sicknesses, and you have told me that these medicines have certain powers in them. Now I wish to use them with effect. These sicknesses, I want them to go away."

Bear-with-White-Paw said that he had only one song, which he sang in connection with the use of all these herbs. This song is as follows:



The herbs furnished by Bear-with-White-Paw, with the directions for their use, are as follows:

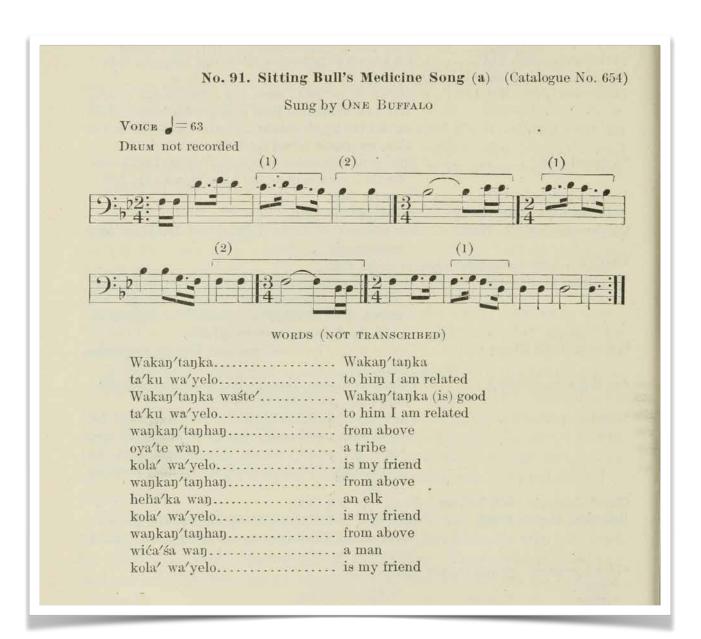
- (1) Identified as *Cheirinia aspera* (DC.) Britton (western wallflower). This was said to be a very rare plant among the Sioux, though it can occasionally be found on level ground or along a river. It was used as a remedy for cramps in the stomach or bowels. The plant has long slender seed pods, somewhat resembling pine needles. In preparing the medicine, these seed pods are opened and the seeds removed and crushed. Warm (not hot) water is poured over them, whereupon the water becomes yellow. This mixture is taken internally and also applied externally. It is a very strong medicine, and if the person has been sick only one day a single dose of the remedy is usually sufficient.
- (2) Identified as *Heuchera hispida* Pursh (alum root). This plant was said to grow on high ground. The root only was used; this is so strong that a fragment of a small root about half an inch long was a sufficient dose for a child. It is a powerful astringent and was used as a remedy for chronic diarrhea. Only two or three doses were usually given.
- (3) Identified as *Lithospermum linearifolium* Goldie (puccoon). This was used as a remedy for hemorrhages from the lungs. The plant grows on the hills and has fragrant white flowers. Bear-with-White-Paw said, "The odor of these flowers goes to every plant that brings cure to men. It makes them sweeter and strengthens them as they grow in the field." He said also that the Medicine Men keep this or some other fragrant herb in the bundle with their roots during the winter.
- (4) Identified as *Echinacea angustifolia* DC. (echinacea). A specimen of this herb was also brought by Jaw, who, like Bear-with-White-Paw, said that he used it as a remedy for toothache. Bear-with-White-Paw gave other uses for it, saying that he used it also for pain in the bowels, that it would cure tonsillitis, and was frequently employed in combination with other herbs. Only the root of this plant was used.

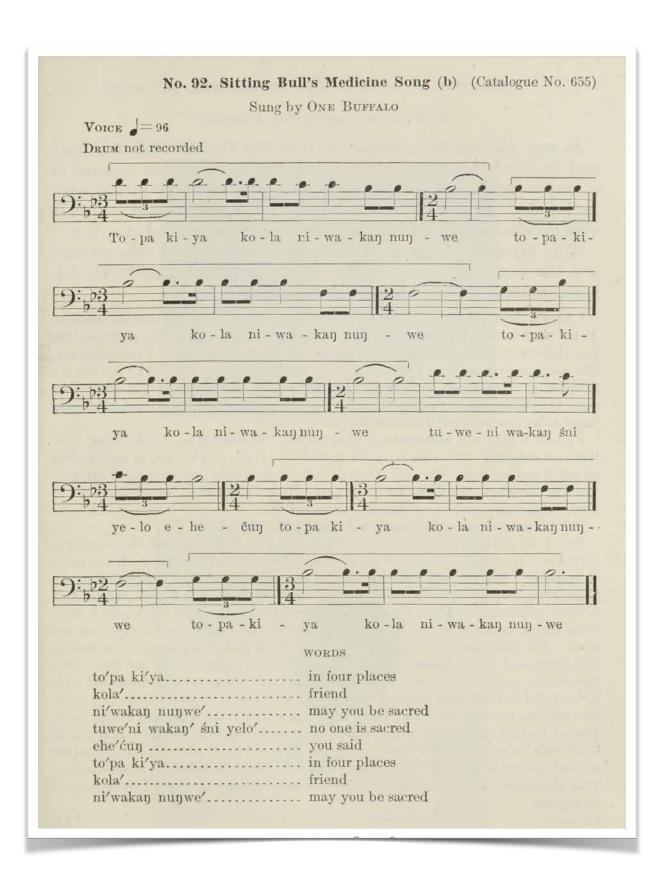
- (5) Identified as *Monarda Fistulosa* L. (horsemint, wild bergamot). This was said to be an "elk herb" but is not the same variety of plant as that called the "elk herb" in the description of Brave Buffalo's dream, which was identified as *Monarda scabra* Beck. This remedy was used to reduce fever, and was also said to be good for a hard cold. "The blossoms only were used," and Bear-with-White-Paw said they were so strong that "only a little" should be used in making the tea.
- (6) This herb, identified as *Allionia nyctaginea* (umbrella wort), is the same as that of a specimen of which was furnished by Eagle Shield and used externally by him in the treatment of broken bones. Bear-with-White-Paw gave the following directions for its use: "Grate the root, moisten it, and rub it on the skin wherever there is a swelling." He said it grew close to the water and was adapted only for external use.

The narrative concerning these medicines was given at intervals through a period of several weeks, as considerable time was required for finding suitable specimens of the herbs. Bear-with-White-Paw understood the purpose of the analysis, and the plants he brought were especially large and typical. When the work was completed he assured the writer of the sincerity with which he had done his part, saying again, "These are the medicines which I use for the purposes I have told you, and the song which I sing when I use them."

In addition to the herbs secured from Eagle Shield and Bear-with-White-Paw, two plants were procured from Jaw, one mentioned above and another which was said to be an unfailing cure for rheumatism; this was identified as *Parmelia* sp. (a lichen). No songs were recorded by Jaw in connection with the use of these herbs.

The two following songs are said to have been used by Sitting Bull in treating the sick and were sung by his nephew Thathanka Wanzila (One Buffalo), literally One Buffalo Bull.





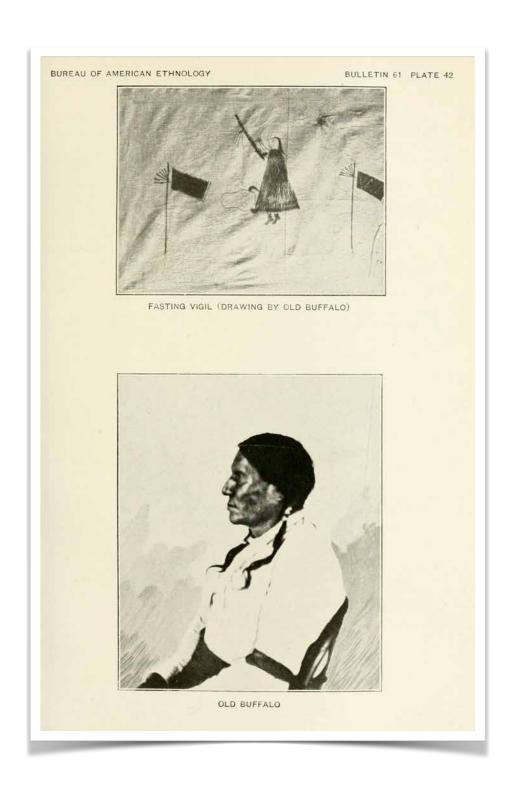
NARRATIVE OF A VIGIL AND PRAYER FOR THE SICK

It was with no little hesitation that Old Buffalo told this story and depicted the event in a drawing. It is an account of a prayer vigil which he kept for a niece who was very ill and who, he believed, recovered because of this action on his part. Such a vigil is called by the Sioux *haŋblé čhéyapi*, "prayers offered standing."

This narrative is given in the present tense, as it was related, and the words of the interpreter (Mrs. James McLaughlin) are followed as closely as possible. Old Buffalo said:

"I have a sister older than myself. We are children of one father and one mother. As my sister's child is growing up to be a young girl, she is taken sick, and is so thin that there is no flesh on her bones. She cannot rise from her bed. I sit beside her. She asks me to bring her a drink of water. My heart is very sad. As I see her my thought is, 'I will call on Wakháŋ Tháŋka for help.' I had heard that when men came to helplessness in sickness they did this. I could not bear the thought of going many miles barefoot, but I wanted the girl to recover.

"I go on a high hill and make a vow, saying, 'Wakhán Thánka, I call upon you. Have pity on me. My niece is on her deathbed. Have pity on her, so she can live on earth and see you. Give me strength to do what is right and honest. I will give you four sacrifices. I will smoke a fine pipe. It is a Chief pipe, so you can bless it. I will do this in your honor if you will spare her life.'



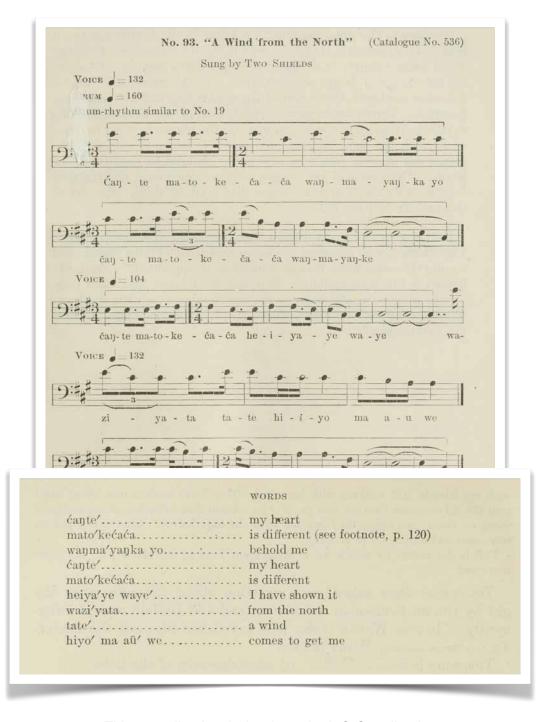
"The girl gets better. She drinks water and eats a little food. Now I am going to fulfill my vow to Wakhan Thanka. It is July, and the weather is very hot. They make a lodge for me at some distance from the village. It is a lodge of branches. Several men take the big-leaf sage and spread it on the ground in the lodge, then they bring hot stones and pour water on them. As I sit in the lodge it is filled with steam. When I am wet with perspiration the men rub me with sage. They take a buffalo robe, put it around me with the fur outside, and tie it across my chest. The discomfort of wearing this heavy robe is part of my sacrifice, as well as the disgrace of being dressed like a woman. No moccasins are on my feet. So I start for the distant hill where I am to offer my prayer. I carry a pipe decorated with ribbons and mallard-duck feathers, holding the stem upward in front of me as I walk. The sun has not long risen as I leave the village, and I reach the hill before noon. There I find a buffalo skull, which a man has brought from the village. It is a large skull with horns on it. My friends have also prepared a soft place on the ground for me and covered it with sage leaves, that I may rest when I am too weary from standing. That afternoon I hold the pipe and follow the sun with it. At night I lie face down on the sage.

"Now the sun has risen. I stand up again, facing the east and holding the pipe. All day I follow the sun with the stem of the pipe. The second night I stand up all night, until the daylight appears. Then I put my pipe against the buffalo skull and lie down with my head near it. When the sun is fully risen I stand up again and cry, saying 'Give me strength for long life, and strength to be right and honest in all I do.' On the third day I put a piece of red cloth (waúŋyapi) at each of the four directions.

"Just as the sun is getting low on this day they come for me. I leave the buffalo skull, the pipe, and the four offerings of red cloth on the hill. Now I am going back with my friends, still walking with bare feet. They have made a new sweat lodge near the old one, and I am the first to enter it. Again they bring hot stones and pour water on them, and again they rub me with the sage leaves. After this I put on moccasins and leggings, and go away.

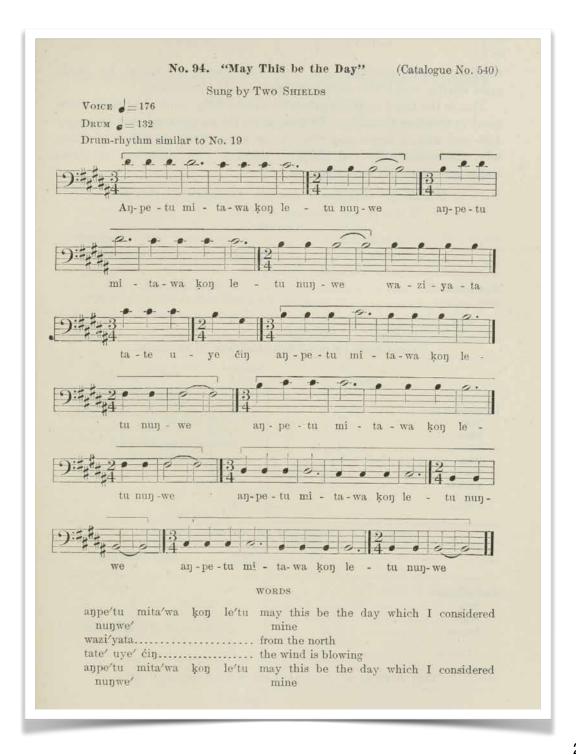
"This is the means by which we prolonged our lives in the old days. My niece recovered."

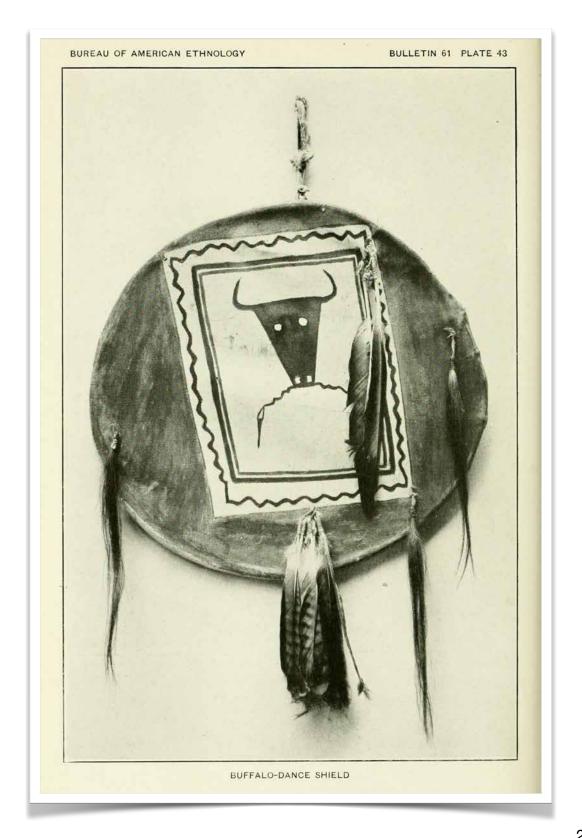
The writer then asked some questions about the care given the girl by the Medicine Man (or doctor) and Old Buffalo replied indignantly: "It was Wakȟáŋ Tȟáŋka who saved her life; not the doctor. She lived in answer to my prayer." This song is commonly used by Medicine Men of the tribe.



This recording is missing from the L.O.C. collection

In this song we meet a strange phase of the life of a Medicine Man. Two Shields, who recorded the song, said that "White Shield used to sing this song when he was worried or disappointed." Strangely human is this little melody. Two Shields said also that when singing the song he would mention the direction in which the wind was blowing that day, as "every man who performs ceremonies respects the various winds."





To read more - download Part Two of Teton Sioux Music

www.lakotasongs.com