MORE DAKOTA TEXTS: COLLECTIONS OF ALANSON BUCK SKINNER AND AMOS ONEROAD

A Thesis
by
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ABSTRACT

More Dakota Texts: Collections of Alanson Buck Skinner and Amos Oneroad. (May 1993)
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The Alanson Buck Skinner Collection of the Braun Research Library at Southwest Museum in Los Angeles contains the ethnology and folktales of Skinner's unpublished monograph on the Eastern Dakota. Skinner and his Wahpeton informant, Amos Oneroad, collected the materials between 1913 and 1925, ending with Skinner's accidental death. This thesis posits the texts in historical, situational, individual and social context to provide a revitalized view of the material and provide the basis for interpretation.
This thesis is dedicated to my children Kari, Evan and Jon, and my husband Gary.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Barbara Johnstone, Dr. Tom Green, and particularly Dr. Sylvia Grider for their time, guidance and critical evaluations in this project. Each took special interest in my work, offered encouragement and contributed to my method and theory broaching the subject. I wish to thank Sally Rubinstein at the Minnesota Historical Society who first encouraged me to pursue the material, and my husband, Gary, who listened and offered moral support. I wish to thank the American Museum of Natural History, Department of Anthropology, New York, New York; the Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, New York, New York; the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota; and especially the Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: REESTABLISHING THE TEXT IN CONTEXT

The focus of this thesis is Alanson Buck Skinner’s and Amos Oneroad’s Sisseton - Wahpeton Dakota ethnology and folklore. Skinner, an early archaeologist, ethnologist, and folklorist, collaborated on this monograph for eleven years with a Wahpeton Presbyterian minister, Amos Oneroad. Small excerpts of the original manuscript appeared as articles in various journals. Skinner’s accidental death in 1925, prevented publication and his associate, Mark Raymond Harrington, contributed the monograph to the Braun Research Library of the Southwest Museum in 1950.

Elaine Jahner (1983:11-18) spoke of early collections of native American folklore as "dry bones" in view of present-day expectations. The same has been said of the description of early ethnology. Skinner’s numerous publications covered a variety of topics, but he was most prolific on the Algonkian and Plains transition tribes. Compared with the literature of his mentors and colleagues, Skinner avoided controversy. But his work cannot be slighted. In Skinner’s case, any view of "dry bones" must be attributed to resistance to building on Skinner’s work. That is not to say the original resource can be reconstructed nor that our own methods and theories will not

This thesis follows the style of Journal of American Folklore.
miss anything, but that Skinner provided a framework. It is the job of succeeding scholars to rebuild the context and hang insight on that framework. I will demonstrate that the void of situational context, as well as individual and social profile, can be recovered to an acceptable degree. This context restoration reveals a dynamic process which certainly makes this early collection more than "dry bones." Context, in this thesis, will refer to that which enhances the collected data when it was gathered but not necessarily recorded at that time as part of the methodology. Specifically, this context comprises the background history of the Dakota, Amos Oneroad, Alanson Skinner and the disciplines they were involved in. Also it includes as much of the assumed knowledge concerning the ethnoogy and folklore presented as can be recognized by a newcomer to the culture. This information can lend insight to the relationships between the separate entities and revitalize the "dry bones" of data in isolation.

This thesis will present Skinner's early collection of ethnography and folklore, and reestablish the context, filters, goals, methods and theory, providing a basis for interpretation. The fields of ethnography, folklore, linguistics, archaeology, and history all necessitate rebuilding context before approaching the issue of interpretation. Grounding in context revitalizes the material and reveals a dynamic process of negotiating boundaries, which redefines the material according to the concurrent situation and filters.

It is the author's view that interpretation of culture, folklore, language, and history is the result of a dynamic process
envisioned as a "negotiation of stance". This view envisions a component of each on a continuum, the defining boundaries of which are perpetually being negotiated anew with each admixture or change in tension. Tradition may exert tension one direction and change may exert tension in another. The result is a new boundary, a new stance, which redefines the norm and the components. It is a process of interaction between people, their experiences and their cultures. As this interaction takes place, so does the negotiation of stance; each must yield and contribute components to merge, or create a shared stance, a new boundary or understanding in a timeless process. Meaning, which is problematic in all cultures, is negotiated in this interaction.

As a result of the complexity of this process, present day native Americans are frustrated by scholars’ attempts at context reconstruction and interpretation. They generally view these so-called insights and reconstructions as missing the mark and never capturing the essence of emic nativism. Of course they are right. Individual or community experience and insight can never be cloned. The following excerpt is one native’s reaction to Michael Ames, a museum anthropologist, and his work:

...Even contextualists are attempting by reconstruction to simulate someone else’s experience....
"...They don’t tell us our story.
...When you [anthropologists] talk about origins you refer to archaeology and the Bering Straits, and "origin myths", "legends", and "prehistory". We don’t know anything about the Bering Straits or myths and legends. We know who we are and where we come from. Our elders tell us that. They speak in truths, not in myths."
...His people, he continued, always had their history, which anthropologist would occasionally try to record
and describe as "mythology," "legends" or "folklore." Their own history, their insider view, had to contend with whitemen outsider views, ...[and] some Indians eventually succumbed to the outsider views and incorporated them as their own. But others are trying to preserve, to recover to even re-discover their own perspective

The source of true knowledge is derived from the memories of elders rather that from so-called objective facts of social sciences...(Ames 1986:42-43).

What frustrates this native is a lack and loss of native control of those cultural components with which he identifies. There is an idea of a pure, accurate, cultural reflection, which pride identifies as belonging to one's own, with connotations understood only by a native. This attitude fears contamination when novelties occur. So much subliminal cultural information in a native's repertoire is knowledge stored below consciousness, not verbalized, but known nonetheless. While it is true that the native has an esoteric, emic, insider cultural knowledge to intuitively grasp the significance, and has enculturated attitudes about them, this denies the interaction and negotiation of stance inherent in the process of culture, definition and communication. These components of continuity are also the components of innovation and change.

The scholar wishes to recover, approximate, and come to understand this insider knowledge so that he or she can represent and explain the insider's knowledge as accurately as possible. As the native knows, reconstruction falls short of the insider's perception. But the problem is not just an impasse between the insider and the outsider, the emic and the etic, the esoteric and the exoteric, but a
matter of individual perception versus community representation. Due to different experiences, no two insiders acquire the identical perspective. This demonstrates only one component interacting at various levels in a multidimensional negotiation of culture, communication, and representation. Then knowledge must also pass through variable filters of representation. Add to these components those of the renegotiation process, and the interpreted information becomes more fluid and changeable, in accord with the filters, the situation, and the context.

Dell Hymes (1962) in the "Ethnography of Speaking," Keith Basso (1962) in the "Ethnography of Writing", Richard Bauman (1983) in the "Field Study of Folklore in Context," Roger Abrahams (1983) in "Interpreting Folklore Ethnographically and Sociologically", David Murray (1991) in Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing and Representation in North American Text, Barbara Johnstone (1990) in Stories, Community, and Place, and Linda Dégh (1989) in Folktales and Society, all point to context building components which vary and contribute to the process in a varying admixture. They are: participants, filters, community, attitudes, point of view, goals of each, situation, atmosphere, norms, background and setting, the methods used, forms, variations, what the stance is, and what is being tested, pushed, negotiated. These components are each on a continuum. They vary their stance on that continuum with each encounter or degree of variation. There is a natural tension of components, in correlation to the amount of variation and resistance. This tension produces the negotiation of the stance, the outcome, the
interpretation of the process. The shift in relationship of each combination is the dynamic, the dialectic of creation and process—the continual negotiation and renegotiation of stance.

This negotiation of stance process makes history, environment, non-participants or outsiders, and each of the variable components part of the process of culture interpretation. The synchronic components—reported ethnology, material artifacts, and tales—relate to the exoteric sense a glimpse of what is gradually encoded by a native in the esoteric sense. In many cultures, information deemed important is passed on orally as a matter of course. This information represents a mass of traditions that each generation grows up into and through.

Alanson Buck Skinner and Amos Oneroad set out to solicit and collect representations of Eastern Dakota tradition and material culture. Skinner segregated the data into the categories of ethnology and folklore. However, the ethnology is intertwined with anecdotes and tales. Both texts were forms of narrative. These texts are an indirect reflection of the Dakota society of Amos Oneroad refracted through the filters of Oneroad and Skinner. This reflection allows us to see the similarities and differences, interaction and competition, ideas, beliefs, and meanings that interpose themselves between people and things implicating their attitudes, society, and culture. By providing documentary data on their history, individual filters, methods and theories, we are restoring a portion of the texts' context. The context is necessary for insight into the concepts learned through experience in the world
and continuous in cultural traditions, then continually renegotiated and transformed, generated within society and changed through the process. These texts can be restored to a degree of historical, linguistic, social, geographic and material context so that inferences can be made from a framework of contextual association. The denoted meaning can be reported.

Chapter II, "The Sisseton - Wahpeton: History from the Documents" is a condensed history from 1600 until the present drawn from missionaries, government agencies, and accounts by individual Dakota people of the day. The shared experiences of a community provide contextual insight into that society. Collective experiences demonstrate shared patterns that emerge reflecting back to places lived, socialization patterns shared, roles expected to fill, overt and covert demonstrative patterns, reflective of the past and projective of the future. The community historical experience provides the subliminal native framework for its cultural narrative. It provides the shared experience and, in conjunction with the ethnology, provides the context for the community folk narrative.

Chapter III, "Skinner's Informant: Reverend Amos Oneroad" is a biography sketched from documented sources. His voice filters and focuses that presented to the outside world as representative of the Sisseton - Dakota tradition in the time frame of 1913 to 1925. Oneroad's biography provides his individual profile and experience as context and perspective to the community. Individuals and communities use narrative to structure experiences and lend them meaning. They reveal their attitudes about themselves, others and
what they believe is the attitude toward them. We can localize and
document the experiences of Amos Oneroad's family from 1850 until the
1930's in official records. Although profiles of informants were not
part of the method of collection in the early 1900's, we can
reconstruct a degree of insight from our research. Perhaps the
Dakota are a unique case, but due to the nature of their history,
documentation is available to reconstruct through hindsight more of
the information deemed necessary by today's standards.

Chapter IV, "Alanson Skinner, His Life, His Work and the
Scholastic Environment" is a biography of Skinner from documented
sources. This chapter profiles the controlling filter of the
representative collection. His experience, training, and voice
revealed in the biography, together with assumptions on his prior
treatment of the Dakota and other Indian materials, foregrounds the
sympathies and interests, the methodology and theory covert in the
Skinner Collection. It is reasonable to make assumptions about
Skinner's method and theory based on his other publications, his
colleagues, his mentors, and his individual history. They tell us
about his approach to the material, the audience he was addressing,
and the standards of the time of collection.

"The Skinner - Oneroad Monograph: . . ." chapters contain the
transcribed contents of the original Skinner manuscript found in the
Alanson Skinner Manuscript Collection MS 201, Braun Research Library,
Los Angeles, California. I have footnoted comparisons and
ethnographic information not included in the original manuscript to
aide a newcomer to American Indian literature and expressed my

Chapter VIII, the "Conclusion" is comprised of basic observations I made after working with the Skinner manuscript. This thesis provides merely a starting point for analysis.

"Appendix I: Amos Onroad Note" is a sample page from the Skinner Collection of Amos Onroad's notes to Skinner.

"Appendix II: Outline for a Monograph on the Ethnology of the Eastern Dakota Indians" is a transcription of Skinner's outline for the envisioned monograph. These were the topics Skinner intended to cover, and those topics not covered specifically in the Collection text were covered in already published articles which I believe he intended to include in some form. I have referred to these articles and cited them in the discussion of the text.

"Appendix III: Bibliography of Alanson Buck Skinner" is compiled from Mark Raymond Harrington (1926) and from my own discovery of unlisted articles during research. References of his work will be listed there rather than in my own bibliography of this thesis.
"Appendix IV: Dakota Glossary" is a list of terms in Dakota and their translation that I compiled as I worked with the Skinner text and supporting documentation. The transcription system is a result of the use of my computer. The symbol ['] used after "h" represents a strong guttural, and after "c," "s," or "z" represents an aspirated sound where it is suggested by cited sources. The capital letters are consistent with their occurrence in the sources. In general, the transcriptions found in the monograph also tended to accommodate the typewriter Skinner used, with the exception of his handwritten notes and corrections with diacritic marks. Skinner never pretended an interest in linguistics. Therefore, the transcription of the terms are not systematic nor have I regularized them.

"Appendix V: Stith Thompson Motifs" is a list of recurrent episodes Thompson isolated in Native American Indian folklore. The motif index is as an aid to the observations of variation, similarity and contrast of cultural tokens in comparative literature. It is not intended as a methodology but merely as a tool for enhancing what is unfamiliar to a newcomer to Native American literature.

"Appendix VI: Letter of Release for Publication" is the consent from the Braun Research Library to include the Skinner material in this thesis.
CHAPTER II

THE SISSETON-WAHPETON: HISTORY FROM DOCUMENTS

The earliest documentation of Eastern Dakota contact reported the Sioux in the Western Great Lakes woodland region, east of the Mississippi watershed and beyond the shores of Mille Lac Lake and Lake Pepin (Anderson 1984).\(^1\) The Dakota were woodland Indians when first mentioned by sixteenth century explorers. Their territory extended through Minnesota and adjacent parts of Wisconsin. Later, westward migration extended their range into North and South Dakota and Iowa. The Dakota people divided into what traditionally was known as the Oceti Sakowin or "Seven Council Fires". Each council fire represented a tribe or closely related group. This ancient league had once united all Sioux groups but was in a state of decentralization or decline by the 19th century.

The league divided geographically into the Eastern Dakota or Santee with four councils, and the Western Sioux with the remaining three councils.\(^2\) The Eastern Dakota included the upper council of the Sisseton and Wahpeton and the lower council of the Mdewakanton and Wahpekutes (Howard 1980:2-6). Considerable intermarriage occurred between all four Eastern Dakota tribes, since they generally practiced exogamy. The Western Sioux of the upper Missouri River—the Tetons, Yanktons, and Yanktonais—were generally viewed as more
aggressive. They had moved further west of the Mississippi, which is evidence of the decline of the Oceti Sakowin alliance. All the groups were originally hunter-gathers who occasionally clashed with competitors over game in a land offering boundless advantages to their way of life. Historian Gary C. Anderson concludes that "early travel accounts reveal that the Dakota were an enterprising people who had developed a highly successful economy based upon this unique ecosystem" (1984:7). The density of game animals was frequently commented upon by travelers. Anderson believes that Dakota behavior was in part dictated by the abundant resources surrounding the people and their fluid lifeway.

The westward migratory trend of the Eastern Dakota resulted from declining game in the woodland due to increasing competition for limited resources with the Chippewa and Cree. Other factors driving them west were disease, specifically smallpox; increasing dependence on the western bison hunt; and the inducement of the river trade networks further west. By the 1700's, only the Sisseton and Mdewakanton bands seemed consistently located in the woodlands. They diffused to the Mississippi River trade network and then to the Minnesota River trade network by the 1800's (Anderson 1984:25). The Dakota were adaptable. As the buffalo and deer declined (serious depletions were reported by 1817-1823), ecological factors forced the Sisseton - Wahpeton to turn increasingly to agriculture. Cornfields had been observed by Peter Pond as early as 1770's, but by 1820 all bands planted an occasional patch of corn. The Sisseton - Wahpeton had substantial fields on several islands in both Big Stone Lake and

Anderson (1984) reports that in the 1830’s, Indian agents Lawrence Taliaferro and Amos Bruce used the Pond brothers to instruct the Eastern Dakota in farming. In 1837 Joseph Renville, a Franco-Dakota trader, invited the Presbyterian missionaries Thomas Williamson and Stephen R. Riggs to Lac qui Parle, two hundred miles west of Fort Snelling (present day St. Paul). Williamson and Riggs led the proselytizing efforts on the new reservation near Williamson’s station of Pajutazee or upper Sioux agency. "Two Indian villages quickly sprang up nearby," the historian Anderson points out, "one under the Christian sympathizer Inyangmani or ‘Running Walker,’ the old Lac qui Parle Wahpeton chief who had recognized the value of farming some time before"(1984:210). Inyangmani and Mahpiyasa were supporters of the missionary movement and the majority of Dakota converts were from Inyangmani and Mahpiyawicasta bands.3 These bands were reported to show an encouraging increase in agricultural undertakings and three of their missionary-trained members were the first to go East to Ohio for three years of education in the early 1840’s.

The fur trade network provided some stability by maximizing the kinship based economy. The Sisseton - Wahpeton developed fictive kinship ties with several key traders at both Lake Traverse and at Lac qui Parle. The early trader, Hazen Moore, was replaced by Joseph Brown at Lake Traverse and Joseph Renville was at Lac qui Parle. Due to the mounting trade debt, the Dakota agreed to consider signing treaties, which would result in exchanging land for annuities
(Anderson 1984; Meyer 1967). They were well-primed by the trade network, government agents, missionaries and the accords of the proposed 1841 Treaty of Traverse des Sioux. In exchange for Minnesota land, they were promised grist mills, saw mills and schools, with each household head offered a yoke of oxen, one cow, five sheep, two swine, a house, a spinning wheel, a loom, plus citizenship on meeting the condition of having plowed land for a year (Meyer 1967:80). Unfortunately, after making all these promises, the U.S. Senate rejected the 1841 agreement. These were the idealized terms that enticed the Sisseton - Wahpeton, yet the enacted treaties that followed involved fewer benefits and further land cessation until they had relinquished all land from central Minnesota to North Iowa.

The most important treaty impacting the Sisseton was the Treaty of 1851. As it simultaneously attempted to replace the hoe with the plow, the government promised to take care of the Eastern Sioux "forever." After the Dakota had signed the agreement, the Senate removed the clause that allocated a reservation for them on the upper waters of the Minnesota River, ten miles either side from Yellow Medicine to Lake Traverse. After protests, the Dakota were allowed to stay and farms were opened for them, but the land situation was never settled satisfactorily. The land which was awarded to the Sisseton was wooded, but suitable only for firewood not building. The more traditional members of the band who refused to give up the hunt settled at the head of Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse, remaining off the reservation with Tatankanazin, "Standing Buffalo" or with Wanata, "The Charger" (NARG 75). Starvation was the constant
fight, as few buffalo were found east of the James River by the
1850's. The Sisseton - Wahpeton were forced to eat horses, dogs and
tipi skins. The more traditional Sisseton and Wahpeton were more
concerned about the social and economic changes occurring around them
than what was happening on the reservation, especially the growing
controversy over annuity money. These were men who had lived by
hunting, the trade network, the kinship system, and occasional
annuities. Their people were starving, and meeting that need was
their focus.

By 1853, most Mdewakantons and Wahpekutes were on a temporary
reservation established for the Eastern Dakota on the Minnesota
River, but many Sissetons continued to hunt and remain outside the
reserve boundaries. Most only stayed until they received food
annuities and then returned to old hunting grounds, as the hoe
culture practiced by the Eastern Sioux was inadequate for providing
enough food without the hunt. Following the buffalo often led them
north of Devil's Lake or the Missouri River to prevent starvation.
The competition with the Red River Metis and Chippewa heightened over
dwindling game.

The Sisseton - Wahpeton at the head of Coteau des Prairie
resisted the acculturation evident in those of their band living
closer to Yellow Medicine and Lac qui Parle. It was not the planting
they opposed but the individualized farms, fences, and cube
partitioned homes. The farmers were encouraged to hoard food, to
wear pants, and to cut their hair, all of which signaled a break with
tradition. The government agents thought allotment of land and the
responsible of farming would end the roaming. Likewise, they also thought that cutting the hair would end intertribal warfare. Brown felt sure that a Dakota warrior would "never go to war without a scalp lock" (Anderson 1984:237). He was wrong.

The government was convinced that the Dakota could adopt these measures and retain their religion and not feel threatened by the change. But as the Mdewakanton leader, Little Crow stated, this attitude only pointed to the lack of understanding of the Dakota religion and the Dakota world view in general. Little Crow initially claimed that if one changed dress and habits, one ought to change the religion (ABCFS 1859). Yet in fact, some did put on pants and accept allotments, houses, and the advantages offered with farming. But some farmers put on the breech cloth, leggings, and blanket and attended dances, feasts, and practiced conjuring and traditions as well--Little Crow among them--without changing religion. They were suspect to the traditionalists and reformists alike.

Tensions mounted from the hastened change and perceived threat to tradition which led to the revival of ritual dances and societies that had lapsed. The scalp dance, the buffalo dance, the raw-fish eaters dance, the bear dance, the elk dance and the monkey dance revitalized (Anderson 1984:238). The Sisseton formed a soldiers' lodge in 1861 to exact more equitable annuity distribution and to harass farmers. They remained jealous over the favorable treatment of the Dakota farmers by the government. There was uncertainty from accelerated change, traditions and cultural boundaries being pushed and pulled to the limits in a negotiation on the stance of those
boundaries.

The government added to the distrust and jealousy by trying to appease the Yankton upset over the erection of Fort Abercrombie with gifts. The Sisseton stopped the emissaries en route through Sisseton territory to their resource competitors, the Yankton. The government wanted the interfering Sisseton turned in, but Tatankanazin or "Standing Buffalo" refused. The wedge widened between the Dakota farmers and the traditional Dakota. Traditional Dakota pointed to the discrepancies of the government promise and delivery, resented the enticements to forsake tradition, and were envious, suspect, and hostile to those who did accept the changes proposed by the white men. And they were hungry.

In July of every year, the Eastern Dakota came to Yellow Medicine to receive their annuities. In 1862, seven thousand Dakota arrived on July 10 for immediate payment and food. The annuity had not yet arrived and the agent waited to distribute both food and annuities at the same time. In addition, while they waited the traders sold huge quantities of food to the Dakotas, who amassed huge credits that were to be paid from the annuity money. On August 4, some Dakota lost patience and broke into the storehouse and distributed sacks of flour to the hungry Dakota. They were diverted only after the army turned a cannon on the hungry plunderers. During the council that followed, a trader uttered his insult: "So far as I am concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass" (Anderson 1984:250-1). Amazingly, disgruntled calm prevailed. The Sisseton-Wahpeton showed restraint. Yet only fifteen days later, an unrelated
incident farther south among the Mdewakanton sparked the Dakota to war.

Anderson's *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux* (1986) depicts the broad scene of the Eastern Dakota leading to and during the 1862 Minnesota Sioux Uprising. The 19th century was a time of drastic change with the encroachment of foreign white populations. With the diminishing game, the Dakota became increasingly dependent on annuities and subject to acculturation efforts. Socio-economic stress exploded into intense fighting between Dakotas and white settlers during the Civil War. The 1862 Minnesota Sioux Uprising lasted six weeks, took five hundred white lives, and cost an unknown number or Indian lives. It resulted in the removal of the Dakota people from Minnesota, and sporadic battles continued on the plains until the 1890 battle of Wounded Knee in South Dakota.

The Eastern Dakota loyalties were divided in the uprising between active participants, those friendly to whites, and pacifists. Thomas A. Robertson, a mixed blood Dakota pacifist, gave a description of Inyangmani's house in his abandoned village in the midst of the 1862 Minnesota Sioux Uprising: "This was built of logs with a mud chimney for a fireplace, and a rough pine board table for furniture" (Anderson-Woolworth 1988:184-5). The Sisseton under Tatankanazin and Wanata were pacifists, and the members of Inyangmani's band in general came to the aid of those fleeing hostility.

At the end of the war, over 300 Sioux were tried for participating in the war and 303 were condemned to death by hanging.
The father of Skinner's informant, Peter Oneroad or Cankuwanzidan, was tried and acquitted, suggestive of his pacifistic stand. Jacob Eastman or Itewakanhdiota, also originally of Inyangmani's band, received a prison sentence which he served at Davenport, Iowa. Relatives of them both fled to Canada and migrated between Fort Gerry in Manitoba, and Fort QuAppelle, Moose Woods and Price Albert, Saskatchewan.

By 1864, various Sisseton bands began regrouping at Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse. In the winter of 1864-65, Major Joseph R. Brown established a trading post at Fort Wadsworth and subcontracted to carry mail between the Fort and Redwood Falls. Elijah Blackthunder reports that a herd of 3,000 buffalo were discovered and therefore the area was declared the mythical "Tatanka (Buffalo) Republic" and the fort "the capital to rule the woolly buffalo and wily Sioux" (Blackthunder 1973:49). During the native missionary movement in the late 1800's, many Eastern Dakota descendants dispersed across North and South Dakota and to Fort Peck, Montana (Anderson 1984; 1988; Howard 1984; Iape Oaye). Although widespread geographically, the envisioned homeland remained the mid 1800's location of the traditional community.

Those "friendly" Dakota not sent to the Davenport prison or enlisted by Tiwakan, also called Gabriel Renville, as military scouts were removed from Minnesota. They were sent from Fort Snelling by steamboat to a desolate existence at Crow Creek on the Missouri River in South Dakota. Again they faced starvation. By 1865, only 1,043 of 1,318 taken to Crow Creek remained alive. By 1864, the release of
prisoners began. And in 1866, the plan to move the "Santee" or Eastern Sioux to Niobrara River in northeastern Nebraska Territory commenced. The whole operation was badly managed and left the people at Crow Creek in a difficult plight. Both those who went and those remaining failed to be impressed by the tentativeness of these successive locations and the uncertainty of their tenure. The remnants of Dakota were scattered.

Sixteen Sisseton Dakota went to Washington in 1867 to negotiate for a new reservation. The treaty they signed provided a reserve the shape of a rectangle, extending from Lake Kampska to the James River to Lake Traverse. Gabriel Renville was recognized by the government as head chief of the people residing around Lake Traverse on the Sisseton Reservation. He had been a white supporter during the 1862 Minnesota Uprising and the organizer of the scouts for the army in its aftermath. A second reserve was set up at Devil's Lake for groups still wandering or in Canada. The 1867 treaty introduced allotments of 160 acres per individual to farm, and money awarded for labor actually performed (Blackthunder 1973:13). By 1869, one hundred and sixty families were reported as farming. Groups broke away from both reservations to form new colonies. One was Flandreau Colony or River Bend Colony established in 1869 by twenty-five families, which grew to 365 by 1878. Another was Brown Earth Colony, established in 1875.

In the 1870's Riggs and Williamson, mentors on the old Minnesota Reservation, took up work on the new reservation. In 1869, Daniel Renville petitioned the agent Benjamin W. Thompson for assistance in
building a church, as the Dakota had been holding services in their homes. Thereafter, Riggs began building Tawacinwaste or "Good Will" Church and a school was built in the summer of 1870. This commenced a stance negotiation or competition for power between Daniel Renville's "church group" and Gabriel Renville's "scout group". Gabriel Renville questioned Riggs' authority to operate on the reservation and wrote to the Interior Department, which suspended the project. The Bureau of Indian Affairs had concluded that two differing church denominations should not work on one reservation since the denominational competition "confused" the Indians. The Bureau had not decided at this point which denomination would have charge of the Sisseton agency.

Nevertheless, Daniel Renville became the native pastor and in 1870 the school opened under Wyllis K. Morris, Riggs' son-in-law, who taught in both English and Dakota. Another church was build at Ascension and John B. Renville, Daniel's brother, was the native Pastor. On September 4, 1873 permission was granted to build the Manual Labor Boarding School on the Sisseton Reserve (Riggs 1971:269). By 1876, both Good Will and Ascension mission schools were operating ten months a year, supplementing the government schools on the Sisseton Reservation (Meyer 1967:203-301).

The Sisseton Reservation had an appearance of stability in the 1870's despite the turnover in agents and slow progress in farming. The terms of the 1867 treaty established that rations, clothing, stock and farm implements were to be issued only in return for labor performed (the agent kept track of the labor). This labor might
include hauling supplies from the nearest railroad terminal or construction work around the agency, but sufficient work could not be found for the numbers of men needing to draw rations.

The government therefore expanded the work program to include work on one's own claim, paid not in cash but in credit, at a rate comparable to the going rate for labor outside the reservation. This demanded keeping records of the labor for credit in a set of "Indian Books". Goods were issued by the storekeeper who kept a credit ledger. Supplies were issued in this manner for over 400 individuals. A "poor list" and a "working List" developed and in 1872, the poor accounted for 660 of the 1,496 family heads, and their numbers continued to diminish as more families located on farms and qualified for inclusion on the "working list" (Meyer 1967: 203-301). The aim was to render all Indians economically self sufficient. However, the Indians were widely scattered over the reservation and agents had difficulty keeping track of them.

Twenty-five families of the "church group" left the reservation in 1875 to form a colony 40 miles south east named Brown Earth Colony. They feared that agent Adams' removal would leave them to the mercy of other factions. They asked the government to grant the rights of citizenship, the right to buy and own property, police protection, control of their own finances, and the right to vote. They left the reservation dependency on annuities behind, setting out to level the difference in roles and rights between white settlers and themselves. They petitioned Congress to be recognized as a "Civilized Tribe" and to be granted the privileges given the Five
Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory.

Enterprising behavior evolved in the 1870's as individual Dakota took their wheat and corn to the mill to be ground and sold for cash and then made small purchases at local stores. By 1878, they began buying harvesters and farm machinery, signing notes, and paying for them with the next crop. By the 1880's, ten reapers and ten fanning mills had been bought this way. Doing business in neighboring towns was seen as a natural development in the assimilation process. However, the "credit for labor" constraints of the 1867 treaty strained the process and limited purchasing arrangements. The agent accordingly urged relaxation of the 1867 treaty to no avail. Consequently, by the 1880's, a Dakota could no longer earn enough by labor to buy household articles or clothing, even though prices paid for produce at the agency were well below those off reservation. The official response was that men holding patents to their land no longer needed to carry papers documenting collateral security. As only two Indians met the 50 acre patent holding requirement, this action really had no effect.

Socio-economic stress became evident in various forms. In 1879, the discovery of native timber cutting on the reservation (sold above the Fort Sisseton contractor's prices) and the selling of government-issued oxen caused complaint. This creative form of enhanced cash flow was not appreciated by business competitors off the reservation. The following year, a prairie fire threatened the area around Fort Sisseton (formerly called Fort Wadsworth). Although no damage was done to the fort, it slowed timber cutting. That year, 1880, also
marked the introduction of whisky at Brown's Valley, increasing visual signs of stress. In 1884, white troops were replaced by Black troops, called "buffalo soldiers" until Fort Sisseton, or the Tatanka Republic, closed in 1888. Tuberculosis became a major health concern and sanitariums were built to hold diseased patients.

The agents at the Sisseton Reservation had taken such forceful steps towards "self-sufficiency" that in 1880 only one fourth of the Indians' subsistence was provided by the government. After 1882, no subsistence supplies were issued except to school children. However, efforts to end the "heathen practice" of native dances, or any dance reminiscent of the Ghost or Sun Dance, were never achieved. The idea was to encourage Indians to stay productively at home, avoiding the give-away associated with the dance, and avoiding lengthy visits in encampments which implied disease and loose morality to white society. To avoid detection, dances were held farther from the agents. Ironically, dancing survived at fairs and exhibitions, supported by local merchants who made money from tourism.

Consequently, objections diminished, provided dances were held in the daytime and no young Dakota were permitted to be spectators, allowing only "old scouts" to dance at fairs (Meyer 1967:303; Powers 1980:212-230).

When the Sisseton Reservation was allotted under the Dawes Act, most of the people returned to the reservation and took farms there and were awarded citizenship. Gabriel Renville received the first allotment, then Charles Crawford within a few months. Only one more allotment was issued until 1883 when nine were allotted, and thirty-
three allotted in 1886. About 1887, some Sisseton who had established Brown Earth Colony drifted back to the old reservation area just below Granite Falls, off the reservation proper. Officials tried to persuade the federal government to take responsibility for their deteriorating condition both there and Flandreau, but they were left to face delinquent taxes by 1930. In 1877 John Eastman was reported by Riggs off the reservation at Flandreau. Not everyone was enticed back to the reservation by allotment. Still by 1889, 1,971 allotments and 1,341 patents were issued and an agreement reached to sell unallotted land at $2.50 an acre, leading to white encroachment (Meyer 1967:216; Blackthunder).

In the years of cash payment, the Sisseton population grew to a point where additional lands did not exist for new allotments. Also, the white population surrounded the reservation. The 1890 report noted 77 frame houses, 22 log houses with shingles, 1,034 log houses with dirt roofs and some houses used for storage on the reservation. The Dakotas’ tax exempt status caused some ill feeling among whites settlers and problems for creditors prosecuting Dakota offenders in the courts (Meyer 1967:218).

Unfortunately, the late 19th century vision of gradual process toward self-sufficiency culminating in allotment actually became a disaster and produced a return to poverty. In the haste to establish self reliance, the government did not consider future change and ignored the complications of the 20th century and cultural difference. The first thirty years of the 20th century brought the rapid reduction of the Indian land base, the disappearance of visible
native culture, and gradual reduction of government services and supervision.

The Indian appropriations act of 1902 helped bring on destruction by permitting sale of inherited land. It was followed by the Burke Act of 1906, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents to any Indian competent to handle his own affairs, and thus sell his allotment. Roy Meyer (1967:318) states that by 1903 more than 200 tracts of land were advertised and sold and in 1905, 20,000 acres were sold. By 1911, ninety percent of the reservation land base had disappeared. Still a farmers' club and reservation fair were sponsored to encourage the Indian farmer (Meyer 1967:317-18).

The collective ethical system conflicted with the individual economy ideal. The collective was further limited by the slow disintegration of social ties, group fragmentation, and individual residence. The "individual socio-economic gain" ideal was out of the traditional Dakotas' context. The ideal was also weakened by inflexible and unresponsive government planning. In 1910 more Sisseton - Wahpeton people arrived at Sisseton from Flandreau and from other reservations. Mdewakantsons and Yanktons also came and more district schools were built. Farmers did not withhold seed for the next planting, but sold it and then sold land to get seed to plant. Machines stood out exposed to the elements and subject to damage, as machine investment and maintenance was a concept all plains farmers were slow to appreciate. Liquor problems grew, exacerbated by economic problems.
The Dakota language continued as the daily medium on the reservation. Native ministers used Dakota exclusively, and even though school was taught in Dakota and English, attendance remained sporadic. The traditional dance persisted, but beadwork was the only visibly surviving craft. Tribal unity was dying, but in the neighborhoods collectivity survived. In 1911, the tribal council was voted out of existence. Sisseton Reservation was "neither tribe nor people," but an aggregation of families and scattered individuals (Meyer 1967:317-23).

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 hoped to rectify the destruction of the land base on the reservation. The allotment problem had so confused the situation that when Akipa, or Joseph Renville, died in 1891 his land was owned by 150 heirs (Meyer 1967:332). The housing shortage was so great by 1936 that 517 families on the reservation were living in fewer than 300 houses. Eighty houses were built between 1936 and 1940, but some Dakota continued to live in tents until the end of the decade (Meyer 1967:330).

When recommendations were proposed to terminate reservations by the new government policy of the 1950's, the Dakota of the Sisseton Reservation opposed the idea. They reluctantly approved of government supervision, aware of the benefit of government support and the problem of individuals selling land to spend the proceeds. Whites also opposed the policy, fearing an increase in welfare costs (Meyer 1967:314,334). A social and economic survey of the Sisseton at the end of 1955 showed the land could support only one fourth of
the families living on the reservation. The practice of leasing land increased, and only three farmers were regarded as successful. Many moved to the town of Sisseton, where whites now dominated economically. Off-reservation jobs offered little hope. Most with regular jobs worked for the Indian Bureau or Public Health Service or practiced seasonal farming. The majority received welfare for at least part of the year. Conditions on the reservation did not improve appreciably until the 1970's saw some rise in family income. Subsistence farming and small-scale commercial farming on the Sisseton Reservation as elsewhere became impractical (Meyer 1967:317-36).

This documentary history of Sisseton - Wahpeton is not presented from the native perspective. It is important to consider documentation as a fragmentary sketch of events regarded as important enough to record by non-Dakota or outsiders. Therefore, it filters the events through a world view that is not of the Dakota culture. It relates the outsiders' perception of Sisseton - Wahpeton history, not the Dakota "ehanna woyakapi" or "long ago" recounting. It is doubtful the Dakota would select the same tokens of history to recount or convey the same perspectives. However, that does not render the tokens of information useless in building the framework of contextual insight.

Alanson Buck Skinner intended to provide both a "traditional history" and a "post European history" section with the Braun manuscript. He noted those sections in his manuscript outline, under the heading of the introduction (See Appendix II: Outline for a
Monograph on the Ethnology of the Eastern Dakota Indians). However, it was not included with the findings of the collection. He was aware of the conflict in perspective and the differing role of each.
NOTES

1Gary Anderson (1984:1) cites Pierre Radisson, a 1650’s traveler and explorer-trader Pierre Charles Le Sueur in 1700 on the Sioux. Also see Clifford Allen (1971:9). "Dakota" is the emic or insider term meaning "friendly," used to refer to themselves. "Sioux" is an etic or outsider term credited to a French corruption of the Ojibwa (Chippewa) term for "snake." The Ojibwa were the Dakota’s frequent competitors for game in the woodlands and considered a outside group. "Siouan" is a linguistic term applied to the language family of which the Dakota language is a member.

2"Santee" according to Allen (1971) is from "Isanyatia" of from Mde Isanti (Knife Lake), the name for Mille Lac, Minnesota. In the 20th century the name is used to refer inclusively to the Eastern Sioux. Skinner seems to use "Santee" to refer exclusively to the Mdewakanton, based on his own research. In this statement, the author uses the inclusive meaning. Hereafter, the specific terms Eastern Sioux or Eastern Dakota and Mdewakanton are used, except where Skinner himself has used the term "Santee" as he understands it.

3In 1853-1855, Onroad’s ancestor’s, Ptehotonpi, Matomaza, and Mahpiyasna, were on the annuity roles (NARG 75) listed with Inyangmani’s band.

4The Renville’s were primarily Sisseton Dakota from Inyangmani’s band. Their ancestor Joseph Renville was a Franco-Dakota trader. See Anderson (1986) for an extensive lineage.

5Remnants of Peter Onroad’s family centered around Tawacinnwaste or “Good Will” Presbyterian Church, Sisseton, South Dakota. The author believes he was removed from the head of Coteau des Prairie to Fort Snelling in the aftermath of war, then exiled to Crow Creek with the Dakota. From there it is possible he went to Santee and then back to Sisseton at the head of Prairie des Coteau.

6Recall that Fort Sisseton (Fort Wadsworth) had been nicknamed the Tatanka Republic to rule the wily Sioux and wooly buffalo after the sighting of a herd of 3,000 buffalo. William H. Leckie (1967) describes The Buffalo Soldiers of the Tenth Regiment, United States Cavalry. He is uncertain of the origin of the term "buffalo soldier" but says it was commonly explained to be that the Indian saw a similarity between the hair of the Negro soldier and that of a buffalo. The emblem of the regiment is a crest topped by a large buffalo.

7These Dakota did not participate in the government assistance available on the reservation. Participation as citizens was not as easy as the ideal.
CHAPTER III

SKINNER'S INFORMANT: REVEREND AMOS ONEROAD

Amos Oneroad was the lens and filter Skinner used to look into Dakota society. It was Oneroad and his family's cumulative experience and reflections which synchronically focused the picture presented of the Sisseton-Wahpeton. Therefore, to present the perspective and context of their ethnography and folklore collection, it is important to recover as much information about Amos Oneroad as possible.

Amos was the great grandson of Ptehotonpi or "Bawling/Lowing Bull," met by Stephen R. Riggs (1918:513-14) when he was the "high priest and prophet at a Social Dance."¹ He was with Inyangmani's Wahpeton band in 1853, 1854, 1855, but with Wanata's Sisseton band in 1858 (NARG 75).² Riggs (1918:513-517) calls him a great medicine man and war prophet. Ptehotonpi was described as bald-headed, not tall but of considerable breadth and weight. Skinner collected an anecdote concerning Ptehotonpi whereby he offered his wife as a show of his strength of character, only to have her reclaimed by her brothers, resulting in the split of their families thereafter. Matomaza or "Ironbear," of Wanata's Sisseton band, was another of Amos's great grandfathers.

Amos Oneroad introduced Skinner to his Wahpeton grandmother
Hannah Shepherd, Tasinahotawin or "Greyshawl." Tasinahotawin was born about 1827 and was eighty-seven in 1914. She possessed knowledge of medicinal herbs, such as serpent's root, the medicine feast and "long ago" history. She had been a member of the Hazelwood Republic in 1857 and had nine children in her lodge but no man (NARG 75). She claimed to be the cousin of Wasicuntanka or Simon Big Frenchman who was one of the first three Dakota to go east to Ohio to school in 1842 (Lapi Oaye 1927:56:2:1; Riggs 1880:231; 1918:552).

Amos Oneroad's grandfather was Mahpiyasna or "Jingling Cloud", Amos's namesake, who was reported by Stephen R. Riggs to be at one time the headsoldier to the Wahpeton chief Inyangmani or "Running Walker." Riggs described Mahpiyasna as tall and boastful, deserving to be counted among the brave, and said that he had given away more horses in his day than all Leaf-villagers had owned. He had visited the whiteman's St. Louis and Lord Selkirk's settlements on the Red River. Riggs reported that reference was made to Mahpiyasna's dancing to the sun, and coming from a "worshipful stock (son of Ptehotonpe)." Riggs claimed he professed to believe in no future state. Riggs also tells the tale Skinner's informants provide concerning his taking responsibility for disciplining a member of the band for killing a Chippewa during peace by shooting him and then providing for his widow. Riggs questions whether his death, following too much whiskey and blowing in the muzzle of a gun which discharged, was accidental or intentional (Riggs 1918:509-513).

Inyangmani's people located along the Pezihutazikapi wakpa or
"Yellow Medicine River" of Minnesota in the 1800's. Inyangmani was the old Lac qui Parle Wahpeton chief and Christian sympathizer who had recognized the value of farming (Anderson 1984:210). Thomas A. Robertson gave a description of Inyangmani's house in his abandoned village in the midst of the 1862 Minnesota Sioux Uprising: "This was built of logs with a mud chimney for a fireplace, and a rough pine board table for "furniture" (Anderson-Woolworth 1988:184-5). Many farming and Christian members from Inyangmani's band remained on the Yellow Medicine River in 1862. Inyangmani and Mahpiyasna were supporters of the missionary movement and the majority of Dakota converts were from Inyangmani, Mahpiyawicasta, and Mdewakanton bands.

However, Oneroad's great-grandfather, Ptehotonpi; grandfather, Mahpiyasna; and father, Cankuwanzidan, were absent from the attendance roles of the mission school or frequent reference of the missionaries, leading one to believe they were less active than some of the members of the band (Riggs Papers; ABCFM). Only his grandmother, Tasinahotawin, was reported at Hazelwood and then only for one peak year for the potato crop when she had nine children to feed (NARG 75). A rift developed between farmer, Christian and traditional Sisseton - Wahpetons.

This may explain why Oneroad claimed to be a direct descendent of Tatankanazin, "Standing Buffalo," although the connection does not manifest itself on the annuity roles. By 1858, Ptehotonpi was with the Sisseton Wanata or "the Charger" at Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse at the head of Prairie des Coteau. Scarlet Plume and Standing Buffalo were also there, further removed from acculturation.
efforts and free to pursue the hunt. Tatankanazin’s name became associated with the head of Prairie des Coteau and tradition.

Another reason for claiming identity with Tatankanazin may have been due to his influential pacifist role in the 1862 War. His name became synonymous with "white friend" and "peacemaker." In fact, the newspaper recalled Tatankanazin as one of the first to welcome whites to America, distancing him from the 1862 war (Sentinel). Documents and oral history do not make the direct ancestral connection obvious, although Oneroad’s identity with the Sisseton and geographic locale is apparent.

Amos was one of ten siblings born to Cankuwanzidan or Peter "Oneroad" and Ina Oneroad (Iapi Oaye 1925). Most likely, Peter Oneroad was a passivist in the Minnesota Sioux Uprising of 1862, since his trial record #195 demonstrated that he was acquitted, a verdict in only ten percent of the cases (Satterlee). Thereafter, the Dakota who were not enlisted as scouts or imprisoned in Davenport, Iowa were removed from Fort Snelling, Minnesota and sent to Crow Creek on the Missouri River. Information provided to Skinner offers more detail of the Wahpeton ancestral figures Inyangmani, Mahpiyasna, or Tasinahotawin, than of his Sisseton ancestors Matomaza, Wasicuntanka, or Tatankanazin. Yet it is important to remember that all the Eastern Dakota bands were intermarried. Relatives fled to Canada with Tatankanazin in the aftermath of the Minnesota 1862 war, migrating between Fort Gerry in Manitoba, Fort QuAppelle, Moose Woods and Price Albert, Saskatchewan. By 1864, these bands began gathering back at Big Stone Lake and Lake
Traverse.

Peter Oneroad was reported by Skinner's informants as responsible for bringing the Grass Dance or Omaha Dance to the Dakota in 1869. This dance became the regular "give-away". The dance was seen by non-natives as encouraging the neglect of individual crops and farms. The "give-away" was seen as detrimental to accumulation of individual capital and thereby subversive to self-sufficiency. This perception would have put Peter Oneroad at odds with the missionaries and the agents on the reservation and allied him more with the traditional Dakota.

The Grass dance was introduced in the same year that Daniel Renville petitioned for assistance to build "Good Will" Church. Gabriel Renville and the "scout" party opposed him and generally preserved "heathen" customs of polygamy and dancing, yet they were some of the most progressive farmers (Meyer 1967:204-5). Skinner reports in his ethnology that local lodges were later established at Enemy Swim Lake, Brown's Valley, and the surrounding area. This was also a year after the Fort Laramie treaty increased the size of proposed allotment from 80 to 160 acres, and the year of the establishment of the Santee Reservation south and southwest of Niobrara River. Some Dakota emancipated from tribalism while at Davenport left the reservation in 1869 and took up homesteads on the Big Sioux River near Flandreau (Meyer 1967:164-5). It is uncertain in which location Peter Oneroad settled. An anecdote recorded Peter Oneroad hunting near the mouth of the Niobrara in 1874, which is within hunting range of the Santee Reservation, Crow Creek
Reservation, and considering the James River access, within hunting range of the Sisseton Reservation or either of the independent colonies.8

Two years younger than Alanson Skinner, Amos Oneroad, Mahpiyasna or "Jingling Cloud", was born around 1888, after the passage of the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887. It is not clear where he grew up but it is likely it was around Tawacinwaste or "Goodwill Church," as certain names resurface in affiliation there that were together at the head of Prairie de Coteau prior to 1862 and remain in proximity until the mid 19th century.

Undoubtedly, Amos read the Dakota language newspaper, Iapi Oaye, or its English counterpart the Word Carrier. The newspaper, produced at the Santee Normal Training School, focused on Eastern Dakota families affiliated with Riggs and Williamson and the missionary effort.9 The paper published a reprint of Alanson Skinner’s 1910 article on the Winnebago in the Southern Workman (Word Carrier 1910), a reprint of Alice Fletcher’s article on the study of Indian music (Word Carrier 1894), and various articles by A. C. Parker (1910), a Harvard Putnam student, Iroquoian (named "Gawasowaneha"), and New York State Archivist. It also published an article on a Dakota’s visit to the Indian museum in New York.10 Speculating that Amos Oneroad read the paper, he would not have been surprised by Lowie and Skinner’s interest in him. Lowie had already published his article on Dakota dances, using a student of the Santee Normal Training School, Captain Young, as an informant.11

The Iapi Oaye also published Dakota folklore. As early as 1881,
Mary A. Renville submitted her versions of "Blood Clot Boy," "Star Born," "Tiyotipa," and "Dog Woman Pack". In 1883, Julia La Frambois presented her versions of "Unktomi" and "Cantewin". In 1887, Peter Hunter's "The Spider and the Ducks" and "The Rabbit" appeared along with Arickaree stories by Charles Hoffman. In the 1887 January issue, H. E. Warner pointed out that people had looked into mythology and knew that "ideas and incidents found in European and Asiatic tales are strongly and closely reproduced in our American Indian stories." It seemed congruent to point out to Dakota readers the similarity between the different traditions and stress the ties that bind different cultures. The editors of the newspaper made use of this comparative literature provided by ethnographers. In 1897, "The Legend of Porcupine Butte [Pahinsenleha Paha]" was published anonymously.

In 1849, Mary Eastman, the grandmother of Rev. John and Dr. Charles Eastman, had already published Dahcotah: Life and Legends of the Sioux. Charles later authored several books on Dakota life and philosophy, as did his wife Elaine Goodale Eastman. The Eastmans' family history paralleled Oneroad's, since they were together earlier in Inyangmani's band and their families later became members of the same Tawasinwaste or "Good Will" Church community in Sisseton, South Dakota.

In reviewing the Iapi Oaye from 1888 through 1933, it became apparent that some anthropologists found a connection with the Santee Normal Training School and the editorial staff of the Iapi Oaye. The newspaper served as a conduit of current ethnology of the American
Indian, as it documented and distributed folklore and reported tradition in educational settings. The school was a source of informants for anthropologists from reservations throughout the Midwest. Students were exposed to other cultural perspectives and served as transitional bridges for the anthropologists. Robert Lowie, James Dorsey, Melvin Gilmore and Alanson Skinner were only a few of the scholars to use Sisseton - Wahpeton informants from Santee Normal Training School.

The *American Museum Journal* (14:119) first noted the Onroad - Skinner association in 1914, acknowledging Mr. Amos One Road [sic] as an "interesting and interested visitor". The note reads: "This young Wahpeton Sioux is in the city studying in the Bible Teachers’ Training School. Although only twenty-six years of age he has a surprising amount of knowledge concerning the customs of the Eastern Dakota. Accordingly Mr. Alanson Skinner and Dr. Robert H. Lowie found it profitable to take down from his dictation notes on many subjects of ethnological interest such as war customs, terms of relationship, social usages and ceremonials." A year later, another museum note (AMJ 15:272) mentions that Skinner stayed the latter part of the summer at Sisseton, South Dakota, where with the assistance of Onroad investigations were made among the Eastern Dakota with special regard to material culture. He also collected some folktales at that time for the American Museum of Natural History. According to *The Museum Notes*, "These people, ... have given up almost everything that pertained to the old Indian life and are now actively engaged in farming. Some very old and unusual specimens were
obtained however from people who had kept them as relics of the past" (AMJ 15:272).

In 1914, Oneroad was elected vice president of the Ptaya owohdake or "Dakota Missionary Society," along with Rev. John Eastman, brother to the famous author and local notable, Charles Eastman. Oneroad remained active in this society. He was also active in the Itaya Owohdaka, a Santee fellowship with acting officers Rev. Charles Frazier and Rev. John Eastman and himself. In the February 1916 issue of the Iapi Oaye, it is reported that his father, Peter Oneroad or Cankuwanzidan, died.

In 1918, Oneroad was reported on the staff of the Heye Foundation with Alanson Skinner, excavating an Indian village at Clason Point while Skinner still mourned the loss of his first wife (Sentinel 1922). Mutual tragedies, common interests, mutual benefit and the fact that Skinner was but two years older than Amos Oneroad may have contributed to the depth of their relationship. The ties continued and in July 1922 Amos Oneroad was added to the staff of the Milwaukee Public Museum to assist Skinner, then curator in the Department of Anthropology, in preparing a manuscript on the Sioux Indians, their folklore and history. The Sentinel (1922) reported that Oneroad was a direct descendant of Standing Buffalo, head chief of the Sisseton tribe, and one of the first Sioux "to welcome the white man to America." It also reported that Oneroad was engaged in missionary work among his own people prior to being a member of the staff of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, and that he was a graduate of the Bible Teachers' Training school of New
York and an ordained Presbyterian minister.

Sometime in 1922, he became the pastor of Ohaihde or the Santee Pilgrim Congregational Church on the Santee Reservation in Nebraska. He resigned this position after three years to return to care for his aged mother in Sisseton, South Dakota, after the death of his brother Jack Oneroad (Word Carrier 1925). 13

In January 1925, Amos was part of a Ohnide okodakiciye or traveling fellowship with Joseph Wakanna and James Owen Dorsey.14 All three delivered sermons together (Iapi Oaye 1925:Feb.). He filled in at Tawacınıwaste or "Good Will Church," in Sisseton, for his brother Rev. Charles Oneroad. He was elected president of the Santee Wayawa Ommiciye Itanaŋpi kte or the Santee Alumni Association and served as an officer until the 1930's. In May he performed the marriage ceremony of Lowie's informant, Captain Young, in Yankton, South Dakota. The Iapi Oaye reported that in the fall of the year Oneroad expected to take a position in connection with the Museum of the American Indian in New York City. His plans again seemed linked to those of Skinner. Then in August of 1925, he was with Skinner on a fieldtrip to Devil's Lake Reservation when Skinner was killed in their automobile accident.

The September-October issue of the Word Carrier (1925) printed a large ad and appeal in English by Dr. Melvin R. Gilmore of the Museum of the American Indian, "Who Has Anything For the Museum of the American Indian". It continued that he would buy "objects made for use in olden times" and provided a specific list of items they wished to buy. This seemed a desperate gesture by the Heye Foundation to
assure continued collections on the heels of Skinner’s death. In an article next to the ad, Gilmore thanked Rev. Charles Frazier for his help in the translation of the George Bushotter materials.15

By 1927, the Iapi Oaye reported that Rev. Amos Oneroad was a missionary to Dakota exiles in Canada. The discovery of remnant relatives in Canada had created some excitement, and the newspaper provided the medium for letters of correspondence between the two groups anxious to renew family ties disrupted by the 1862 war. Oneroad found remnants of his family with Henock Mahpiyahdinapi in Manitoba and went north with Rev. Solomon Tunkansaiciya and Rev. Samuel Hopkins.

By 1928 he returned to South Dakota and was pastoring around Yankton, Wagner, and Greenwood, South Dakota. His work finally seemed to settle around a congregation at Greenwood, South Dakota. At one time, he referred to Greenwood as "the remnant", presumably of his people after the 1862 war scattering. They were as much exiles as those Dakota in Canada. He married Emma sometime along the way. On April 25, 1931 a daughter named Dorthy Nancy Oneroad was born.16 Thereafter, pastoral performance and Santee Alumni news ceased to be the part of the Iapi Oaye newspaper coverage and documented traces of Oneroad disappear.

The historical experience and geographic encounters of a society influence and help create the context of any text of a society. The Dakota of Amos Oneroad and Alanson Skinner’s text were Eastern Sioux, but more specifically Sisseton - Wahpeton.17 The local hero of Amos Oneroad’s historic legends was chief Inyangmani or "Running Walker"
also called "the Gun". The fixed localization of the legends and tales collected by Oneroad and Skinner reflect back to the head of Prairie de Coteau, Lake Traverse and the head of Big Stone Lake and Devil's Lake.

A century later the descendants of the same families were together on the Sisseton Reservation in South Dakota. Remnant localization of Amos Oneroad's family centers around Tawacinwaste or "Good Will" Presbyterian Church and Sisseton, South Dakota. It is here that the remnants of the Eastmans, the Moores, Crawfords, Clouds, and Ironhearts centered, even though they moved and lived in other places.
NOTES

1Riggs (1918) describes this ceremony in detail, along with Ptehotonpi’s powers as a spirit medium, and offers his own explanation of the dance. Riggs states it was Ptehotonpi’s last dance, as he took sick and died shortly thereafter.

2These are annuity roll dates, recording distribution for the Sioux, (1853-1858) in a census manner.

3See Skinner-Oneroad ethnology text in this thesis on serpent’s root (p.110) and the medicine feast (p.105), which in "Medicine ceremony of the Menomini Iowa and Wahpeton Dakota," Indian Notes and Monographs (1920), Skinner claims had not been performed by the Wahpeton near Sisseton since the 1860’s.

4Hazelwood Republic was a quasi-independent political structure of Dakota farmers that gained recognition as a Dakota band in 1857. They stressed acculturation, discarded their "medicine sacks," and supposedly turned from Dakota tradition to integrate into white society and gain citizenship.

5Riggs (1880:231; 1918:552) said Wasicuntanka was an avid Bible reader and humble Christian, but in his later years he fell away from Christianity. He took part in the revenge killing of Itewawenehan or Fearful Face. He was wounded at the battle of Big Lake in 1862, sent to Davenport prison and died there.

6Dakota scouts were recruited after the war by Gabriel Renville, who hand picked men he determined reliable.

7See Skinner-Oneroad Eastern Dakota Ethnology, "Omaha or Grass Dance" (pezimihanka) in this thesis (p.101). The "give-away" was the custom of elaborate gift giving which white society deemed detrimental to the individual self sufficient economy concept.

8The mouth of the Niobrara is also the almost exact location of Greenwood, South Dakota. After the Dawes Act, many Dakota were encouraged back to the reservation to receive allotment.

9The Iapi Oaye, or "The Word Carrier" was a Dakota language newspaper printed in Santee, Nebraska with the missionary Riggs as editor. The same missionaries ran the Santee Normal Training School in Santee, Nebraska, educating in both English and Dakota preparing for higher education and practical skills. It is likely that Amos Oneroad attended before going to New York as he later acted as president of the school’s alumni association.

10A. L. Parker or Gawasowaneh’a’s articles were on Indian archeology and observations on government Indian schools. It is
possible that he became acquainted with Amos Oneroad in 1918 while on an archeological dig at Clason Point. Gasasowaneha was the son of Gen. Eli Parker, associated with Gen. U. S. Grant, and intimate friend of ethnologist Lewis H. Morgon. He was also related to Red Jacket.

11Japi Oaye (May 1935) reported that Amos Oneroad, in his role as a Presbyterian minister, married Captain B. J. Young to Sadie Jones in Yankton, South Dakota. Young had been Robert Lowie’s Santee interpreter for his 1913 article on Dakota dances. Young was a alumnus of Santee Normal Training School.

12Charles Eastman was a doctor and author whose family history and ancestors paralleled Oneroad’s. Both of their fathers were descendents of Inyangmanis’s band. After the war of 1862, both of their fathers were in the same geographic area, and their descendents and families localized around the Good Will church of Sisseton, South Dakota and a few had become native preachers. In 1923, Charles Eastman served on the Committee of One Hundred Advisory Council along with Arthur C. Parker, Warren K. Moorehead, Fayette A. McKenzie, Frederick W. Hodge, Alfred L. Kroeber, Clark Wissler, and John Collier (Wilson 172).

13See the Word Carrier, May-June 1925. Rev. Oneroad was replaced by Rev. Charles Frazier. He filled in pastoral duties at Good Will in Sisseton for his brother Rev. Charles (Chas) Oneroad.

14Dorsey edited Riggs Dakota-English Dictionary, orienting it to the Lakota dialect as well as Dakota.

15The items mentioned were: "old time" utensils, tools, musical instruments, objects used in games, garments, needle work, dried tewape, dried ikce-bdo, canhanpi from sap of cansaska, takanheca, canpa, psincinca, wipazuka, masinpute, wazustece, pangi, psin, upina etc. Gilmore with financial aid from Huntington eventually succeeded in developing a garden of Indian plantlife.

16The name of Alanson Skinner’s last wife was Dorthy Preston.

17Here, when I figuratively refer to a text of a society, I consider any traces conveying information about that society. Oneroad’s and Skinner’s documented written text is only one channel of such a communication.
ALANSON BUCK SKINNER: HIS LIFE, WORK, AND THE SCHOLASTIC ENVIRONMENT

Alanson Buck Skinner was born in Buffalo, New York, September 7, 1886, the son of Rachel Amelia Sumner Skinner and Frank Woodward Skinner, civil engineer. His childhood and youth spent in Staten Island, New York was almost a continual struggle against ill health. It was there that he met William T. Davis, who taught him to find arrowheads and other traces of ancient Indian life. Davis became his lifelong friend and turned him toward the study of natural science, knowledge that greatly influenced his life.¹

YEARS AT THE AMERICAN MUSEUM (1902-1916)

Before pursuing these interests, Skinner sought the advice of Professor Frederic Ward Putnam at the Museum of Natural History, and he became a friend of Harlan I. Smith and George H. Pepper. Skinner’s association with the American Museum of Natural History began unofficially as a helper to Mr. Mark Raymond Harrington, then engaged in local archaeological work for the museum in New York Bay, when Putnam was head curator in anthropology.² During his school vacation in 1902, he worked for the American Museum of Natural History with Arthur C. Parker and Harrington in the excavation of an ancient shellheap near Shinnecock hills, Long Island.³ Skinner
accompanied Harrington on an archaeological excursion to western New York State in 1904 on behalf of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. This excursion was his introduction to ethnology, as at Cattaraugus he visited his first Indian reservation and attended his first native ceremony. Harrington became his intimate friend.

After high school, he tried a "commercial position" but ultimately returned to the work he loved. Skinner took up permanent residence at 41 Sherman Avenue, Tompkinsville, New York, one of his Lanape Indian excavation sites on Staten Island unearthed during an archaeological survey of Staten Island while in his teens. Because of his intimate knowledge of the local problems and his excavation of many important sites, he was brought into the Department of Ethnology at the museum in 1907 at the age of nineteen. The "Museum Notes" (The American Museum Journal 1907:118) of that year stated that "the Department of Archaeology has received from Mr. Alanson Skinner a series of specimens collected for the Museum this year in Ontario, Livingston and Erie Counties, New York from sites formerly occupied by the Seneca and Neutral Indians of Iriquoian stock." 5

In 1908 Alanson Skinner became a member of the New York branch of the American Folklore Society. During his membership, Dr. Roland Dixon and Dr. Robert Lowie were presidents with notable members being Harrington, Fredric Ward Putnam, Pliny E. Goddard, Clark Wissler, George H. Dorsey, Alice C. Fletcher, Alfred L. Kroeber, Alfred M. Tozzer, Herbert J. Spinden, George H. Pepper, George Bird Grinnell, Paul Radin, J. R. Swanton and Charles Peabody. Dr. Franz Boas was the editor of the Journal of American Folklore.
Skinner began his field work for the museum in 1908, leading an expedition to Hudson’s Bay for the purpose of studying the Cree Indians. The museum reported that Skinner would collect anthropological data and specimens in the James Bay region of Canada, particularly among the tribes of Labrador (AMJ 1908:78,93). A year later, he made his second northern trip, again to Hudson’s Bay, and his first visit to Wisconsin, the site of many future studies and to Manhattan Island. The museum reportedly installed in the new accession cases of the Department of Anthropology a select series of specimens from material collected by Skinner the last summer among the Winnebago, Ojibway and Cree Indians. On Christmas Day of 1909, the museum sponsored a Skinner lecture on his early study of the Naskapi entitled "By Canoe to Hudson Bay." Skinner and his party traveled more than a thousand miles in an 18-foot canoe, having "many thrilling experiences and narrowly escaping starvation while returning through the forests of northern Canada". The journal ran a full account of the expedition (AMJ 1909:143,259,261).

On his return to Wisconsin in 1910, he met the half-blood Menomini, John V. Satterlee, who informally adopted Skinner as his nephew. However, a full-blood, Judge Sabatis Perrote, formally adopted Skinner into the Menomini tribe under the Thunder-clan name of Sekosa or "Little Weasel". Skinner later credited Satterlee’s advice and teachings for his success with Indians.

Skinner met many influential people while working with the Department of Ethnology, which became the Department of Anthropology in 1908. The department head was Clark Wissler. Associates and
assistants on the staff that year were Harlan I. Smith, George H. Pepper, and Charles W. Mead. In 1909, Pepper was replaced by Robert H. Lowie and in 1910, the department added Pliny E. Goddard, H. J. Spinden and Skinner. Wissler was working on the Blackfeet and on Dakota design; Lowie on the Blackfeet, Stoney, Chippewa, Assiniboine, Crow and Hidatsa; and Harrington on the Iroquois. Working fellows delivering papers at the museum included Alfred L. Kroeber on the Gros Ventre and the Arapaho, Commander Peary and Captain Comer on the Eskimo, Franz Boas on the Eskimo, and D. J. R. Walker on the Dakota of Pine Ridge Reservation. Reginald Bolton and Frank G. Speck also were publishing papers with the museum. Other notable causes of excitement within the museum were Vilhjalmar Stefanson and R. M. Anderson's Expedition in Alaska, the Fayum Expedition, Professor Howard's work in China, Theodore Roosevelt's elephant and rhinoceros specimens, and Dr. R. Broom's work in South Africa (AMJ 1908-1910). 6

Museums of the 1900's were not quite the curiosities collections of the P. T. Barnum "side show" museum (Barnum's American Museum in New York) of the mid to late 1800's, but rather collections for public view. Museums retained an active program of collecting, research, scientific publication, and public education for the increase and diffusion of knowledge. In a 1907 address in preparation for the Chicago World's Fair, Franz Boas declared that the museum was for the advancement of the sciences (Ames 1986:14-15). Indeed, William Sturtevant has labeled this the "Museum Period of Anthropology," in that these institutions provided the principal institutional bases and financial support for research until around
1880 when universities began offering anthropological training (27). By the 1920's the "University Period of Anthropology" began when the majority of anthropologists moved full time into teaching institutions and foundations took over support of the field work (Ames 1986:27).

The museum of the early 1900's was an aggressive and productive operation. Skinner fell in line with studies in rapid succession on the Menomini, Ojibway, Oneida, Winnebago, Eastern Dakota, Bungi, Seminole, and Plains-Cree (See Appendix II for a list of Skinner's scholarly publications). In addition to this field work, he made brief archaeological excursions to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York State, and "Museum Notes" (AMJ 1926:101) made particular mention of his excavation on the Abbott Farm at Trenton, New Jersey.

Alanson Buck Skinner was educated for his profession during and between his fieldwork. At Columbia University in New York, Skinner studied under Franz Boas and Marshal H. Saville (who were Frederic W. Putnam's students), as well as Livingston Farrand and Aldoph Francis Alphonse Bandelier. He held a fellowship in anthropology from 1911-1912 at Harvard University where he studied under Roland Dixon, another Putnam student, Alfred M. Tozzer, and D. Farabee. In 1911, Skinner signed his comparative sketch of the Menomini in the American Anthropologist from Harvard University when a prior article on Menomini war custom was signed from the American Museum of Natural History. He maintained his positions at both institutions.

The American Museum of Natural History lent Skinner to the state of New Jersey for a few months in 1912 to be in charge of a state-
wide archaeological survey. The same year he was elected the honorary curator of anthropology of the Staten Island Association of Arts and Sciences (AMJ 1912:217,319). On October 16, 1912, the executive committee appointed Skinner assistant curator of the Department of Anthropology at the American Museum. The American Anthropologist (1912:391-5) published Skinner's article, "Traces of the Stoné Age Among the Eastern and Northern Tribes," drawing attention to the fact that most archaeologists did not realize sufficiently that stone was not the only material worked by the aborigines of the "stone age" and citing findings of Radin, Lowie, Harrington and Parker in support. On the other hand, Skinner avoided addressing the issue of totemism, stage graded development, and historic value discussed the same year by Andrew Lang and A. A. Goldenweiser.

At the American Anthropological Association council in 1913, Skinner and Dr. Herbert J. Spinden discussed the folklore of the Tewa and the Menomini. That year the museum reported Skinner was making collections for the museum among the Western Ojibwa Indians of Long Plains, Manitoba. After the four month "collecting trip" he reported on his "study of the 'Bungi' in Manitoba . . . a name not heretofore appearing in ethnographical literature" (AMJ 1913:152,240,288). He determined that part of the Bungi resided on Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. His articles on the Bungi and ethnography of the Semioles appeared in the American Anthropologist (1913:63-77,689).

Skinner's first article in the Journal of American Folklore
appeared, entitled "European Folk Tales collected among the
Menominee Indians." The next year it was followed by "Some Aspects
of the Folk-lore of the Central Algonkin" (1914:97-100). The same
issue included articles by Boas and T. T. Waterman on myth and lore
of the North American Indian. Waterman (1914:3,1-54) pointed out
that no two tribes had been more important historically than the
Sioux and the Iroquois and yet they were the least known, something
Skinner no doubt made note of. He reported at that time only
fourteen Dakota tales were recorded for such an important tribe of
the Plains. Waterman also contradicted Andrew Lang’s "a kind of
thought now extinct" idea of folklore emphasizing a vital folklore,
remaining "in process of formation today". In the articles of this
volume (AMJ 1914) Skinner was quoted by Radin (100), Boas (398), and
Goldenweiser (416) concerning folklore and the Menomini to support
the process claim.9

In 1914 Skinner published four articles with the museum on the
Plains Cree, the Plains Objiway, the Bungi, and the Algonkinan (See
Appendix Two for list of Skinner’s publications). The same issue
produced a wealth of new scholarship indicated by the table of
contents: Wissler wrote his famous article on the impact of the
horse on plains culture and material culture; Goddard detailed the
relationship between North and South Athabaskans; Lowie described
the Crow Sundance and discussed phratry, clans, and moieties;
Walker wrote on the Ogalala Sioux; and George B. Grinnel published on
the Cheyenne. Still other articles appeared by Dixon, Laufer,
Swanton, Michelson, Brown and Hrdlicka (AMJ 1914:45-46).
The "Museum Notes" (AMJ 1914:47) reported that Skinner also spoke before the Linnean Society of New York on the Cree and Objibwa of Saskatchewan. It was his duty as well to give children's lectures. Skinner worked in 1914 amid the excitement of Roosevelt's South American Expedition (78), Broom's continuing Fossil Reptile Collection (137), the Piltdown Man (189), Franz Boas' presentation on Athbaskan mythology (107) and Edward S. Curtis's "A Plea for Haste in Making Documentary Record of the American Indian" (163).

In this same year of unbelievable activity, it was reported that Mr. Amos Oneroad, "proved an interesting and interested visitor at the Museum." Both Skinner and Dr. Robert H. Lowie "found it profitable to take down from his dictation notes on many subjects of ethnological interest such as war customs, terms of relationship, social usages and ceremonials" (AMJ 1914:119).

In 1915, Skinner, now a rising star in the fields of archaeology, ethnology and folklore, joined the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, taking charge of an archaeological expedition to Costa Rica. He maintained a frantic publishing pace. The next year Lowie and Skinner completed five publication reports upon their fieldwork among the Indians. Lowie concentrated on the Ute and Shoshone, while Skinner worked on the same aspects of the Iowa, Kansa and Ponca tribes. These pieces appeared in a special volume of the Anthropological Papers, "treating the societies and social organizations of the Plains Indians in an exhaustive manner."

Besides these publications, the American Anthropologist (1915) had Skinner review four authors. In the first review of Louis
Spence's "Myth of the North American Indian" (579), Skinner concluded that the author's comments were sometimes erroneous, open to objection, in misuse of standard terms and that he omitted standard authorities to show a "lack of knowledge of North American material culture and ethnology." Second, he reviewed the English scholars Barbara Freire Marreco and John Linton Meyers (341), and discovered they were unaware of such sources as Dorsey, Wissler, and Dixon and pointed out that they had a preconceived ideas of what the ethnology of the "Red Indian" should be which biased their selection of sources accordingly. Third, Skinner reviewed Arthur C. Parker's (180) book on the Seneca Prophet saying he found it partly misleading and without conclusions but that it was well researched and good overall. Lastly, of Christopher Wren's (185) study of North Appalachian pottery, Skinner pointed out some of the museum collections that the author missed yet he acclaimed Wren's contribution as significant in the field of archaeology. In this same volume, Leslie Spier (581) reviewed Skinner's work on the Indians of greater New York as "concise," "clearing", "an excellent account," "invaluable", "unified", and "consistent." This had been Skinner's most visible year in the journals. He was publishing articles, reviewing peers, and having his activities reported in the journal of the museum, of anthropology and of folklore.

This personal record brought Skinner into the politics of the profession in 1915. He was elected assistant secretary to the Folklore Society under the leadership of Pliny I. Goddard, George Lyman Kittredge, Jesse Walter Fewkes and Charles Peabody, all
important men in the field. That year, an article on the Menomini word "Hawatuk" was published with the *Journal of American Folklore* (1915:258-61). The next year an article on European tales from the Plains Ojibwa (1916:330-40) and another on tales of the Plains Cree were published in the *Journal of American Folklore* by Skinner (1916:341-67).

During these years, debates were brewing among folklorists concerning theory and method. Lowie had protested the acceptance of oral tradition as historical record, as he asserted was accepted by Goddard and B. Laufer (*JAFIL* 1917). Also, the disciplines concerned with origin, type, and dissemination were being reconsidered and new goals proposed by various members of the profession. Simultaneously, the research focus was turning more to the folklore of the borderland countries of the United States and of Europe, coincident with World War I.

During World War I, Skinner made numerous attempts to enlist in the service, but each time was rejected on account of physical defects. Finally, he was accepted by the New York Guard and served a term of enlistment with the Ninth Coast Artillery. Skinner joined in all available aspects of social and professional organizations. During his lifetime, Skinner became a member of a number of organizations, including the American Anthropological Association, the Wisconsin Archaeological Society, the American Folklore Society, the Explorer Club, the York Rite Masons, and the Shriners, and a life member of the American Museum of Natural History (*Indian Notes* 1924:2:247-57).
Skinner presented his final paper at the museum on "Chronological Relations of Coastal Algonkian Culture" in 1916. He resigned his position to accept similar work at the Heye Foundation. The "Museum Notes" (AMJ:74,139) announcement recalled that Skinner had been connected to the American Museum since 1902, when as a boy he accompanied local field parties engaged in archaeological work. Skinner's years at the Museum of Natural History were productive, stimulating, formulating years. He was nineteen when he joined the staff officially, twenty-four when he was promoted to assistant curator, and twenty-nine when he joined the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. It is clear he had attained respect as an archaeologist, since it is for that work that he received consistent praise and others frequently sought his opinion and quoted him.

Working in the museum view of "natural history," the study of concrete materials and material culture, was the expected perspective for Skinner, rather than the behavioral, symbolic, or cultural idealism which developed in the university. The museum had provided Skinner a multidisciplinary environment with checks, reviews and influence by other professionals of the museum community. Ethnology became an intrinsic part of his work due to this museum community and the influence of his associates and mentors. Harrington later said Skinner believed the study of archaeology necessitated an understanding of the living Indians, and in consequence, he acquired the field techniques of the ethnologist, and it was as an ethnologist, Harrington believed, that he would best be remembered (AMJ 1926:101).
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, HEYE FOUNDATION (1916-20)

The Heye Foundation, in conjunction with the Hispanic Society of America, sponsored concentrated studies in South America. Marshall H. Saville, S. K. Lothrop, and Alanson B. Skinner were all sent south. Skinner's first investigations in his new job took him to East Costa Rica investigating deep tombs in the region of Los Mercedes and to Talamanca frontier of Panama (AA 1916:619). His friend, M. R. Harrington, was also working for the Heye, only in the Arkansas Ozarks.

For the American Anthropologist (1916), Skinner reviewed Max Schrabisch's work on Indian habitation in Sussex County, New Jersey as interesting but lacking the measurement and data of Spier and Harrington's archaeology (118). J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (120) praised Skinner in the same issue for not "normalizing his spelling" of representational native language material. However, de Jong claimed Skinner was uninformed on the methodology of using an informant, and urged Skinner to record the informant and provide the transcription. The reviewer also asked whether statements made in the anthropological papers were based on information by the informant or experiences of the author himself. Methods of research and presentation of results were being revised and were subject to new criticisms. Skinner made strides to improve his methods. The year after Josselin de Jong's review, Skinner obtained a set of phonograph records of songs and rituals of the Menominee medicine dance (AA 1919:246).

Skinner's private life took a turn in 1916 when he married
Gladys MacCrae, who died with their child in childbirth two year later. Skinner’s rate of publication slowed markedly in 1916 until 1919. His close friend Harrington attributed this decline to the delicate health of his first wife. Outside of Costa Rica, he did not engage in fieldwork beyond his neighborhood. Thus, Skinner spent 1918 at an excavation at Throns Neck and Clason Point, both New York archaeology sites. Interestingly, Amos Onroad excavated an Indian village at Clason point with Skinner. Onroad and Skinner were reported to have met just four years earlier and Onroad had helped Skinner during his fieldtrip to Sisseton.

In 1919, Skinner’s concise article on the “Dakota Ethnology” appeared in American Anthropologist (164-174) and his article on the Sun Dance of the Sisseton in Lowie’s papers on the Sun Dance (APAMNH 1919:383-4). Perhaps he collected material from Amos as they worked at Clason Point. After 1919, Skinner began his usual pace of publication again. Moorhead and Donchoo (AA 1919:448) reviewed Skinner’s Susquehana archaeological expedition with minor disagreements and high compliments. Skinner published his Plains Objbwa Tales in the Journal of American Folklore (1919:280) along with articles by Sapir (351) and Kroeber (346). Folklore of the American Indian tapered off in the Journal of American Folklore. The only exceptions for the next five years were: Grinnel and Gladys Richards in 1921, F. G. Speck and Boas in 1923, and Lowie in 1924. Folklore interest shifted markedly to the international scene in contrast with the years before WWI.

On December 29, 1919 Skinner was married a second time, to
Esther Allen. The next year Skinner's publishing resumed an accelerated rate. His career was productive again. Skinner then accepted the position of Curator of Anthropology in the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee in 1920. He was making a fresh start. He did not know then that he would return to the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation in just four short years.

YEARS AT THE PUBLIC MUSEUM THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE (1920-24)

Back in momentum, Skinner reviewed A. C. Parker's excavation work in 1920 on a prehistoric Iroquoian archaeological site (AA 1920:78). It was noted in the American Museum Journal (1920) that Skinner had resumed field work with the Menominee and with a tone of encouragement that Skinner had been appointed to the Milwaukee Public Museum. It was obvious that his friends at the Museum of Natural History kept track of his endeavors and wished him well. That year the American Museum of Natural History brought out its third edition of Skinner's "The Indians of Manhattan Island and Vicinity", (AA 1920:256). His reputation in New York archaeology was sound. His first fieldwork specifically for the Milwaukee museum took him to Shawano, Wisconsin mounds, and to Green Bay archaeological site with Schumacher (255). For the American Anthropologist (1920:366-70) Skinner reviewed David I. Bushnell's work on native ceremonies and burial as "ignorant," hastily superficial, mass misinformation with obsolete data ignoring the sources.

Nancy O. Lurie, in her history of the Milwaukee Public Museum, stated that Alanson Skinner succeeded Samuel A. Barrett as
anthropology department head. He demanded more money than J. Alden Mason, and received it. But Lurie believed that Mason became more prominent and had far better academic credentials. Lurie surmised that Mason would have taken the job for less money but was passed over because of his unfortunate stutter in days when staff scientists were expected to do public lectures (1983:59).

Lurie mentions that Skinner, like Barrett, had worked for the Heye before coming to Milwaukee, but that Skinner was more "imbued than Barrett with Heye’s almost ruthless determination to collect even at the expense of rapport with the people whose artifacts he sought" (59). Lurie (1983) admits that we now have a more enlightened attitude but slights Skinner with his own admission that the Menominee named him "Little Weasel" for his persistence in making them reveal what treasures they had hidden away and wearing them down in order to get them to part with them. Such was the aggressive attitude of not just the Heye, but the Museum of Natural History and the Roosevelt era of novel collection and expedition. Harrington’s contemporaneous comments reflected a more lenient view of Skinner’s collecting. Harrington claimed that due to Skinner’s love and admiration for the American Indian, their ideals, point of view, outlook on life, achievements, and his sympathetic understanding of their problems, they loved him and gave to him freely what they might withhold from others (AA 1926:276).

Then on September 19, 1921, his second wife, Esther, also died in childbirth, survived by their daughter Esther Mary Allen Skinner. Again his publication record which had just peaked, plunged. Not
one article was published in 1921. There is no doubt that the personal tragedy endured by Skinner affected the overall productivity of his career. But now he had a daughter to care for. Skinner remarried a third time, to Dorthy Preston, a native Wyandotte of the Porcupine clan, named Peintrawl, "Can't Find Her". The Wyandotte conferred on him the Deer-clan name of Tronyetas, "Round the Sky." Nevertheless, Skinner preferred to be called Sekosa, his Menomini honorific. His daughter was adopted by the Bald Eagle clan of Pottawattamie and given the name Mekisekwa, "the Eagle Woman", when twenty months old.12

By 1922 Skinner was back collecting, this time in Oklahoma among the Sauk and Iowa. Using his natural ethnographic skills, he acquired an entire series of gens peace pipe bundles and war bundles. Swanton and Lowie had him back reviewing in the 1923 American Anthropologist. Skinner pointed out Sapir's mistakes in his work on Sarcee Pottery (AA 1923:428), again praised Arthur C. Parker's archaeology of Iroquois (AA 1923:94), and pointed to two distinct culture types and origins in Warren Moorhead's Maine archaeology (AA 1923:269). Skinner only published one paper himself in 1923 on the material culture of the Ioway Indians (AA 1923:286). The next year he only published four (See Appendix Three for a list of Skinner's publications).

During his brief stay at Milwaukee, Skinner added significantly to Barrett's Menominee materials and added extensive collections from the various tribes in Oklahoma, obtaining especially fine Iowa objects. Lurie (1983:59) said Skinner resigned in 1924 and was
replaced by Will C. McKern, a Kroeber student like Barrett.

BACK AT THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN (1924-25)

Skinner's return to the Museum of the American Indian must have spurred his enthusiasm to work, as his list of publications surpassed his earlier peak. He received his first merciless review from Truman Michelson in the *American Anthropologist* (1924:293) on his ethnology of the Sauk. Michelson berated him at length for believing his Indian informant without cross-checking the informant's information with historically correct documents, thereby missing the obvious contradictions. Michelson assaulted Skinner's assumptions, his reliance on Harrington, and objected to Skinner's preoccupation with "gens." Then he called the article valuable "raw material".

In reply, Skinner (AA 1925:340-3) pointed out that Michelson himself fell blindly to the same informant bias. Michelson also had accepted his own Sioux informant's information without cross-checking the documentation. This put Michelson's informant in as much conflict with the record as Skinner's informant, only on different events of the same episode. Beyond that paradox, Skinner insisted that Michelson missed the point of informant information. Skinner pointed out that recollection, or depiction of events often did not coincide with documented historical records. These contradictions were tools of cultural information, not mere misrepresentations of fact. This echoed the earlier Lowie, Goddard and Laufler argument about oral history and represented a unique and somewhat farsighted observation on the nature of "fact."
The *American Anthropologist* (1925:601) reported that Skinner was among the Seneca of Allegheny making acquisitions for the Heye Foundation. He published three articles on that trip. In all he published approximately twenty four articles that year (See Appendix III. Not all his articles are included in the published bibliographies of his work. This author kept finding unlisted articles). His capacity for productivity was again accelerating. Skinner's last review for the *American Anthropologist* (1926:286) was on A. C. Parker's work on the Algonkin Flint Mines where he again praised Parker, yet for reasons he inferred to be political, regretted that Parker could not describe his finds at Jefferson Bay. Parker and Skinner may have been personal friends. Parker was also a Frederic Ward Putnam student, a full blood Iroquoian born at Cattaraugua, and New York State archaeologist. The Braun Research Library Skinner Collection reveals letters of correspondence between them.

Skinners's last article in the *Journal of American Folklore* appeared in 1925 entitled, "Traditions of the Iowa Indians"(26-27:426-506). There were presentational changes in this work which perhaps reflect the evolution of ethnologists' methods. This article was carefully arranged, motifs noted, comparisons made to other folklore traditions, citations of comparisons, informants named and collection methods recorded. The conclusion stated that the Iowa were associated with the Central Algonquin, exhibiting a strong influence from the Plains with special similarity to the tales of the Eastern Dakota.
In Skinner's day, most of the ethnologists or anthropologists interested in Indians or indigenous peoples were also members of the American Folklore Society. Perhaps this was due to Franz Boas' popularization of "context" or grouping together artifacts to illustrate a way of life, to present the native point of view and recognizing the importance of individualized historical context. To this preservationist group, folklore presented collectible artifacts of an indigenous society. The divisive issues in these early years concerned the role of constellation mythology, stage graded evolution, totemism, and the view of oral history.

In the last two years of his life, Skinner also began to write fiction, vivid Indian stories appearing in various magazines, especially Adventure and Frontier. He had written a number of poems as well. "Slaves of the Lamp Called Science," was one poem which attracted considerable attention. The Skinner Collection at the Braun Research Library unexpectedly reveals numerous short stories and creative works.

Skinner's career was prematurely cut short on a research trip to the Devil's Lake Reservation of Sisseton-Wahpeton. This vehicle skidded off the slippery country road near Tokio, North Dakota on August 17, 1925. The car, driven by Amos Oneroad, slipped over the edge of the grade, toppled over, and crashed down the embankment. Amos Oneroad crawled from the wreck and tried to free Skinner pinned beneath the car. Skinner was survived by his wife, his four-year-old daughter and his parents.

In his obituary, his friend M. R. Harrington wrote that Alanson
Skinner was a "sympathetic and appreciative friend of the Indian
race, learned student of Ancient America, prolific author of
scientific works on Indian subjects, lecturer, fiction writer, poet."
Harrington continued "...gone forever was that wonderful memory, that
bubbling humor, that active mind, that radiant, cheerful personality.
He was only thirty-nine years of age" (AA 1926:275-76).

SKINNER AND ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT HIS METHOD AND HIS THEORY

Skinner was at work when the professions of archaeology,
ethnology and folklore were emerging as fields that studied the past
through material remains or artifacts, and they used that evidence to
order and describe those artifacts and to explain events or culture.
Skinner’s research interest centered around culture, and his research
goal was the building of context, regrouping the data to illustrate a
way of life, the emic or native point of view. Preservation of
cultural knowledge was as much a goal as the representation of
culture. The methods and theories of this approach were drawn
principally from the historic-geographic, culture-area or
diffusionist schools.

The methods by which Skinner discovered, recovered, preserved
and described his data involved rigorous collection of data with a
localized geographic focus. As Skinner’s professional itinerary
demonstrates, it entailed vigorous fieldwork. This often involved
being a participant-observer of the culture in order to gain access
to data then described. In the case of ethnology, it involved
dictation of a native informant’s oral recollections. Josselin de
Jong noted that Skinner did not succumb to "normalizing his spelling" of the native informant, thereby remaining more reflective of spoken language rather than idealized language. Amos Onoroad also provided written recollections of "old lifeways" and "long time ago" tales to Skinner on 4 inch by 5 inch looseleaf notebook paper and in letter form, both in English hand script. From that, Skinner took down "notes on many subjects" (AMJ 1914:119). His informant assisted in contacting other informants in the field, including many of his relatives and friends.

As an archaeologist, Skinner was well prepared for the methodology of controls, documentation, description and the concern with spatial relations. Skinner's experience with the "Museum Anthropology" and with Boas reinforced the methods he used. The research process completed, the museum atmosphere provided peers to inspire and review research with vigor. Skinner's colleagues and mentors no doubt influenced Skinner's methods and theory development.

In assessing the meaning of this evidence, Skinner was guided by certain theories as well as by certain influences. Skinner believed that the study of archaeology necessitated an understanding of living Indians. Working in the museum view of "natural history," the study of concrete materials and material culture was the expected perspective for Skinner. From the apparent research agenda at the Museum of Natural History and his work with Lowie, we can surmise he found justification in using the comparative method of culture explanation. It is obvious that Skinner saw merit in looking for regular traits, and the explanation of dissemination. In culture
description each group was considered generally, not exclusively, unique, being comprised of comparable traits of dissemination. Skinner's explanations were generally limited to description and the diffusion of traits and trait complexes. This may point to belief in the importance of individualized historical context.

There are other traits worth noting when considering Skinner's goals, methods, and theories. Harrington commented that Skinner was a great reader with a wonderful memory, enabling him to make the best possible use of what he read--his wide range of general knowledge of the American field--both in archaeology and ethnology. By Skinner's own admission, physical anthropology and linguistics held no special interest for him. As a professional, Skinner was a very active researcher, lecturer, writer, and reviewer. He avoided speculative ideological questions concerning totemism, cosmology and origins debated in the professional literature of his day. In his reviews, he insisted on the importance of attending to rigorous measure and description, cautioned against pigeon-hole categorizing (like "Stone Age") and the misuse of information. He also emphasized the value of keeping abreast of professional literature. He offered insight on oral history as culture cues and the process of localization, and considered the ramifications of the filters of information, such as informants, researchers, readers.

Only in direct defense of his work or in reviews of others did he comment on issues in methods and theory in the profession. The defense of using his informant information regardless of documented historical confirmation encapsulates a hint of his response to
Lowie's objection to the use of oral history as fact and his insight to the process of "localization". Skinner did not see historical fact as the issue, but rather he regarded oral history as a tool to cultural insight. Skinner saw people as filters of facts revealing cultural context, not as sources of historical misrepresentation. This same skepticism concerning the face-value of folkloristic material held in the matter of custom and belief. Lack of correspondence between the statements of folklore, customs, and beliefs of the people were often of great importance in the correct understanding of the material. The Dakota trickster cycle tales he collected are a good example of this conflict (See The Adventures of Iktomi stories, pages 209-251).

Skinner's writing in the professional journals was indeed concise, unified, and clear. He responded to constructive criticism concerning audio-recording his informant. He used other suggested techniques as he saw the benefits of more accurate portrayal of cultural traits. Skinner demonstrated presentational changes in this work which perhaps reflect the evolution of ethnologists' methods concerning citation and credits, stating methods, use of comparison and having a thesis.

In retrospect, Skinner was in the hub of scholarly activity, working contemporaneously with several notable archaeologists, anthropologists, and folklorists. Skinner's adeptness for collection and description from his work in archaeology and his interest in artifacts of indigenous people, their life ways, material culture, religion and folklore, lent itself to this method along with his
colleagues Boas, Radin, Lowie, Wissler, and Kroeber. This led to context building ethnohistory and folklore dependent on an informant's recollection of days past. The emphasis was on descriptive documentation of a localized geographic culture and the culture context. The unarticulated goal was culture description. The analysis considered the traits of culture and diffusion of culture traits through contact.
NOTES

1 William T. Davis of New Brighton, was a member and author in the National Science Association of Staten Island. His articles are credited by Skinner in his article on his Staten Island archeology in Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural Science vol.1.


4 Cattaraugus is a Seneca settlement on a branch of the Cattaraugus creek.


6 See AMJ 1908-1910 table of contents. Stefanson and Anderson were foundation explorers and Skinner continued to correspond with Stefanson. The Fayum Expedition was south of Cairo, Egypt which led to old world monkey and hominoid fossil finds of the Oligocene period. Broom was a paleontologist working on mammal-like reptiles in South Africa at this time, but later searched for australopithecines and came to the support of Raymond Dart. Roosevelt was taking trips and then making presents of his specimens to the museum.

7 A list of Franz Boas's students in anthropology and folklore were: Alfred Louis Kroeber, Edward Sapir, George A. Dorsey, Livingston Farrand, Pliny Earle Goddard, Frank Speck, Robert H. Lowie, Paul Radin, Martha Warren Beckwith, Gladys A. Reichard, Ruth L. Bunzel, Ella Deloria, A. Phinney, etc. (Zumwalt 75)

8 Skinner (1911:299;55-565) "War Customs of the Menomini", and "A Comparative Sketch of the Menomini", American Anthropologist, vol. 13. This was Skinner's first article with this journal, then edited by Swanton and Radin with Boaz, Putnam, Wissler, on the editorial committee. Editors for years following, included Hodge, Lowie, Goddard, Speck and Gifford with Lowie consistently on the editorial
committee from 1912 until Skinner stopped publishing.

9 Franz Boas and Robert Lowie were consistent of the *Journal of American Folklore* while Skinner was publishing.

10 Parker, Gawasowaneha or "Snowslide", was an Iroquoia born on Callaraugus in 1881, the son of Gen. Ely S. Parker. He was a Putnam student at Harvard and became the New York State archeologist. He may have been a personal friend of Skinner's. Skinner never gave him a bad review, and obviously admired his work.


12 "Indians Adopt White Children," in the *Milwaukee Journal*, June 5, 1923. This article was provided through the courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

13 This information is from the inventory sheet of the Skinner Collection in the Braun Research Library of the Southwest Museum.

14 See the Alanson Buck Skinner Collection, Braun Research Library, Southwest Museum, MS 201; Boxes 2, 3, 4.

15 Tokio, North Dakota is near Fort Totten on the south side of the lake on the Devil's Lake Sioux Indian Reservation. Many Wahpeton and Sisseton settled near there in the aftermath of the 1862 Minnesota Sioux Uprising.

16 Some biographic information is provided by the index to the Alanson Buck Skinner Collection, Braun Research Library; his obituary was written by M. R. Harrington in *Indian Notes* vol. 2, p. 247-253 and in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 14, pg. 215; and his obituary in *The American Museum Journal* vol. 26, 1926, pg. 101-2; and in "Indians Adopt White Children", in the *Milwaukee Journal*, June 5, 1923.
CHAPTER V

THE SKINNER - ONE ROAD MONOGRAPH: EASTERN DAKOTA ETHNOLOGY

A PRIOR TEXT IN AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

Alanson Buck Skinner's "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", which appeared in the *American Anthropologist* (1919:164-74), continues to be cited by such Sioux scholars as Gary C. Anderson (1984), Raymond J. DeMallie (1980:58), and James H. Howard (1980;1984:5-12). The article is demonstrative of Skinner's journal publication style. However, it is a succinct and clinical rendition of the more extensive ethnology found in the Braun Research Library Skinner Collection and included in this thesis. Perhaps the 1919 ethnology was abbreviated for presentation at the American Anthropological Society meeting. The article referred to specimens of exemplary acquisition for the American Museum of Natural History and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. There are also comparative reference of his research findings in view of the works of Lowie, Wissler, Dorsey, Riggs and Mrs. Eastman.¹

This article in the *American Anthropologist* (1919:164-74) seemed to place Skinner's research within the context of the scholarly community at that time studying the American Indian. The focus was "type" placing (using classification and geographic area) the Eastern Dakota in the process of dissemination. The conclusion to this
article claims that the Eastern Dakota seem to be "intermediate between the Forest and Plains peoples. In material culture they are almost wholly of the Woodland type, . . . Central Algonkian . . . . In social and political organization they incline toward the prairie tribes, or . . . Southern Siouan . . . ." (174). The typological conclusion is a composite comparison proposing the Isanti and Wahpeton as intermediate tribes, and the Sisseton having "crossed the transition line and are just on the border of true Plains culture" (174).²

Skinner’s chief point of interest was identifying traits of cultures pertaining to both the woodland tribes and the plains tribes as a transitional or mixed culture. The discussion at that time between geographers and anthropologists involved the relationship between geographical environment and culture. The conjoining theoretical problem was whether people get their culture chiefly by borrowing it from others or by inventing it independently under the stimulus of similar conditions of life. Part of the "historical" view of culture was that all cultures were made up of traits and trait complexes. These traits were products of environmental conditions, psychological factors, and historical connections, involving diffusion and the borrowing of traits and trait complexes from neighboring cultures. The idea was to look for any regularities or uniformities of process (Kaplan and Manners 1986:70-71).

Skinner reported that the data for the article was collected principally from Sisseton and Wahpeton informants at Sisseton, South
Dakota, during the month of August, 1914, on a field expedition for the American Museum of Natural History. He acknowledged the valued assistance of Amos Oneroad as guide, interpreter, and informant. He mentions that a little Isanti material was gathered in 1913 at Portage La Prairie, Manitoba.

The intended audiences for the two versions of the ethnology were obviously different. The 1919 article was obviously for a quick overview by the scholarly community. The writing style was more formal. It contained very few indigenous names and no anecdotes or embellishing material as found in the Braun manuscript. In contrast, the unpublished version made little reference to acquired artifacts or other scholars beyond Riggs and Dorsey on band lineage and etymology.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SKINNER - ONEROAD MONOGRAPH

Skinner first encountered his Wahpeton informant, Amos Oneroad, with Lowie in 1914 at the Museum of Natural History, the same year of Curtis's urgent plea for documenting the vanishing Indian. Lowie had just published his article on Dakota dances, using Eastern Dakota informants. Wissler had published some Dakota myths in 1907. In 1915 while on a research trip, Skinner stayed at Sisseton with Oneroad's family. Following the death of Skinner's first wife and child, he and Amos Oneroad excavated Clason's Point together. Skinner must have collected data throughout their relationship. His condensed ten page ethnology was published in the American Anthropologist in 1919. In 1922 Oneroad joined Skinner in Milwaukee
to work on the joint manuscript found in the Braun Research Library and presented here. It was then they collected the tales. Skinner added some tales collected on his 1914 field trip to Sisseton. Skinner also notes that Oneroad had access to his collection of Iowa tales for comparison. The same year that Wallis published his Canadian Dakota tales, Skinner's collection of Wahpeton tales was published without the ethnology by the Milwaukee Museum. In the meantime, Skinner published many ethnologies and collections of tales of other tribes. He was on a field trip for this project with Amos Oneroad to the Devil's Lake Sisseton-Wahpeton Reservation when he was killed.

It is clear from the documents at the Braun Research Library that Skinner planned to publish the extensive ethnography together with the Dakota tales. The manuscript had a table of contents and a typed and hand-corrected manuscript in an apparently purposeful order. The Eastern Dakota ethnology section was eighty-one pages long. The section entitled "Traditions of the Wahpeton Dakota Indians" was one hundred and thirteen pages long. The section entitled "Wahpeton Dakota Folklore" was twenty-seven pages long. This last folklore section repeated several of the tales in the just mentioned "Traditions of the Wahpeton Dakota Indians " and some tales embellishing the ethnography; therefore, it is not included as a separate unit. In the manuscript, there were very few footnotes, fewer credits to other sources or literature in the field. The comparisons made were primarily to other tribes rather than to other scholars or documentation, with the exception of the matter of
"gens".

The manuscript transcribed in this thesis will be presented in accord with Skinner's planned table of contents for the unpublished monograph (See Appendix I: Outline for a Monograph on the Ethnology of the Eastern Dakota Indians). As stated earlier, Skinner's introduction is missing. Not all of the topical information indicated by the headings listed were included in the present manuscript. Some of the data intended for coverage of these topics had been published in short articles in various journals and collections. This was the case with the material on the Sun Dance published in the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* (1919:383-385) and the sketch of the Dakota ethnography published in the *American Anthropologist* (1919:164-74).

The missing categories were labeled "introduction," "religious concepts", "hunting and fishing", "agriculture", "foods and their preparation", and "miscellaneous customs". Sub-sections missing under categories included were on customs of pregnancy and childbirth, customs connected with infancy, under the category "Life of the Individual;" and were on manufactures, processes, etc., ceremonial paraphernalia, products of the fields, and miscellaneous customs under "Material Culture." The missing sub-sections concerning weapons, musical instruments, and art were covered in the 1919 ethnographic article and may have been destined for inclusion in the final monograph.

In the monograph, Skinner used a different presentation style from his journal publications. This monograph was full of anecdotes
and embellishment, and overall is less formal in tone. In view of his other work, this raises several questions. Was this the first draft of the manuscript? Was it a closer reflection of the information as provided by Amos Oneroad? Was this style a conscious effort to appeal to a wider audience than just the professional community? Whom did he hope to publish with? Why had he not published it sooner, given the number of years of research?

In view of Wallis'(1924) work and in accord with his own, he did not seem to succumb to "normalizing" the data to literary or the profession's presentational style. Instead, it reads like a personal narrative account. His voice is pronounced in the narrative, but the informant's voice is also identified and present. In the text, Amos Oneroad is identified as Jingling Cloud (the translation of Mahpiyasna), which leads to confusion since his grandfather has the same name. It would have been clearer to refer to the elder as Jingling Cloud and the younger, as Amos Oneroad. Either Jingling Cloud was such a natural referent that Skinner did not give thought to the dilemma or he did not deem the distinction important. The Dakota people do not attach the emphasis to specific persons in narrative to the degree white cultures do (another reversal of Iktomi) and this lack of clarification may be a by product of that.

The Braun Skinner collection contained handwritten notes from Oneroad on information not included in the manuscript. They were either Oneroad's afterthoughts and information arriving after Skinner had typed the present manuscript, or left out intentionally by Skinner. The first explanation is most likely. Only two redundant
notes were found in the Skinner papers from Oneroad on elements included in the manuscript.

There does not appear to be a stated thesis or a conclusion drawn from the data in the Braun monograph as there was in the 1919 article. The presentation is such that the text speaks for itself. The narrative data was ordered to build cultural context. Skinner exercised interpretive restraint and let the informants' recollections, their descriptions and explanations, speak for and represent their culture. The table of contents reveals intent to introduce the data with information on geographic area, demographics, and traditional as well as "post European" history, and a section entitled "future prospects". However, these sections were not found in the papers. It is possible a thesis would have been included in these sections or even some conclusions. There was no section labeled "conclusions" or any summation. As a result, the monograph as found remained descriptive and context building, speaking for itself through Oneroad and Skinner.

(The Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California, provided the photocopy of the Eastern Dakota Ethnology from the Manuscript Collection MS 201. What follows in this thesis is an annotated transcription of this photocopy of Skinner's original typescript with his holograph comments. The footnote numbers refer to the present author's annotations and are not, therefore, part of Skinner's original work unless specifically mentioned.)
SKINNER COLLECTION: EASTERN DAKOTA ETHNOLOGY

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

TRIBAL DIVISIONS. Simon Cekpa, a Sisseton, sixty-seven years old, gave the following list of gentes for his group and also the Wahpeton and Santee [Sioux]. He said that these groups had paternal decent and were exogamous.³

Sisseton
1 Amdowupuskiya, Clothes-dry-on-their-backs (Riggs, Ashley)⁴
2 Basdecesni, Do-not-slice-meat (Riggs, Ashley (1884))⁵
3 Ohdihe, Counts-like-a-robe (Riggs, Ashley)
4 ItoKak tina, South-dwellers (Ashley)
5 Pabaksa Ihyantowana, Cut-head-Yankton
   a Pabaksa
   b Yankton
6 Pte Yutesni, Do-not-eat-buffaloes
7 Kapoja, Light-lodges (Ashley)
8 Cankute, Shoots-the-tree (Ashley)
9 Manintina, Live-by-themselves (Ashley)⁶
(Added Bands: (7 of 9 with Ashley; 3 of 9 with Riggs)
10 Riggs, Dorsey, Ashley 5 lodges⁷
11 " " " SuDanyer
12 " " " ----- Woodlens place
13 " Ashley North and Dweller Band
14 " Village at the Birch
15 " Bached Wren Fishlewok)

The following explanations are given for the names of the gentes. In the case of the Clothes-dry-on-their-backs, it is said that when they had fresh meat and were in a hurry to travel they simply packed it on their backs even though it wet their clothes and let it dry there. The Do-not-slice-meats are said to have earned their name because they were too stingy to cut meat for others. The
South-dwellers to which band my informant [Simon Cekpa] belongs, as their name implies, were the southernmost members of the Sisseton. Each band has its place in the Sisseton camp circle and this band always camped on the south side. The Pabaksa were known as nomads and roamers. No explanation of their name could be obtained. The Pabaksa and Yankton were about the same time [sic.] of the outbreak\(^8\). The Yankton are said to be true Yankton but not connected with those of the prairie. The Do-not-eat-buffalo gens got their name because they were very poor and had no running horses so they were unable to get any tender buffalo cows but were obliged to feed upon tough old bulls. This title is an [sic.] nickname and has no reference to any taboo. The Light-lodges got their name because they always ate any meat which they obtained on the spot instead of jerking it and put it up in packages to be left behind in a underground cache or carried with them. Consequently, they always traveled light. The Shoots-the-trees are said to have been very fond of target practice in the evening. The Live-by-themselves gens is said to have kept out of the camp circle as though ashamed when all the others were together.

Each band had its own sacred pipe and each family man had a pipe which he kept to offer visitors.

There were individual names in each band which were handed down from father to son or at least from generation to generation but apparently these names were not gens names like those of the Iowa and other Southern-Siouan tribes, but were considered honorable because of glory which former warriors had shed upon them and were not connected with any eponymous animal.
The rule of exogamy was sometimes abrogated in the case of a young man wishing to marry in his own gens. The matter would be discussed by the elders and if there was no actual blood relationship between the young couple, the marriage ceremony was not performed, but the couple was given a tipi and food and they were from that time considered married. Such a ceremony, however, was rare.

In former times it is said that the Sisseton were called Skiskita'atonwan, or "water-shed village" and that the name Sisseton was a corruption of this. The locality where they dwelt near Lake Traverse was also called Ptansinte, otter tail. (Hoasinsinatowan (Fish slime is the root of the word Sisseton.))

Wahpetonwan

Unlike most of the Sisseton, whose gentes were nicknamed from one parcellarity [sic], the Wahpetonwan, who were considered more sedentary got their names from the localities in which they lived, they were:

1. Witotina, Islanders. (Island at South end of Big Stone Lake)
2. B'deiyena, River-extending-into-a-lake (Lac Qui Parle)
3. Haha atonwan, Falls-dwellers (At the Falls near Granite Falls).
4. Utapahipine, Acorn-pickers, so called because they dwelt in the oak forest.
5. Wiyakaotina, Sand-dwellers.
6. Hintahankpanyan, Basswood-latchets. 10
   (7. Inyan ceyaka - Little-rapids.)
   (8. Cankaga otina - Log dwellers)

With regard to the last-named division [6. Hintahankpanyan, Brasswood-latchets], the following story is told:

A very handsome young girl from this gens rode with a youth
from another village. She had no latchets on her moccasins so she procured basswood shreds for the purpose. When her husband brought her to his people they laughed at her.

There seems to be no doubt but that these gentes formerly occupied separate territories. Isanti, the so-called Santee division was made up of gentes who were known by the names of their chiefs for the most part. This band was originally known as the Mdewankantonwan to the Santee, one of their subdivisions who derived their name, as some say from Knife Lake where they dwelt and others because they obtained knives in exchange from traders, became more important and better known to the whites because they resided nearer to them.

Isanti

(These were originally Mdewakanton and Wahpekute.)
1. Sakpe (six)
2. Taoyateduta, His Scarlet people, also known as Little-crow's band. These were the true original Mdewakanton.
3. Husasa, Red Legs. These were the original Wahpekute
4. Tipi, Lodge
5. Wabasa, Red Banner or Standard (Wapahasa)
6. Isanti (Isanati), Knife Lake

(Some grounds for claims advanced in T. M. Riggs p. 139 that Mdewakantons were the only Santees originally in native opinion.)

The Hunkpati are the people now dwelling at Crow Creek.

OCETI SAKOWIN - SEVEN COUNCIL FIRES. It will be noticed that in the seven fires several subdivisions of the Eastern Dakota are given what would seem to be undue prominence, being placed on a level with the main divisions. This is due to the varying fortunes and vicissitudes of the tribe. The Wahpekute died out and coalesced with the Mdewankanton who in turn were overshadowed by the Isanti. The
name Isanti was also generally applied to the Mdewakanton but all of these changes did not effect the structure of the Eastern Dakota as given elsewhere.

The original seven fires of the Sioux are supposed to have been separate divisions or important bodies of the tribe who were independent of each other until they met the French who suggested that they form an offensive and defensive alliance.

The Oceti Sakowin or seven council fires of the Sioux were:

1. Mdewakantonwan or spirit lake dwellers.
2. Wahpekute, Shooters among the deciduous leaves.
3. Wahpetonwan, leaf dwellers.
4. Sisito[n]wan, village among the fisheries,{also called Hoasinsin or Skissitaatonwan}
5. Ihankto[n]wan, dwellers at the end village.
6. Ihankto[n]wanna, little dwellers at the end village.
7. Titonwan, dwellers on the prairies.

[OR]

Oceti - Sakowin or Seven Council Fires.
1. Mde-Wakantonwan - Spirit Lake Dwellers or Mysterious Lake Village
2. Wahpe-Kute - Shoot among deciduous leaves
3. Wahpe-Tonwan - Village among deciduous leaves
4. Sisinyun-Tonwan - Village among Fishey Scales
5. Ihanktonwan - Dwellers of End Village
6. Ihanktonwannna - Little End Village
7. Titon-wan - Dwellers of the Prairie

Divisions of the Teton:

Tetonwan, prairie people
Oglala
Sicanghu (burnt thighs)

[?] Kunursa (lower people, lower Brule)
Itazipcona (without bows, sans arcs)
Hunkpati (opposite end of village in the circle)
Hunkpapai (Near or Next in the circle)
Oohenonpa (two boiling)
Minikonwaju (water spring) planter
In Skinner’s account we seem to have a mixture of Wahpekute and Mdewakanton bands, evidently resulting from the confusion following the banishment of the Sioux from Minnesota. The names given by R. [Riggs] and D. [Dorsey] for the bands of these divisions do not at all correspond with Skinner’s list. [This note is as it was found in the manuscript. See footnote 14.]
ORGANIZATION. Each gens had its own place in the camp circle of the band. The drawing [not included in the collection] shown in Fig. 00 gives the position of the Sisseton gentes. Each gens had its own group of councilors or wakiconza consisting of twenty men.\textsuperscript{15} The councilors' tent was placed in the circle in front of the spot where the gens was camped. The councilors of all gentes got together for a grand congress when matters of trivial importance came up. A herald was chosen to go about the camp and announce its movements. The councilor's duty was to watch and guard the people, to help them in moving, to take care of poor people, and have their loads carried for them. On buffalo hunts they collected beef for the poor but never hunted themselves. The akicita were responsible to them and carried out their orders. There were no leaders among the councilors, all having equal authority. In the tribal council twenty men of each gens voted as a unit after deciding among themselves. Decisions were announced as final by the herald. The title wakiconza means "executor".

OFFICERS, GOVERNMENT, WARRIORS, AND WAR CUSTOMS

CHIEFS. The chieftainship among the Santee, Sisseton, and Wahpeton was hereditary. The chief was called wicasta yatapi. This is now generally translated as "He eats the man," but this is a folk etymology according to the well-informed Dakota and the word is really derived from wicasta itancan or yatapi an expression meaning "honored man" and is a corruption of that term. The chief had no authority whatever in the tents of the wakiconza or executioner who
are elected by the people except when there is a grand tribal council when he has absolute control. Ordinarily, the thinkers act as councilors and over rule him. The head chief has a soldier under him who acts as his special agent. For other occasions akicita or police are selected from among the braves. From what the old men said I gather that sometimes the akicita were selected from among the braves of some special society but this was certainly not always the case.

**MAKING OF CHIEFS.** The chief’s office was handed down from father to oldest son. Anciently, the chief might be a medicineman or might be a man who had worked up from a lowly origin or a warrior who had attained great honor. It became customary when these early chiefs died to confer the office upon their sons and thus the position became hereditary.

**WAKICONZA or COUNCILORS.** When on the move, one half of the councilors marched ahead of the village and the other half in the rear. Their duty was to watch and guard the people. If two bands met on the prairie the people stopped right there at some distance from each other and dressed in their best clothes. This act was called omaha kiyotag kapi (Omaha setting). They would then line up beside each other and advance in two long lines, singing and giving presents. Then they would mingle and enjoy themselves.¹⁶

**WAR HONORS.** The following war honors with their rewards were recognized by the Eastern Dakota.
First, to touch a living enemy. This was the highest honor and for it the warrior received the right to wear a single eagle feather standing upright on the back of his head.

To be one of the next three to touch the enemy also brought the same reward but the honor was considered not so great as to be the first coup striker.

Taking a scalp. This was next in value to counting coup. It was only necessary to take a single lock from the head where the hair radiates. This would only count for a man who had no opportunity to strike a coup at the same time. Coup strikers received no additional honor for taking a scalp. A scalper had the right to wear a bear’s paw on his right foot.

To be wounded. A man who was wounded in battle marks a red spot on a eagle feather at the point where the black tip joins the white. If a wounded man takes and counts coup upon an uninjured enemy he is entitled to wear a prairie wolf’s tail on his left foot when he dances. When a man is wounded by a wounded enemy he may wear a whole fox skin around his neck or a black eagle feather from an eagle’s tail, stripped on both sides, the shaft standing upright between.

For stealing a horse, a man has the right to carry a whip on his wrist during the dance.

Saving a comrade is looked upon as the bravest of deeds. A man who has done this has the right to reenact the performance when dancing.

A man who has gone to war in a canoe attaches a little paddle to the eagle feather which he wears in his hair. If he went on
horseback he might paint horse tracks in white on the rear of his breechclout.

An enemy going alone into a Sioux camp and getting inside the camp circle was never injured by the Dakota. He was looked upon as no longer a foe but was taken into the chief's lodge where he was kept and cared for and all shook hands with him and those who did so had the right, to wear an eagle feather. Among the Dakota a young man of their own people getting into the enemy's camp in this way had the right to wear a war-bonnet; the eagle feathers in it represented the enemies who wounded him. The prisoner in the Dakota camp when he has achieved this feat was finally released with gifts of horses.

An interesting case of Yankton war symbols occurs in a pair of moccasins; obtained from Peter One-road. These moccasins are beaded and quilled on the soles as well as on the upper surface and were intended to be worn when the owner was on horseback. In 1874, One-road and a party of Sioux were attacked by the Ponca near the mouth of the Niobrara River. The Ponca were led by two of their chiefs, Charging-wolf, and Returning-bear, both of whom carried repeating rifles, but One-road with an old fashioned smooth bore, shot and killed Returning-bear and mortally wounded Charging-wolf. He also counted first coup on both of these men. For this reason he has attached to one moccasin a tail of a wolf and to the other the foot of a bear to show all the world that he had vanquished Charging-wolf and Returning-bear.

Among the Dakota, women had the right to receive eagle feathers
for acts of bravery, but, like the Plains-Ojibway they might not wear them. Instead, they generally gave the feathers to their male relatives. It is highly annoying to the Sioux to see representations of Indian women or pictures of white women dressed as Indians showing them wearing eagle feathers. Their first question is, "When did that woman kill an enemy and who gave her the right to wear the feather?"

WAR HONORS ACCORDED to HORSES. The Dakota thought a great deal of their chargers. Horses that had been wounded in battle had eagle feathers tied to their tails or manes and red cloth hung around their necks. A man about to go into battle would say to his steed, "Now, my horse, you shall wear an eagle feather and be painted with red or blue paint and I shall give you red cloth if you are brave in this battle and come through with speed." Steeds that are not even "running horses" are greatly encouraged by such promises, the Indians say. During ceremonies the war horses were led around and acted in a very proud manner. Some of them had buffalo masks with horns put over their heads. The Santee division is said not to have done these things and to have derided the others and the Teton because they rode to war, while as the Santee went on foot. In later times, however, the Eastern Dakota did the same thing.

"CHALLENGERS". When a man or a society of young men is given a feast, it is very often that there are few present who have any war counts and some of the braves may come in and walk off with a kettle of food which they have provided. This is called "akicita taking."
Sometimes a man who has himself given a great many feasts of this type but who has not been invited to the one in question will come in, tell of his generosity, and remove the kettle. On the other hand, when all the old great warriors were giving a feast some young fellow might enter and tell of the greatest coup of all, claiming that he had struck his first enemy before he had ever spoken to a girl. This was said to have been very rare, for almost everyone had fallen in love before he went to war. Then the young man would take the kettle away from the akicita and give it to some old people but he himself could never partake. An akicita at a dance, observing some youth or girl to be bashful would catch the diffident one and dance with him or her and keep it up until a relative came forward, told a brave deed, and gave a present to the captor in ransom. The akicita were supposed to kill dogs that wandered into the dance. When an enemy wandered into the camp circle and was considered safe, they went around to collect goods to present to him when he was released. Among the Dakota, the Akicita did not hold office for life, only for short periods when as individuals they were appointed for camp duty. This was not true, however, of the akicita who formed the body guard of the chief. They were appointed for life and were always known as so-and-so’s head soldiers. An akicita of this sort talked for the chief, executed his orders, etc.19

WAR CHALLENGE. A man’s brother-in-law who had done a brave deed is likely to taunt him by taking off his breechclout and shake it in his face. The other has no redress even if this is done in
public although it would be a deadly insult coming from anyone else. Meanwhile, the women will cry "di di di di" in praise of the warrior. The insulted man will wait for the first opportunity to go on the warpath. If he is successful he will rub his member on the dead foe and he will return early in the morning with wolf yells. The herald will announce that So-and-so was insulted by his brother-in-law and said he would kill and copulate an enemy and he has done so. The warrior will now approach his brother-in-law and say, "I will do the same thing to you that I did to the warrior if you ever insult me again."

**SOLDIER KILLING.** When a man disobeyed the rules and hunted the buffalo ahead of his party, the akicita would visit him in a body after the hunt was over. As they approached his tipi, one of their number would call out, "What are you!" and the culprit would reply that he was Hidatsa, Gros Ventre, Mandan, or some other hostile tribe. The leader of the akicita would recite his coups and the akicita would crawl towards him as though he were an enemy. Suddenly, the leader would give the charging yell, the so-called "war whoop" and each one of the soldiers would strike the culprit in the same manner and with the same weapon that he had struck an enemy. The offender might be very seriously hurt in this way as they did not scruple to strike him down with a gun butt or tomahawk. If the offender had a brother-in-law among the akicita, who had taken a scalp, the brother-in-law would come and cut off a lock of his hair which meant that the akicita must give the culprit a horse. If the
culprit fought or acted in an aggressive manner he was likely to be very roughly handled and maybe even killed. If he escaped with his life, he was despised by all the people who told him that he might as well put on a shirt. Some time later one of the akicita was likely to recount his coup and then give the culprit a horse if he had behaved himself well. When the soldiers are back in the tiyotipi arrangements were made to restore any of his property which they might have destroyed.

In the soldiers' lodge there was a bundle of painted sticks striped red, blue, or painted solid black. Red stood for those who had counts on a foe, black, warriors who had been wounded, and blue for wealthy men in the tribe. A white stick stood for a common man. The akicita would take some of these sticks and stick them in the ground before the different lodges.

For a wounded man in each case they would fire a gun and stand before the tipi singing. Then the lodge owner was obliged to give them a present such as a bag of buffalo meat, moccasins, or clothing. He might then pull out the stick and return it to the akicita.

In this way they would make the rounds of the whole camp and return with a great load of presents some of which were put to one side. The culprit was then called in and was set beside the door like an honored man. The presents and then a horse in addition were then given him and he was feasted. After this the councilors made a speech: a sort of sermon in which he was told that he was brave and that he had been treated after the manner of their ancestors and that he must stand his punishment like a man.
AKICITA WICAKIEPI - SOLDIER PUNISHMENT. If a man who has been a great warrior and braver than any of the akicita in camp has done something out of the way he can defy the akicita when they are sent to punish him. If for instance, he had killed a wounded enemy who was armed and able to do him damage he could hold the soldiers after they had counted their coups and tell them his deeds saying, "If any of you have done this then you are the only ones who are entitled to strike me." It is said that no war honors are counted on the United States soldiers since they were hired to fight and were therefore looked upon with contempt by the Dakota.

WARRIORS TEST. Braves were accustomed to swallowing small live snapping turtles to make them very courageous. It is claimed that there are bones in the turtle resembling spears and knives. This swallowing of live tortoises is similar to the Menomini and Omaha custom.

OATHS. If two warriors disputed concerning war honors they would not be allowed to argue. Old warriors would say, "Whatever your mouth says will come back again." It was thought that people who argued about these things were likely to be killed. If a man wished to take his oath upon any matter he would raise both hands aloft to wakan tanka and say, "The great spirit hears all and sees all." He knows that this is so." But this was never done in connection with war counts.
WAR MEDICINES. Certain men had the ability to prophesy about war even as much as half a year ahead. Sometimes a man would dream that he had to go to war. Then he would sing about spirits and those he was going to kill. He would be shown the country of the enemy; perhaps he would see an Ojibway in his bark canoe with his wife and two or three children. Then he would see his own party preparing to shoot them and see them later go up and count the coups. Or, if the Ojibway escaped or were wounded or his own people wounded, all would be made clear to him. Then he would sing and get out his medicines. He would make a sweat house and smoke until the time for the war party to go had arrived.

The night before starting to war he would call the party to come to a secret lodge where they rehearsed their war songs. They held filled pipes straight before their faces while they sang. Medicines were opened and spread out before them on a carpet of white down. Each warrior had his own wotawe.25 Some were connected with the bear or other powerful animals and some with birds. The war prophet was usually the possessor of a little stone, takuskanskan, the spirit in which could go off as an invisible scout to see the foe.26 While the spirit stone was scouting, the others would all shut their eyes and the leader would sing. At last he would talk to the spirit stone saying, "Hai hai." Then the others would know the stone was back. Pipes were then offered to the six directions, lighted and smoked. Then they would feast, make their moccasins ready, and prepare to start before dawn. The old men of the camp would sing in honor of the youths and their relatives would wail for fear they should never
see them again.

WAR CHARMS. The nearest approach to the war bundle which can be found among the Eastern Dakota is the wotawe.\textsuperscript{27} They are charms made by people who have dreamed of thunder, panther, eagle, wolf, fox, elk, or loon, beaver, muskrat, and diver.\textsuperscript{28} The last four being important because they were on the raft when the world was made and dived to get the earth for its crust.\textsuperscript{29}

The warrior who dreams of one of these, makes a war club, a spear, or an arrow, a horn or a gun.\textsuperscript{30} This is manufactured inside a medicine lodge and it is consecrated and pointed to the four winds, to zenith, and nadir. The skins of the sacred animals mentioned are also used. These are wrapped up together and there are many songs for the medicines, which are usually in groups of four, and which are further subdivided into four parts. The wotawe is hung up on the poles in the center of the lodge or outside. It is never allowed to touch the ground, for if this happens, the owner might as well be dead.

Whistles are placed in these bundles and when ceremonies are held for them only those who have dreamed of the same spirit that appeared to the owner may come. Sometimes a man may have several dream guardians and may go to any of them. If a warrior wants vengeance on the enemy he hires an old man to be his herald. The old man goes through the camp calling for a certain group of dreamers, say perhaps the fox (presumably the tokana society as these are very important\textsuperscript{31}) to help him out. Meanwhile the warrior hangs brave
clothes on a horizontal bar and prepares to feast. Those who have received the invitation, join him and volunteer and go to war with him. They usually get others from the tribe at large to join them.

Whenever one would be added to the party his women would weep because it was supposed that he was about to die. All stood in a circle and the newcomers were placed in the center where even elders would approach and give them fine horses to ride into battle. The host then arose, made a speech, and told the assemblage why he had done this. Then all procured extra moccasins and that night all the braves would dance with their wotawe and smudge them with the sacred incense. They would leave before dawn and when a mile away from the camp of the enemy would imitate whatever animal was their dream guardian.

On their return, when a short distance from their people they would wait until early in the morning, cry like their guardians, and as soon as this was heard in the camp a party was made up to go out to meet them. If they had killed foes, they would all be painted black. An old man was taken from the village as a herald who would announce to the villagers as they approached, which members had shot enemies, who had been struck, who wounded, who took scalps, and who killed. Each brave sang his own song, telling of his deeds and describing his enemy, how he was dressed, how he acted, etc. Scalps taken were fastened on hoops and suspended from long poles. These were given to the family or relatives of those who had been slain. The women received them and sang victory songs telling of their revenge when they at last reached the inside of the camp circle while
the women stood back and held up the scalps while they danced by themselves. The songs repeated the names of the successful warriors and recounted their deeds. The dance was kept up all day and the relatives of the successful braves gave horses to the poor people. After a war party had returned for sometime in the morning and evening the warriors could be heard singing about their deeds in different places. For four months at least, once a month, the scalps were repainted and danced. At the end of this time each man who took a scalp adorned it with ribbons and beads and buried it. The bodies of slain foemen were cut and their heads gashed, but Jingling-cloud had never heard of their hearts being eaten although some of the others mentioned this. Captives were always well treated. A man on his first war party carried the extra moccasins of the other braves and cooked for them. After a war party, all the warriors who took part were obliged to use sticks when they wish to scratch their heads until the scalps were buried.

After the first four scalp dances warriors were washed with sweetgrass and water and given pipes. When on the warpath the braves would touch a buffalo intestine and tell whether or not they had ever been familiar with a winkta. This ceremony was called witansnaon okiye, "those who court the virgin". If a winkta was present on the warpath he mentioned the names of all his lovers. The intestine was prepared by a man who had never been to war, who put red down upon it. Winktas were encouraged to join war parties because they were thought to bring good luck and were prophets. Sometimes a man would approach a winkta and ask him to prophesy that he was to do a brave
deed. The berdache would then set up a stick, make a little shield, or a bow and arrow, or a club, and indicate on the stick the way in which the deed was to be performed by the warrior, telling him at the same time where the sun would be when he would do this thing. The berdache says, "So will you do when the time comes and that is the way it will happen."

Prisoners who were brought inside of the camp circle were always spared by the Eastern Dakota. Once an Ojibway was brought in and a young man of the Sisseton camp wanted to kill him. Mahpiyasna [Jingling-cloud] volunteered, if the council so decreed, to shoot the Sisseton rather than have him violate this custom. The council agreed and so he did. Though he had no grudge against the warrior and afterwards, Jingling-cloud [Mahpiyasna], the elder, supplied that family of this man with food when he returned from his hunt in order to show his good will. The Ojibway was afterwards taken 1 1/2 days journey into the woods towards his own country and released. The following spring a letter written on birchbark was found. On the bark was scratched the figure of a man taking long steps with footprints that showed he was running. This referred to Iyangmani [Inyangmani] or Running-walker, the Wahpeton chief. The other side showed a man with clouds over his head and crooked lines running from them. This referred to Jingling-cloud and the whole meant that the Ojibway were coming to make peace with the Dakota through these two warriors. The Dakota prepared to receive them and in a few days, Ojibway scouts came in with their candipah'ta (tobacco bundle) composed of little bags of tobacco and the Dakota sent some back by
them. Then the Ojibway approached and peace was made.

When they drew near those of the Wahpeton who had horses circled back and forth between their own people and the Algonkin and both sides sang. The Sioux dedicated their songs to Running-walker and Jingling-cloud. When the two lines were near they stopped facing each other and the head chief on each side approached with tobacco and the hunka song dedicated to the four winds was sung concluding with the words: "Long live Iyangmani and Mahpiyasna. As long as you two warriors live, no one will dare to run over us." 37 Meanwhile, the chief brought out a pipe which he offered to wakan tanka and the directions. When he had done this he gave it to the opposing chief and all the Ojibway took a whiff. Then the Ojibway prepared their pipe in their own way. After this everybody approached and shook hands. The Ojibway chief gave his best horse to Running-Walker and a lot of mococs of rice and maple sugar. 38 Then the Sioux and Ojibway mingled giving presents and the Ojibway were brought into camp where they were told where to pitch their tents. That evening, Running-walker invited all the Ojibway to his lodge while Jingling-cloud singed a deer whole and made the "chief dish" for them. The Ojibway thanked him and told him that from that time forward they looked upon him [Jingling-cloud, Mahpiyasna] as being half Ojibway. 39

BEAR CUSTOM. Among the Santee and Wahpeton it was customary when a warrior or warriors had killed a bear for them to whoop before they entered the camp on their return. This sign was known by all the people. They always buried the bones of the bears which they
used for food and never allowed a dog to touch them.

SACRED ARROWS. The sacred arrows, wanwakan, constituted a sort of a war bundle and were known to the Sisseton as well as to the Teton. They were carried to war and the man who bore them on his back could not turn back but had to go forward. A pipe was taken with them.

TATONKA OKODAKICIYA - BUFFALO SOCIETY, was a group of warriors which formerly existed and it had among its regalia a shield and straight spear and the no-flight idea was in vogue among the officers.

SOCIETIES AND CEREMONIES

TOKANA WACIPI. This society was looked upon as being not at all a religious but a social association. It is said that the founder had a vision in which he went into a village where the kit-foxes dwelt. They talked, acted, and looked just like people. While he was there, one of them showed him their own and only dance. He learned it and its songs, and when he came to himself he gathered a crowd of youths and taught it to them. The real foxes as well as the kit-foxes are known to have these same songs and dances, but no one has ever been able to obtain songs from the coyotes or wolves. The officers of the society were as follows: Four leaders, called tokana itancan who carried straight spears wrapped with otter fur and bearing pendant feathers. These men were pledged never to flee in
battle. They were required to shave the head, leaving a roach, which was maintained during their incumbency which lasted for four years, at the end of which time new officers were elected.

One herald, whose business was to announce for the leaders and to tell the people who had been chosen to feast and entertain the society.

- 2 wayutanpi or waiters
- 4 h’oka or singers
- 4 chorus women
- 40 to 50 members.

The four leaders had charge of everything. Whenever they were ready to dance, the society members stripped to the gee string and wore long quilled fringes something like those often seen attached to the bottom of pipe bags. They paraded around the camp. They painted their faces only as they wished but put no paint on their bodies. They wore quilled garters on their legs below the knees and all wore long beads made from the bones of rabbit’s legs as earrings.

The tokana did not seem to have the custom of stealing wives from the members of the Mawatani society nor was the spirit of rivalry [...] Iowa, apparent from anything to be learned from the Eastern Dakota. If one of the members had his wife stolen by any other individual in the tribe, all his fellow Tokana would join him in taking away the woman from the offender whom they whipped severely.

MAWATANI WACIPI. Like the Tokana, this was also a social society which started from a dream. There were no leaders except the organizer and there were eight male and eight female singers, a
herald, and two waiters. The members were forty in number, twenty of whom painted black and twenty red. Those who painted red wore feather headdresses made of scarlet and dyed owl feathers. When they wore eagle feathers they attached a little scarlet feather to the tip of each. Those who painted black wore raven feathers with a black weasel skin fastened to the tip of each. It is said that this dance was called after the Mandans, Mawatani, because the founder was a member of that tribe. They were originally called the Red Owl Feathers (hihans'unwapaha). When the Sioux first learned that the Mandan "owned" the same dance and had had it before them they changed the name of their performance in honor of the other tribe. No young men were allowed to take part in this ceremony, only men who were heads of families and had respectable standing.

OMAHA OR GRASS DANCE - PEZIMI HNANKA. This society and its dance were brought to the Dakota by Peter Oneroad, the father of Jingling-cloud, and another young man in 1868. The date is well remembered by all the Yankton and Eastern Dakota in the neighborhood of Sisseton because there was an eclipse of the moon at that time. As a matter of fact, the songs were brought by the two Dakota the spring preceding the formal starting of the dance which took place in the fall, but no interest was aroused until autumn. Later, local lodges were established at Enemy Swim Lake, Brown's Valley, and other places in the neighborhood. Simon Cekpaw, a Sisseton, and the writer's informant for this and the Mawatani and Tokana dances, was the first drum owner of the Omaha society. According to him the
society originated with the Omaha.

Two Omaha dressed like clowns (Heyoka), were tied together and went around the village singing songs. No one paid much attention to them until they began to sing about the braves. This aroused public interest and the society was founded. Among the Dakota the original clown songs are completely forgotten, but the warrior, victory, and coup songs are preserved. The ceremony finally became known as the Grass Dance because those who went to war in winter had the right to carry grass in their belts because in winter grass was carried by members of a war party for use in starting fires and to put in their moccasins to keep their feet warm.

The officers are as follows:

1. drum keeper (originally the founder)
2. 8 leaders
3. 4 singers, called icapa yuha, or Drumstick Owners
4. 4 women singers selected by the four male singers as a chorus
5. 2 pail dancers (ceh’takpea, pail charger)
6. 2 waiters
7. 1 whip bearer (icapsinte yuha)
8. 2 serving stick bearers (canwiyuze yuha)
9. 1 food dipper (wiyohnakiya)

Another Dakota name for this society is the Okodakiciye Owasin or "All Friends." It corresponds with the name Heyuska which they say also means "all friends."

In former times the Dakota made a large square log house, supposed to represent an Omaha earth lodge, to shelter the society.

The "Pail Chargers" are braves, and during the feast they take the pail of dog meat or other food and reenact their coups, striking the pail before it is turned over to the waiters to distribute the food. The food dipper feeds the leaders from a spoon, beginning with
the drum owner.

The dances are entirely of a social nature and there is no religious function whatever connected with them. It is the only dance which is still kept up by the Dakota in the neighborhood of Sisseton. As among other tribes presents are freely given and received during the performance. Many features are extremely modern and innovations are constantly being adopted. Hoops are carried by the dancers who writhetheir bodies through them as they perform. These they say were directly copied from acts that they saw in traveling circuses. Juggling with oranges instead of clay balls and dancing on the tight rope are now features of the society.

**DANCE OF THE THUNDER DREAMERS.** A man who had dreamed of the thunder would erect a pole about thirty feet high to the top of which he hung an image of a thunderbird. Around the base of the pole he made a circle of green branches looped over. This was to represent a nest and a raw fish was placed in it. The dreamer then sat at the foot of the pole on the south side in a hole which had been dug for him. He wore a grass headdress drawn down over his shoulders and this was twisted and tied in a point straight over his forehead. His head was covered with down. He had a drum which he beat and he sang while others danced around bearing drums, and at intervals they would bite and eat the raw fish. At a certain peculiar stroke of the drum the dancers knew that he was signaling that he had seen a vision of the enemy and they all shot at the thunderbird image until the string was broken and it fell. Then each
rushed to it trying to be the first to snatch it. The dreamer prophesied when the enemy would be seen and the first person to touch the thunderbird would be the one to count the first coup.

**GIRLS' PURITY CEREMONY.** Girls sometimes gave a certain ceremony for virgins. A round stone was set up and the girls used to come forward one by one to touch it and swear as to their purity. If any lied, the stone toppled over. If any young man heard a girl swear and knew to the contrary, he accused her and dragged her out of the crowd, and she was subjected to all manner of ridicule. If there was any question about the matter the young man had to take oath by the arrow test. If he lied and the test proved it, he would be hurt on the next warpath and in addition he was thoroughly thrashed by the Akicita. 48 This is a Sisseton ceremony and it is also found among the Wahpeton and Santee.

**RAW FISH ENTERS [EATERS] SOCIETY.** This ceremony was partaken of by those who had as their guardians, the bird called the hontka, (cormorant), loons, divers, otters, and mink. 49 Big wooden bowls of the largest kind were filled with raw fish which the host dipped out. Some of the grass was pulled away from a patch of ground and upon the bare earth was laid red or blue paint with red and white down and all their medicines were exposed there. The host would tell why he gave this feast, saying it was done to prepare the spirits of those who ate raw fish and had directed it to be done at this time. Then he would order certain of those present to sing, and while this was
going on the braves fell to on the raw fish, giving the cries of the animals which they had as guardians. Some were able to eat so fast that they were finished at the end of the first song and just gave the medicine yell, "E ho ho ho ho." Those who could not finish by the end of all the songs had to give some present to the host.

BUFFALO DANCE. 50 This society was sometimes called the Nigeotkin Kinyan or big stomachs. 51 Members painted their faces longitudinally half and half, blue and white. Most of the members had to have buffalo power but some who had not were admitted in order to increase the membership. The leaders acted like buffaloes, bellowing and pawing, and all wore buffalo masks over their heads.

The society was "owned" by a man who possessed the drum. This was a large instrument made out of a cottonwood log and covered with buffalo hide, painted half blue and half white. On the upper side was a buffalo head painted in the center with a line drawn through it. The drum sticks were four in number and given to four youths or braves who kept them until time to use them. The drum was never set on the ground; it was carried around even during the dancing. 52 After the ceremony a feast dances and songs were very fast; the performers would bellow like buffalo and running into the crowd would pursue the people. Some put buffalo heads on their horses, leaving eye holes so that the horse could see. 53

MEDICINE EATING FEAST. This feast, which is perhaps connected with the Wakan wacipi, was one of the "Eat All" type so
frequently mentioned by the early travelers and missionaries among the Central tribes. Everything had to be eaten by the guest, and presents were given to those who finished first. A box of eagle feathers, ten in number, was obtained by a Wahpeton woman, and we were told that these were gifts for successful contestants. The first person to finish received two feathers which he later exchanged with his host for presents. The next four to finish also received two feathers which they could redeem later on. Sometimes a penalty was inflicted upon those who did not succeed in finishing their portion, for example, we have heard of an old woman who had several dresses taken away from her because she failed to win. Our informant, Mrs. Gray-shawl, was once given a deer’s head, neck, and lungs to eat all by herself. She finished first, won the prize, and was making a pipe ceremony while the others were still eating. She denied that this ceremony had anything to do with the Medicine Dance, but other informants contradicted her statement.

MEDICINEMEN, MEDICINE, AND BERDACHES

WAPIYA OR MEDICINEMAN. A Medicineman when called to attend a sick person first causes a sweat house to be built. The patient is brought there and permitted to enter. Then the medicineman calls his familiar spirits to the spot. He has a little "moving spirit stone" (takuskanskan). This stone has the power to stop and bring back to the human body the spirits or souls already on their road to the hereafter or, in other words, to restore the sick to consciousness. It can also find lost horses, etc., or game. When the patients and
doctors are together in a sweat lodge the doctor narrates the stories of his fasts and his supernatural dream guardians and what aid they have promised him. Then he weeps, sends the spiritstone off, and the waiting people outside all stand.

All this time the doctor has been sweating his patient, sprinkling the hot stones in the lodge with water which he shakes upon them from a bunch of straw. This is repeated four times and he also talks to the spiritstone, sometimes advising the patient what to do in the future to be cured. Sometimes the doctor learns from his spirit aid that the patient has been shot by a witch arrow (a claw, a bunch of hair, a bead, or a bit of cloth) which has been mysteriously driven into his body near the heart, or in the throat. Then he would sweat his patient again and then return to the people outside. The wapiya [conjurer] then brings in another medicineman to help him with his songs. Then the two medicinemen take the patients again into the lodge, clean a place which they cover with down, and provide tobacco, medicines, and a little bowl of water. He again tells the story of his vision and then begins to act like one of the animals whom he relies upon as a guardian. He goes to the place where the arrow has been shot into the patient's body, bites it, and sucks at the supposed wound until he falls over, while companion cries "e ho ho ho." Then the second doctor blows medicine on the first until he recovers, sings again, and tries once more. At the fourth trial the wapiya is exhausted and four other medicinemen must be called to come and suck at his mouth, while others sing to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The first three men usually fail, giving the task and
uttering the medicine cry, but the fourth man succeeds in bringing out the witch arrow from the mouth of the first medicine man who sucked it from the patient. This is thrown into a bowl of water so all can see it and the patient is pronounced cured. The head medicineman is then paid by the relatives of the patient. He keeps the medicine arrow, or sometimes sent [sic] it back against the witch. An arrow returned in this way is certain to kill the witch who shot it in the first place. It is said that the Teton Sioux also have these practices.

Some of my informants said that if a medicine arrow is extracted from a sick person and not sent back, the witch is obliged to pay a heavy indemnity, such as a horse, to the doctor. A few medicinemen were said to be so powerful they could bring out a witch arrow from a patient at the first trial. Some doctors had the power to plunge their hands in hot water or walk on fire in their bare feet between attempts to draw forth the medicine.

HUNTING MEDICINES. Little charms were used for the capture of such animals as the beaver, otter, fisher, mink, bear, wildcat, buffalo, deer, and eagle. They were made of objects usually "received" in dreams, such as roots and herbs pulverized and tied in little buckskin bags which were kept by their owners, often being carried around in their pouches. They were never kept in the tipi, however, but often left quite a long way off. When a man wanted to get any of the animals mentioned, he would give a feast, make an altar by scratching off the surface of the ground for some distance,
To form a rectangle, set up four sticks, and place his medicine in the center. Sweetgrass was burned and songs sung. When he was through he and his companions would feast. If the man had a gun he would smudge it in the fumes made from the medicine. The medicine was thought to fly mysteriously through the air and attack the hearts and nerves of the game so that they could not escape.

Dakot Jingling-cloud's great-grandfather, who bore the same name, had a very sacred medicine for hunting deer. With it went a little birchbark scroll having a deer drawn on it, showing the heart and the nerves down to each hoof. When the old man wished to kill deer he took a bit of medicine on a stick and touched it to the heart of the deer figure. Then he smudged the bark drawing over a fire in which he had put a little of the medicine, put the scroll in his pouch, took his gun, and started off singing his sacred song in which he referred to deer as the "four-legged animal," saying "Four-legged animal, I have made you walk off your trail." If he shot at a deer in a herd, he would not raise the barrel of his gun after firing, but drop the muzzle forward. This he thought would frighten them and so he often killed a whole herd, one after another. When he got home his people would dress the animals for him. Sometimes he would singe the top of the deer's nose, skin it, and send a herald to call his neighbors in to eat it. Most of these hunting ideas are also characteristic of this [the] Ojibway, Menomini, and other Central Angonkian tribes.

A hunting medicine obtained by the writer consists of a small woven bag, said to be of Ojibway origin, with beads on some of the
strands, a little nag [bag] of medicine, and two flat sticks carved on both sides with mnemonic song devices. These figures represent animals which the owner desires to kill. The heart and nerves which he hopes to numb by his medicine songs are carved on the figures. The medicine itself like the woven bag, is said to be an Ojibway hunting charm, but the wooden song records were made by a Wahpeton Dakota.

The first song is for the otter. Incense is burned which attracts the otters who come directly to the hunter. The incense is kept in a thimble until it is used. The song, which is supposed to be in Ojibway, can also be used for hunting deer. It is: ake ki wan daiya manetu. Another song is: kunimedukan.

BUFFALO TAIL MEDICINE. This consists of a buffalo tail which apparently was once painted red on the inside. In hunting buffalo the tail was suspended outside the lodge, the proper song was sung, and as the wind blew the tail, the herds were constrained to come to the hunters.

MEDICINES FOR HEALING THE SICK. In common with all the Central Algonkian tribes, the Eastern Dakota were and are acquainted with an infinitude of root, bark, and herb medicines. The late Mrs. Grey-shawl once took the writer into the attic of a deserted house and there showed me a medicine which she had secured. It was a tall plant with broadly lanceolate green leaves and had green berries. This she had suspended from the rafters after plentifully
befurbishing it with scarlet down at intervals along the stem. The plant was called "Serpent Root" and was supposed to grow with the head of the serpent-like root facing east and the tail to the west. It was a potent medicine plant for some special ailment that I could not ascertain, and had its own special song in the Wakan Wacipi or Medicine Dance.

Magic Medicines for good luck and for love are carried in thimbles on the persons of many of the older Indians. There is a regular good luck medicine of the typical Algonkian type used to bring friendship and good will.

_BERDACHES._ A boy was once very sick and a winkta learned of it and said it could cure him. The boy objected violently to having anything to do with the winkta. He was overruled by his parents and did indeed get well. He was then obliged to marry the winkta as a reward. When the berdache married him it was given new clothes by the boy's parents and then went off to collect gifts for them. While it was gone the boy died and the winkta hearing of it cut its hair and returned in mourning with horses for the parents. They gave it gifts to cease its mourning and accept its presents. If they had had another son then they would have been obliged to give him to it. If a winkta nicknames any person then that person must tell the name or be very ill.

The story is told of some girls who teased a winkta and were accordingly nicknamed by it. One of the women never mentioned it until she was sick years afterwards when it occurred to her to
confess it and she became well.

LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

DAKOTA NAMING CUSTOMS. Among the Eastern Dakota the custom of Ordinal names to the children as they are born, is found. Thus the first born, if a boy, is called Caske, the second Hepanna, the third Hepina, the fourth Catanna, and the fifth Hakedan. No names occur for more than five, and the last name, Hakedan, as I understand it, means "The Last" with an inference of pity about the title, so that it really means "The Pitiful Last."

With girls the first born is given the name of Winona, the second Hapanna, the third Hapstinna, the fourth Wanske, the fifth Wihake.

Sometimes these ordinal names are born throughout life by the individual. For example the writer was once acquainted with a middleaged Wahpeton who had no other name than Caske. However, this is not often the case, for young men who had distinguished themselves in battle in former years, or in modern times who had displayed conspicuous generosity, were entitled to take new names, especially those of distinguished ancestors now dead. I am also told that men who had had great misfortunes sometimes discarded their names as unlucky and took new ones.

In olden times it was customary for the successful warrior to change his name at the Iwakicipi or Victory Scalp Dance, when he "threw away" the old name and took the new one, at the same time giving a horse to some poor person while his relatives also gave
gifts broadcast, that the people might remember the new title. This is still done, but I believe on the occasion of the Grass Dance or one of the Warrior Society ceremonies.

Aside from these changes which were made in later life, the baby is usually given a name other than the ordinal name in the following manner. The father or grandmother of a child can name it for some of his deeds done in battle or after a famous ancestor. A few guests are invited to the lodge, or to a dance or a great feast where presents are given and the name announced. The father or mother holds up the child and asks some old man to tell the people what its name is. He cries, "Hear ye, So-and-so says that hereafter this child shall be called after his grandfather" (or some other relative, provided that relative is deceased). After this the presents which are kept nearby, are brought forth and given. It is said that when the child is first brought in to the place where the ceremony is held the women give the "woman's cheer" and when the herald has finished they cheer again and sing when the goods are given away. In the song, the child's name is repeated and the women yell whenever it is mentioned.

TYPES OF NAMES. Having no clan or gens system the Eastern Dakota do not possess the clan, and gentile names found among the Southern Siouan and Central Algonkian tribes for example. From his own data and that of Riggs and Dorsey, the writer presents the following types.58

1. Ordinal names, as mentioned above, such as Caske and Winona. 
2. Names consisting of a single noun as: Mah'piya, Cloud;
3. Names consisting of a single adjective, as S’akpe, Six.
4. Names formed by a noun with a modifying adjective, the commonest type of all: Mato-maza, Iron Bear, Two Star, One-road.
5. Two nouns may be used, as Mato-tatanka, Bull Bear; Mah’piya-wicasta, Cloud man. (The adjective follows the noun, in Dakota, and the second noun in this case should be first translated. Thus Mato-Tatanka is literally Bear-bull, but Bull-bear is the correct translation).
6. A possessive pronoun may be prefixed to the name, as: Taoyate-duta, His Scarlet People; Tapetatanka, His Great Fire.
7. They may consist of verbs in the intransitive form as: Wakute, Shoote; Wanapeya, One Who Causes Flight.
8. They may be compounded of a verb and an adverb, as Stands Fast.
9. They may be made up of an intransitive verb and an adverb, as Iyanymani, Running Walker.
10. They may be made up of a noun modified by an adverb, as: Mah’piya-sna, Jingling Cloud; H’eh’aka-mani, Walking Elk; Tatanka-nazin, Standing Buffalo.

PUBERTY FASTING AND DREAMING. Among the Wahpeton, unlike their Algonkin neighbors, boys only are required to observe the puberty dreamfast, and the age at which the ordeal takes place is from sixteen to eighteen, later than is usually the case among the forest tribes. In anticipation of the great event during childhood the youths are taught certain prayers and formulae for appeal to the great Powers.

Mah’peyasna was taken by his grandmother with the other children of his family, to the shore of Drywood Lake and there caused to cast red down into the water with a prayer to Unkteh’i of which he remembered the following:

Uncina maka kin den mahen
Grandma earth the this inside
nonge    hdubdaya    non    kapi    kta    kehapi
the ears to spread out you be there will you have
told me

gon    akantu    wakanheja    om    wahi
but upon children with I came

nawaijina    onsihanyana    wahinyajice
standing mercifully down

duta    waste    yadaka    unicipi
red well you have loved we give

ampetu    kin    de    ska    qa    waste
day the this clear and good

"Grandma inside this earth! You have promised me that you would
prick up your ears. I have come and stand upon (this earth) with
these children. We mercifully give you this red down which you love
so well. (Let) this (day) be clear and good."

At the conclusion of this invocation, the children, who stood on
stones near the brink, cast their down into the water.

When undergoing their fast, the youths would retire to the top
of a hill and wailed there all night. Some had their hands tied
behind their backs to keep them from running away. In many instances
four stakes were set up and the faster was tied between them and left
there all night. They do not blacken their faces, this is only done
for mourning, or on return from a war party.60

Jingling Cloud gave the following anecdote to illustrate this
procedure:

At Fort Totten a youth intending to fast went with his
chum up on a high hill called "The Devil's Heart." The chum
dug four deep holes and set the stakes in very firmly. The
faster loosened his hair and stripped his pipe and tobacco
pouch, for his partner was to help him to smoke at intervals
during the night.

When all was in readiness the chum went away, leaving
the faster wailing "Hee-u! Hee-u! Hee-uuu!" Just about
dark he sneaked back with his face whitened to resemble a
ghost. The faster, in terror tried to break away, but could
not. Four times the joker approached, and on the last trip he washed his face and offered the pipe to his chum, saying, "How are you?" His chum was very angry but could not help himself. Towards morning the Morning Star appeared, and then the faster saw a hill to the north of him rise up and come down to the lake, like a monster with a huge mouth ready to grab him. This was too much for the faster, who, with a desperate wrench broke away from his moorings and fled without having his vision.

The Beings who most frequently have mercy on fasters are the bear, buffalo, elk, Unktehi, and Tree Dweller or Canotina.61 Men who dream of the Winyan Nunpapi, or double women must become berdashes.

The Dakota dreamer must take whatever dream comes to him. Unlike the Menomini he may not try again.62 The "spirit" may appear to him in its true shape as an animal, or it may come as a man, interview him and go away as an animal.

Dreams of this nature are not to be discussed in public. The most common occasion for referring to them by doctors is before taking charge of a patient. Then the healer recites his dream and enumerates his powers.

Jingling Cloud's great grand father, Iron Bear, had the grizzly bear as his guardian. He was often wounded but recovered through its aid. On one occasion a party of Gros Ventres and Mandans drove some Dakota into a hollow and shot down on them. Although the Sioux killed the Mandan chief, whom Iron Bear (the hero) would not allow to be scalped, the others prevailed, and all the Dakota were slain except Iron Bear, who was wounded. When the allies gained possession of the field and saw that their chief was unscalped, they merely counted all four coups on Iron Bear and released him. They left him lying on the field, but were astonished to find, on the following day, that he had escaped, and the tracks of a grizzly lead [sic] away
from where he had lain. They trailed the animal to a thicket, where they found a wounded bear lying groaning. Later, when Iron Bear did not return, the Sioux heard of what had happened from the Mandan, and found his skeleton in the bushes where the bear had been.

The Thunder is an important dream guardian. He appears to dreamers as a man with his hair cut just below the ears as though he were in mourning. He carries a gun. The Thunder always prefaces his statements by saying that he has heard a cry and has come in answer. He can give war powers, prophesying the number of scalps and coups, etc., the recipient shall get. The faster must cause four ceremonial sweat houses to be built, use each in turn, and must sing certain sacred songs while sweating. If a war leader does not keep his obligations to the thunder he may lose some of his warriors.

The following peculiar ideas are held concerning the reason why certain animals appear to some individuals, and, although they might perhaps be just as well classified under beliefs connected with the transmigration of souls, they will be noted here.

A man may know his personal guardian before he is born, and such a person makes this fact public as soon as he is old enough to speak. This fact will lead him to pray to this pre-natal guardian when he undergoes his puberty fast. The Powers who are connected with this phenomenon, which, by the way, resembles the Menomini idea concerning the thunder, are the Unktehi, buffalo, elk, coyote horse, thunder, and bear. The person who claims previous knowledge of these powers usually maintains that he has led a previous existence, but was killed in war, after which his spirit wandered about, visiting
Various Indian bands and tribes until it found someone who pleased

It.

These wandering ghosts are often very hungry and wretched, so it is customary for Dakota who are charitable to offer food to the wayfaring spirits and pray before eating, saying: "Spirits partake of this food, bless it that this day may be bright. This day may we be provided with a four-footed animal (as food) and be satisfied."64 Couples who habitually do this are apt to be rewarded by having some passing spirit enter the body of the woman and be born as their child.

The story that a reborn person tells of his relation with the Powers is of this order. Having left the corpse the ghost wanders around until it sees a man standing on a high bank or hill who calls to it and invites it into his lodge. When its draws near, the hill turns out to be a magic home, with a door facing the east or the southwest. As the spirit enters the man it becomes an animal. The spirit guest sees the tracks of other human beings going in and coming out, as it enters. Once inside it the anthropomorphic host reveals his secrets and medicines to the ghost, forecasts its future life, and takes care of it for some time, when it is dismissed. The ghost then visits the Indian villages and peeps into the tents until it strikes a family it fancies, then it goes in and is born. The things that the ghost hears as it enters the tent are its last recollections of the spirit life. When next the spirit comes to it will be in the body of a child, probably about four years old, having been in a trance from the moment of entering its mother's womb.
The child, on realizing who it is, is bewildered, he no longer recognizes its parents knowing that its real first parents were others. The phenomenon usually comes to light when the children are playing. Some child will ask the little one what its name is, and the wakan boy will reply giving his former title instead of the one he is now known by. The children, astonished, tell their parents who inform those of the wakan boy, who then realize he is en rapport with the Powers. It is not always necessary for such a child to fast like the others as he already knows the proper things to do, the feasts and sacrifices to make for his guardian, and when he performs rites his patron appears again and instructs him.

Jingling Cloud has often heard people tell of their experiences of this sort. A Kiowa young man in Oklahoma invited some Yankton to visit him and told them that in a former existence he had been a Dakota. He told them his name, where he lived, who his relatives were. All these details were later investigated and found to be correct.

One of Jingling Cloud's uncles claims to have been reborn three times. The first time he was a whiteman and a blacksmith in the east. As evidence of this he is an excellent gunmaker and repairer today, although without instruction. His second existence was as a Hidatsa in a village located on a branch of the Missouri. He and some other Hidatsa were in a rifle pit and were surrounded by Dakota. There was a trench running from the rifle pit to the river he tried to flee down this with his bow and arrows but was met by a foe wearing a buffalo horn headdress, who struck him over the head with a
sword and killed him.

When he came to, it was as a spirit detached from his body, and he was a spectator of the Sioux scalping his own corpse along with those of his comrades. Then he became cold and miserable. He was apparently still clad in his blood soaked clothes, so he determined to go back to his wife and son. He traveled along a few feet above the earth, but, unable to tread upon it. The gusts of wind blew him back for he had no substance so could not make headway against them.

At last he reached the village, but the wind prevented him from entering. He could see his wife and child inside his lodge, and tried to call to them to ask for dry clothes, but they did not hear him. People passed back and forth very near him, but only the dogs saw him and barked furiously. He could see the lodge poles, and the contents of the tipis, but the lodge covers were transparent and invisible.

In some of the tents people were eating corn cakes baked in the ashes. He was very hungry and wished that they would invite him to eat, but they did not, so he wandered on forlorn. Here and there, as he traveled, he met various animals who saw him, greeted him, and gave him shelter and comfort and told him their secrets.

At last he came to a village where he saw a lodge in which sat a young and lovely girl working hard at porcupine quill embroidery. He went in and sat down, but the girl took no notice of him, and, though famishing, he was ashamed to speak to her there alone. Finally the girl said: "I'm going out," and suitting her actions to her words, she got up and left. He waited a long time for her to return, and at
just he got up, went to the door of the lodge, stepped out, and was born. The busy woman was his twin sister, who came into the world nearly twenty-four hours before he did; the lodge where he sat was his mother’s womb. The midwives thought his mother would die, for it seemed as if he would never come forth. He was able to recall everything up to the moment of his birth, just as soon as he was able to talk.

It is said that sometimes female twins are reincarnated "Double Women" or Winyan Nonpapi, exceedingly wakan and important, or if the twins are male and female, that they were formerly man and wife, but in this case the man’s story and statement that he never saw the girl who was born with him before he entered the lodge that turned out to be his mother’s womb, and proves her to be his sister.

MARRIAGE CEREMONY. The Dakota watched their daughters very closely but they contrived to meet the young men at dances. The boys would edge up as close as they could and talk to the girls. After they had met several times and found that they cared for each other, the parents of the boy try to arrange a wohanpi or ceremonial marriage.66 The boy’s father or an old man hired by him would take a pipe of tobacco to the girl’s parents and ask for her. If accepted the old man raises his hands palms downward, facing the girl, and say, "Hai." Then the older people smoked and the girl is dressed and taken over to the groom’s lodge. Two red spots are painted, one on each cheek, and she was given her parents’ best running horse to ride over upon. When all was ready, the girl’s male relatives took the
lead, carrying their guns, and a close relation led the horse upon which the girl was mounted. Meanwhile, the other family prepared a great feast and six of the groom's relatives, brothers or cousins, went out to meet the girl. If the groom had neither brothers nor cousins, then his uncles went forth. They carried with them a red blanket and lifting the girl from her horse they would put her in the blanket and the girl with hanging head was carried into the groom's lodge, where the girl's relatives gave her away, challenging any other warrior present to do likewise if he was brave enough. The girl's male relatives fired their guns, refused the feast offered them, and went back, leaving the groom's relatives to eat the feast. After this, the groom's family went to the girl's parents carrying hides and garments to give to the sisters or cousins of the girl. The groom's relatives then re-dress the bride in fine clothes, re-braid her hair and re-paint her face. Now, all is ready for the groom's relatives to go to the girl's family where they are received and feasted. Then presents are given by all parties concerned to the poor and many presents are given to the girl's relatives.

Sometimes the proceedings are reversed and the girl's family buy the groom for her, particularly if he is an industrious fellow. Sometimes when a young man wants a girl badly he tells some old female relative to take the guns and blankets and visit the male relations of the girl with the proposition. They talk the matter over and, if agreed, they divide the presents and bring the girl to him. If she is poor, of course, she has to walk. Four young men are sent over to bring her in, in the blanket. All these proceedings are
reversed if the girl makes the overtures for the man.

Another method of marriage is this: A youth who is attracted by a girl may come to her lodge at night and stay outside. He signals to her with a flute, when she goes for water. He meets her and talks to her, or after the others have gone to sleep he may enter the lodge and talk and sit by her head. Finally, they may run away together to another band. Later, they would invite the girl's parents to visit them and give them presents.

**ADULTERY.** This crime was punished by whipping as a rule, but sometimes a guilty wife had her hair cut off by her husband. It was rarely that the nose was forfeited. Their clothes were also torn. If a member of the Napesni dance learns that his wife is being courted by another, it is considered a disgrace for him to remonstrate or to resist as he is supposed to be brave. If he takes any notice of the offense he will be kicked out of the society and have his clothes torn by the akicita.67

**DIVORCE.** Divorce among the Eastern Dakota was very simple. If a man found out that his wife was unfaithful to him, he simply called upon her lover and forced him to take the woman.

**GIVING AWAY WIVES.** This custom which was very much like that practiced by the Ponca and some other tribes during the Heyuska was sometimes known among the Eastern Dakota.
the first old woman who cared to claim it and added that the first man to enter his lodge might have his wife. Some of his brothers-in-law were angry and got there first and refused to allow anyone else to enter. They took back his wife but Bawling-bull with great show of contempt took his son to his sister's lodge until he married again. Not infrequently dancers gave away their wives in this fashion just to show how brave they were.

**PLURAL MARRIAGE.** A man who married the older sister usually married the others, as they became of age, so they would not be separated. The oldest became the head wife or teyakicyapi. This title is only used by visitors.

**FUNERAL SERVICES.** It was supposed that everybody had two spirits. Of the two spirits which my informant knew one was called wanagi or soul, this is the spirit which goes to the hereafter; and wacanagiwuhapi, the ghost, which stays in the mourning bundle with the lock of hair. This idea of two spirits, one of which remains behind and the other going to the hereafter, is also found among the Menomini and Plains-Cree.

When a person dies, a lock of hair was cut from the head of the deceased and wrapped up in a bundle and kept very carefully. The bundle is decorated and hung up and it is thought that the ghost stays in it or near it. Sometimes the relatives who have charge of the bundle, hear a voice or a whistle or may even see a person nearby. It is always kept in the back of the lodge in the center
behind the fire. Food is offered it from time to time and it is thought that the ghost partakes of it in spirit. After the ghost has used it anyone may eat the food.

The bundle is kept for a long time. Finally, a feast is given for the ghost. When the feast is prepared, the bundle is hung up on a pole with presents nearby. Someone is selected to eat what is left when the spirit has partaken of the feast in essence and he receives the presents which are placed with the bundle. It is always necessary that the person who eats the feast be of the same sex as the deceased. When this is all over, the relatives wail for the last time. When the lock of hair is buried the spirit is then thought to leave. This is quite separate from the feast of the societies for the dead and was done for everyone. If a person belonged to any of the societies, say the Kit-fox, or the No-flight, then his organization would come to his lodge and stand outside in a circle singing their songs. Finally, a man would take a knife and cut a hole in the left arm of each member to show that they too took part in the mourning for the dead with the relatives. All the time they continued singing. Finally, they take the body and bury it.

In this connection it should be noted that the Eastern Dakota, unlike their Algonkian neighbors, do not have the custom of removing the corpse of the deceased through the back of the lodge but always carried it through the door. From two to three years after the society has conducted the funeral, the relatives of the deceased get up a feast and invite the organization there at which time they give them presents which they have collected. This ends the mourning of
the family. Among the Dakota there is no counting of coups at the
funeral as is found among the Menomini and Winnebago. Women formerly
cut their arms and legs. The father of the young man always punched
a hole through his arm. The society brothers of a dead man always
felt in duty bound to mutilate themselves in the same way as the
chief mourners had done.

Of recent years the Wahpeton and Santee bury the bodies of their
dead in the ground, but it is said that the Sisseton used to use a
scaffold erected on four poles, and also that before 1851 the
Wahpeton and Santee also used to put the bodies of their dead on
trees or less commonly, placed on a scaffold. Some of the old
people objected to throwing earth over the dead when they were buried
in the ground.

It was customary to make the grave shallow and to lay the body
in it as though the deceased were asleep. Then sticks were placed
over it and the earth heaped upon them. Then a split log house was
put over the grave. This form of burial was called Canotijnakapi
(sleep inside).

According to Jingling-cloud, the body of the deceased among the
Wahpeton was dressed in its best and then wrapped in a buffalo hide.
If the Indians were dwelling in the forest it was placed on a branch
of a tree; if on the plains, on a platform or scaffold on top of a
hill. Sometimes it was buried in the ground, the grave being dug
with a digging stick. Occasionally, the body would be left in a tipi
and the tipi deserted.

When a man was dying the mourners made a great wailing as he
drew his last breath, and again when the body was being carried out from the door of the lodge. The chief mourning came, however, when the body was laid in the ground when the relatives cut their hair, gashed their arms. They would kill the man's favorite horse and dog at the grave and put his guns in or leave them on a platform.75

Jingling-cloud thought that there was only one soul which resided in the heart.76

If a Wahpeton man, who was well known, died, the widow cropped her hair below the ears, put on a wretched dress and wore a buffalo robe with the stripes of porcupine work on it torn off, and the tails, jinglers, and red feathers removed. All the clothing and goods of the deceased were given to the poor, except her tent and blanket. She did not appear in public places, but stayed at home doing needle work and wailing in the morning and evening. She was not supposed to smile or laugh. The period of mourning was supposed to last four years, but could last longer if desired. Very young girls were sometimes permitted to remarry after two years. When the period of mourning was over, relatives combed her hair and put deer tallow in it and braided it before the multitude and feasted with her. Then she donned new clothes and her relatives give her presents. Orphans receive gifts of clothes and horses from others. At the end of the mourning, clothes were given to orphans or poor people. This was done by an old man who was paid for his trouble.

**HEREAFTER.** The Wahpeton believe that the soul goes to a round house in high where the great spirit lives. First, the soul
travels to the west and then up. It crosses a river flowing from the west. Then departed ancestors are found who dwell on both sides of the river, and there are guards along the road to tell the village herald when a new soul approaches. The herald first questions the newcomer as he approaches the village. He then announces through the camp that so-and-so has come. The relatives then take the newcomer into their lodge and offer him food. Sometimes spirits come back and they are always hungry. The people therefore offer food to ghosts. Sometimes they place it on or near the grave. This is a double act of charity for the living poor will devour the food after the spirits have taken the essence.

When a man dies, a lock of his hair is taken and put in a bundle of clothes. The bundle is called *wapahta* as "the spirit of the departed brave". It is kept one year and from time to time tobacco is put on it. At the end of that time there is a feast and the hair is buried.

Some of the Eastern Dakota claim they have learned of the hereafter from people who have gone into trances or have apparently died who have come to life again. Sometimes such persons have remained as many as four days in a trance, and are able therefore to tell very well of the other world. There is a long road of the dead traversing the earth, which the souls must follow until finally they reach a river, before crossing which they hear voices trying to scare them back. However, if they see anyone passing on ahead, they follow the crowd and cross. On the other side of the stream they meet deceased relatives who cry and give them food. People who dream of
crossing usually die soon afterwards, even if they come to life later.\textsuperscript{78} Some of those they find on the other side were still alive but these too soon die. Those who do not cross the river, live to a normal age. Some are unable to find any way of getting over the water. Others find footprints. There is no bridge.\textsuperscript{79} Tradition states that the milky way is the path that the warriors tread, but no returning dead person has ever spoken of having gone on it.

**MOUNDS.** Simon Cekpaw, a Sisseton insists that all the old people account for the mounds by saying that anciently there were very numerous people dwelling in the country where they now live. These people were war-like and though they had no bows and arrows, were well-provided with warclubs of stone covered with rawhide. In their hand-to-hand combat many were slain and with shovels made from flattened bark by means of stone axes, earth was scraped up and the bodies, which were first laid on the surface of the prairie, were covered with earth. Wolves would dig in the mounds and the relatives would fill in the holes and place more earth on them until the mounds grew very large. Even in more recent times people who died out on the prairie were sometimes covered with rawhide and earth heaped on them. Sometimes they threw on more earth in later years. It is said that Victor Renville opened a mound and found a skeleton which showed that one of the legs had been broken and then healed again.\textsuperscript{80} A deer horn lay beside it. Most mounds occur near Brown's Valley and near Enemy Swim Lake.
MATERIAL CULTURE: DRESS

The Sisseton, Santee, and Wahpeton used to dress differently. The Sisseton men parted their hair in the middle and wore it in two braids wrapped with strips of otterskin. They had legging and shirts of buckskin which were garnished with extremely long fringes mixed with the scalplocks of enemies which they either took or bought from others. They also used twisted strips of weasel skin on their leggings particularly, and long leg strips of porcupine quills. They used breechclouts of leather and wore buffalo robe blankets.

The women wore buckskin leggings and a one-piece garment of the Plains type. However, the dress of Waanaton’s wife in New York Historical Society is of Obibway type with separate sleeves. The Wahpeton and Santee dressed rather similarly. The men banded their hair in front and back and dressed it in four little braids, two hanging over the forehead and two in the rear. They also wrapped their hair with bright-colored cloth, rather than with otterskin. Their shirts, which were of buckskin, are said to have been fringeless; their leggings were like a trouser leg with the seam in front and small at the ankle with a large flap at each side of the foot. A narrow strip, about half an inch long, was cut in fine fringe and sewed into the seam in front. The tops of the leggings were large with double strings to fasten to the belt.

None of the men, according to Simon Cekpa, one of my informants, roached the hair, except officers of the Tokana who wore their hair this way during the four years of their incumbency. Jingling-cloud, however, gives some contradictory evidence on this point, saying that
in very ancient times, the roach hair dress was known.

The women of the Santee and Wahpeton wore blouse-like shirts in cloth at least in recent years, and skirts made of a square piece of buckskin wrapped around the waist in true Central Algonkin style. Of recent years, the shirts were of calico and the skirts were ornamented with silk ribbon applique. A calico shirt adorned with native-made silver brooches was obtained from Mrs. Gray-shawl, a Wahpeton.

**HEADDRESSES.** All the divisions of the Sioux seem to have worn the eagle feather war-bonnet and the deer's hair roach. Simon Cekpa one made a close fitting skull cap covered with white weasel skins and adorned with a pair of split buffalo horns. Buffalo horns were sometimes added to ordinary war-bonnets and eagle feather bonnets with long trailers were donned by horsemen.

Woven sashes were also worn around the head. Eagle feathers were assumed by those who had earned the right to wear them.84

**NECKLACES.** Necklaces were made of wampum of trade beads, and of deer's hoofs cut into divers[e] shapes and strung on buckskin thongs. Grizzly bear claw necklaces of the Sauk and Fox type wound with otter fur were formerly worn. The writer collected a bear's paw necklace made from the entire skin of a paw slit so that it would go over the head of the wearer.

**SASHES.** These were worn by the Eastern Dakota about the
head, over the shoulder, or around the waist, and differ in no particular [way] from those used by the Central Algonkin.

**Beaded Garters.** These garters are said only to have been worn by the Santee. Like those of the Central Algonkian they were worn outside the legging below the knee and were articles of adornment for men only.

**Moccasins.** Anciently, the Wahpeton and Santee wore moccasins with large ankle flaps of the Sauk and Fox type. Then they took up moccasins of the Ojibway style, soft-soled like the former, seamed over the instep, and with extension uppers that came over the ankles and with hardly more than a notch for flaps. This style still persists among all the bands of Eastern Sioux. The Sisseton are said to have been more addicted to wearing the hard-soled type of the Plains.85

**Material Culture: Dwellings**

**Bark House - Titonka.** According to my Wahpeton informants, long poles are taken and thrust into the ground and arched over across each other to form the framework of this type of lodge. If the poles are not long enough two are lashed together with basswood string. Cross pieces are tied with bark to the main poles about two feet apart. The outer covering, which is tied on, is of birchbark in the Minnesota country and of cottonwood farther west. The bark roof is begun at the bottom and succeeding layers are made to overlap the
preceding ones at the top. A smoke hole is left at the apex and a little round bark flap is made to pull over it when it rains. This is placed slantingly so it will slide over on the west side, as the rain in the Eastern Dakota country usually comes from the west. As this type of lodge is usually used in winter, dirt or straw, or both are piled up around the outside. Sometimes, the lodges were entirely covered with earth. Clay or straw was used to chink up the cracks on the inside. All the lodges of this description which the writer saw among the Eastern Dakota were of temporary construction for summer use, and closely resembled those of the Iowa, Kansa, Winnebago, Ojibway, and Menomini, being round in groundplan and semi-globular or round roofed. Sometimes large beams were used in building these lodges in ancient times making them more like the earth houses of the Omaha and Mandan. The doors of these were covered with hide, canvas, or bark and were square in shape. Two sticks were set up outside the entrance to form door posts and the bark door slid open and shut between them. None of the lodges which came under my observation had benches built around the walls inside, as among the Algonkians, Jingling-cloud thinks that they were never used, but this is doubtful in my opinion. Instead of the benches, it is said, that willow brush was banked along the wall. Willow hoops were set up very close to each other and overlapped around the fireplace and straw or hay was packed on the floor between this boundary and the bush seats. Buffalo robes were flung over the piles of brush next to the wall.

The cooking utensils were kept on each side of the door. It was a rule that no one should step over the fireplace or lift a coal with
the blade of a knife. The grandmothers, if there were any in the family, had their place next to the door. If there was only one grandmother, she sat on the left of the father. Mother and children sat on the right or vice versa. The guest's place (catku, or front) was directly in the rear opposite the door and behind the fireplace.

**SQUARE BARK HOUSE.** The square bark house, called *tanpawokaya* (Birchbark tent), was the summer lodge and was made of a pole foundation with square sides and angular roof exactly like those of the Menomini and other Central Algonkian.87 This type of lodge has long been obsolete. It had benches around the wall inside and the door was at one end or at the side. It was easily taken down and put up.

Conical birchbark tents like those of the Ojibway are said never to have been used.88

**TIPI.** The Wahpeton skin tipi is made of fifteen poles with a three-pole foundation. One pole forms one side of the door, the other two the back. In setting up the poles the builder works back from the door post to the center then returns and works the other way. Then another pole is used to raise the tent cover which is tied to it making four for its foundation. This pole falls in the rear of the lodge. A rope is thrown about the top of the tipi poles and is then tightened by means of this typing pole. Then the front of the lodge cover is pinned down, and the cover stretched a little further. Holes are dug with a digging-stick for the poles. Care is taken to
keep the hide cover about five inches from the ground so the poles can fit in. Tent pins are put in, two at the door, and two half way around, to stretch the cover. Then the others are driven in to hold it down. The anchor rope is then thrown inside the lodge and pegged down to the ground just as the writer has observed it among the Plains-Cree. The poles are then stuck in the sockets of the ears. A long stick is hung horizontally on the bottom of the door flap to hold it down.

The Eastern Dakota, in general, use the three-pole foundation. The three poles are first tied together at one end and then set up in a tripod. One goes at the door and the other two at the rear. The other poles are cleverly interlocked and the rope brought around them twice to hold them, and then anchored to a tree or a peg in the ground. Three or four other poles are then slipped under the tie to make it firmer and the cover, which is made of from seven to nine hides, is raised on a single pole and put over the frame. The front is then fastened with pins and the bottom pegged down. Two other poles are used to regulate the ears. They fit into sockets in the ears, and according to the way the wind blows, one of the poles is shifted to raise or lower the ear and regulate the draft. In two lodges which the writer observed, the main framework was made up of nine poles. Just before the bottom of the tent is pegged down, holes are dug for the poles to slip in. Cedar wood is preferred for the poles.

The buffalo hide tipis, which by the way, were more common among the Sisseton division, were formerly ornamented with disks of quill
or beadwork with horsehair hanging from the center and porcupine quill pendants with metal jinglers were hung along the front. The top of the lodge was often painted red, black, or blue. The fire was built in the center of the tipi and directly behind it was the catku or "back center" where guests were always seated. Sacred objects were kept there or placed in the rear directly behind the spot hanging on a tripod. The three foundation poles are called iticiyakaske or "uniting poles", the other poles were known as tosu.

MATERIAL CULTURE AND FOODWAYS

POTTERY - MAKING. In making pottery, my Wahpeton informants declare a stiff tenacious clay was taken and pounded. Then dark blue flint of the type used to make axes was secured and burned over and over in a hot fire until it crumbled. It was then pounded on a flat stone with a heavy grooved stone bone-crusher until it was pulverized, after which it was mixed with the clay for tempering, and the whole was pounded again until it was elastic like gum.

Then the potter made a flat bottom and built up the sides of the vessel, the coil process not being employed. At the top two little curved lugs or ears were made on opposite sides. Buffalo sinew, taken from the neck, and the hoofs of the same animal were boiled to make glue which was smeared over the inside. Then a wooden paddle with figures carved on it was used to stamp the sides while they were yet moist. The vessel were then burned, but no one remembered definitely whether this was a separate step or whether the burning was done while the vessel was in use. The Indians were of the latter
opinion which the writer believes to be erroneous. When finished, the outside was of a reddish color and rought with the tempering showing, the inside was smooth. Pottery making was entirely the work of the women and Dakota pottery is said to have been inferior to that made by the Mandan, which the Sioux well remember.

**ARROW POINTS AND OTHER STONE IMPLEMENTS.** In spite of the widespread Dakota tradition to the effect that arrowheads of stone now found are not the work of human being but of the spider Inktomi, some old Wahpeton declare that flint was used for knives, scrapers, and arrow points. The knives are said to have been very large. Grooved bone crushers, hammers, and axes were made, of stone. The axes were exceedingly dull as compared with those of metal. In hafting these objects wood was twisted about the groove and made secure with green rawhide which dried with an iron grip. A few grooved bone crushers still exist in the possession of the Indians.

In cutting wood with a stone ax, the work was done by placing a stone under the wood and then hammering the wood until it was crushed and could be broken with the hands. For finer work, flint axes of stone and a bluish color were used to chop with some success. Riggs and Dorsey observe that the French in 1680 found the Dakota killing buffalo with stone arrows and cutting meat with stone knives etc. (184) flint was obtained at Knife Lake. According to some Wahpeton informants, flint arrows and spears were used until relatively recent times, stone arrow points being used up to within fifty years ago, especially among the Oglala. Some were used in the Minnesota
outbreak as late as 1862, but as above mentioned, folklore has it that those found on the ground are said to have been made by black spiders. I have seen some bone arrow-heads made by Sisseton individuals exactly in the shape of the metal arrow points used today by the Oglala and other western divisions.

BERRY CRUSHERS. Round stones were used to crush berry pits on a flat metate. Cherries were also cured in the sun after having been pounded in this manner and were put in buffalo tripe mixed with buffalo fat marrow and meat and packed away in parfleches. Huge grooved stone mauls were used to crack buffalo bones which were later boiled to extract the oil.

COOKING IN A BUFFALO SKIN. When on the hunt, if without cooking utensils, the hunters would procure four pegs which they set up and then stretched over them a square piece of green buffalo hide with the hair outside. A flat stone was laid on the bottom to open out the receptacle and hold it down and water was poured in. Then stones were heated in the fire and carried over to the improvised kettle by means of a long green stick with a crook on the end. They were then dropped into the water until their heat made it boil. Sliced meat was thrown in, and when the skin receptacle had shrunked until it was too small to hold more, the cooking was said to have been completed. It was from this manner of cooking that the Assiniboine (Ojibway-Stone Sioux) derived their name. Animal stomachs were used as kettles in the same way, but are said to have
burned more readily. For these a hole was dug in the ground and the stomach opened and pegged down around the mouth of the hole. Bark vessels were never used to cook with as among several woodland tribes, although they had their place as household utensils.

**HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.** It could not be learned definitely that mats of reeds or bulrushes had been made within recent years, but at an earlier date they are said to have been abundant among the Santee tribes and the Wahpeton.

**MATS.** A mat made of braided corn husks built up in circular fashion and sewed together was obtained by the writer from a Wahpeton woman. This type of mat is known among the Iroquois and Delaware, but I have not seen any specimens from any of the other tribes of the Eastern Woodlands, although they may well occur.91

**BOWLS.** Bowls for eating and gaming were made of the knots of trees by burning and scraping were abundant. These were usually plain and circular except in the case of those used in the Medicine Dance. The latter were always furnished with animal head handles. This is also true of the spoons used by the Eastern Dakota for the Medicine Dance. Wooden spoons with loons or duck's heads on the handles were consecrated to the "Raw Fish Eaters." Spoons were made of wood or of buffalo horn. The Yankton utilized the horn of the mountain sheep, but such spoons were rarely seen among the Eastern Dakota, who had no access to the habitat of the Big Horn.92
FIRE MAKING. For making fire, a wooden hearth was prepared and a small shallow hole bored in it. Tiny flint chips were dropped in the orifice and then a stick, held between the palms of the hands, was twirled in the depression. When the fire started to smoke, a little punk was added. The bowdrill was not known.

BUFFALO HIDE SHIELDS. Buffalo hide shields, while used by all the Eastern Dakota, were naturally more common among the Sisseton. They were made of thick hide from the bull’s neck, first boiled, and then shrunk. Then a glue was made by thoroughly boiling buffalo cow hoofs which was then plastered over the outside. Burned flint was pounded and pulverized and sprinkled over the sticky surface.

PIPES. Stone pipes of every conceivable shape and variety were made by the Eastern Dakota who had an abundant supply of catlinite in their famous quarry at Pipestone, Minnesota. In the earliest times, the pipes were roughly blocked into shape by means of stone tools and then bored out with a drill made of an arrow-head of stone fastened to the end of a long stick. It is rather significant that the Indians refer to the stone drill head as an arrow-point only and goes to prove the old theory that among the Indians as among the whites, one implement might serve a number of uses. At later times metal implements shaped like screw drivers were used for this purpose and then augers. I have, myself, assisted in an old Sisseton named
Yomani (walks in the middle of the tipi) in boring out a
finite pipe bowl with an old screw driver. Inlaying in stone and
metal was practiced at quite an early date.

WOVEN BAGS. All the divisions of the Eastern Dakota used
basswood fiber bags woven in the typical Central Algonkian style.94

PARFLECHES. Among the Santee, small barrel-shaped parfleches
were used to carry objects, especially on horseback. The Wahpeton
and Sisseton used parfleches of the box and envelope type and
probably also the flat type found on the prairie.95

VEGETAL FOOD. Indian turnip or tipsina, is sliced, dried,
and preserved for future use, when it is boiled with dried meat.
Squashes were cut and dried in strings. Corn was braided, dried and
hung over horizontal bars outside the lodge to dry. It was then
prepared in various ways being hulled with lye obtained from wood
ashes or ground into flour in wooden mortars of the horizontal type.
A specimen of this variety of mortar with its crude pestle, which
like other seen among the Eastern Dakota, were not constricted in the
middle for a grip, was obtained from a Wahpeton woman, but others
were seen in Sisseton families.96 Green corn was roasted or it was
scraped from the cob and dried on mats or skins for future use.

BUFFALO HUNTING. Buffalo were formerly abundant only
periodically; when they were scarce, scouts were sent out to look for
them on the prairie. When the scouts were sent out to look for the buffalo they might be gone a day or more, so the akicita went through the village and announced to the people to be very quiet so the buffalo could not hear or smell them. Boys and girls were not allowed to play or make any noise. No dancing was permitted. Even the dogs seemed to know enough to keep quiet. When the scouts were seen returning over the hill they would raise their blankets as a sign of good news. If they had seen the buffalo then the people yelled and the dogs barked.

If the scouts were successful in locating the buffalo, they would return with the news, going to the council lodge or tiyotipi. There the councilors and leader came together with their akicita or officers who executed the orders. These akicita were called waawanyaka or overseers and were selected from the braves by the council. Their office only lasted during the buffalo hunt and had no reference to their position in any of the warrior societies. Sometimes the men might be chosen from half a dozen different societies. However, when one division of the Eastern Sioux, say the Wahpeton, was camped by itself, they might make use of an organization, the tokana, for instance, if they chose.

A herald was selected to tell the people that buffalo had been found, and after the announcement of the discovery of the buffalo by the scouts to the council, the herald would call through the village that the people must get their running horses ready, clean their guns, and prepare their arrows for the signal. These running horses were not hobbled or staked out on the prairie with the ordinary
seeds but were kept close to the lodges where they were carefully
watched and tended. After a while the herald would pass through camp
again, announcing that everyone should start for the place where the
buffalo had been seen. The cavalcade started slowly, the warriors
leading their running horses to keep them fresh. The akicita led the
expedition, and it was their duty to punish those who went ahead of
the main body by killing the culprits’ horses, whipping them with a
club, whip, or gun, and breaking their weapons.

When the buffalo were sighted, the leader would prepare his gun
and then yell "Hukahe" when all was ready. The hunters then mounted
their running horses and charged the herd in a body, picking out and
shooting the best buffalo. It was thought that orphan boys were the
cleverest and best hunters and very wealthy men who owned two or
three running horses would hire orphans to ride for them during the
hunt.

After the buffalo had been killed, the men usually did the
skinning unless the main body of the women had arrived there in time.
They would work two and two and brought off all they could of the
buffalo meat, hoofs, horns, tongue, head, and entrails. The latter
were often eaten raw with the liver. The liver, sprinkled with gall,
was prized as a dainty and devoured raw on the spot.

In packing the horse to bring back the meat to camp, the buffalo
were quartered and tied with thongs on the ponies’ backs. Some of
the horses were said to have been able to carry as many as two
buffalo each. What they could not carry off they covered with grass
and left until night or the next day. In order to keep the coyotes
from stealing it, the Indians would take a bladder, blow it up, put
shot inside, take gunpowder and blow it on the hide or meat and this
would look like fire at night.

After a hunt, someone from Heyoka tipi would come to gather
tongues and hearts. If a sun dance was to be held, someone was sent
out to gather these articles for the host. After a successful
surround of buffalo, the people all gave the Medicine Feasts and
Heyoka and Buffalo Dances were started at the same time.

Another method of hunting buffalo was to drive them out on the
ice where they were awkward and could be easily shot.

**TANNING - PREPARING BUFFALO ROBES.** The buffalo hides were
first stretched on the ground and pegged down with the hair side
down. They were then scraped with a toothed bone, or later, metal
scraper, to get off the meat and subcutaneous tissue. They were
washed, dried, and smoked. For leather, after the tissue had been
removed, the hide was reversed and the hair removed with a hoe-shaped
scraper of elkhorn with a metal blade. Then a semilunar-shaped
chopper was brought to bear on the hide and it was thoroughly scraped
after which it was rubbed down with a buffalo hip bone. It was then
made into a bag and smoked over a fire of rotten wood. The writer
observed a scraper in the possession of a Sisseton woman upon which
the number of hides tanned was marked on the elkhorn handle by a
series of dots and the number of tipis made of their skins were also
figured in crude drawings.

Deer skin was prepared differently from buffalo hide. It was
fleshed immediately after the deer was skinned by being stretched and worked in the same way as the buffalo skin. The hair was cut off with a knife and was thrown over the upper end of a log driven obliquely into the ground. It was then scraped with a semilunar metal scraper and then thoroughly rubbed and pounded with a stone implement, an example of which was obtained from a Wahpeton woman. It is identical with the pitted hammerstones found in the neighborhood of New York City on archaeological sites. After this, a solution of deer brains was applied by washing. The skin was then stretched and pulled with the hands to render it pliable as it dried. It was also rubbed back and forth over a twisted rope and then made into a bag, suspended over a tripod which was set up over a hole in the ground where a smoky fire was made to cure it.

GAMES

SLIDING GAME. Icasdohe. This game was played on the ice. A trough or alley a few inches wide and about thirty feet long was made and at either end horizontal bars were set up upon which prizes are hung. Women divided in parties of two and chose either goal. Two sticks were set up at each end and the parties alternated in rolling a small round stone up each alley trying to knock over the sticks, which were about an inch high. Those who were successful in bowling over the most sticks get the prize.

SNOW SNAKE OR PASIDOHANPE. This game was played by pushing a wooden shaft down a slide, made in the snow, similar to that used in
the preceding game. The shafts were thrown or pushed for distance.

**ICE GAME.** Hutanicutepi. This was played with a stick made something like that used for the game of snow snake. A head was carved to resemble that of a pickerel and on its back a human face was made. The stick was slid over the ice, the player making his stick glide the farthest, won the game.

**BOWL AND DICE.** Kansu. This was a woman’s game, and was played with a wooden bowl in which were shaken plum seeds blackened on one side and white on the other. Some were carved to represent birds or animals. According to the way they fell the count was made.

**SNOW ARROW.** Mantka. The details were not learned.

**LACROSSE.** Takapsica. This game was played with little sticks made with a small net at one end in regular Central Algonkian style. It had but little ceremonial aspects of the Menomini game. The only ceremony. The goal posts were half a mile or a mile apart. The two contesting sides could put in any number so long as they were equal. They met in the center of the field, the ball was thrown in the air, then all scrambled for it, attempting to bring it down and throw it against the opponent’s goal. No one was supposed to be angry if hurt, although this game was very rough. Usually the players tied eagle down on their hair. According to some of the old accounts (see Catlin102) the Santee played this game on the ice.
Women sometimes played against other women but the sexes never mingled.

A winkta (or berdache) once took part in a woman's game. He borrowed paint from Jingling-cloud's grandmother, who was a relative of his, and colored his legs and arms gray. A winkta was supposed to be especially adept at all woman's games just as in woman's arts.

MOCCASIN GAME. Four animal skins about five inches broad by ten inches long, usually dog, badger, or skunk, were laid on the ground and the players divided, four men on each side. The leader, who had to guess where the opposing side was going to hide the bead or bullet, had a long stick to strike the moccasin where he thought it had been placed. The leader of the other side then tried to hide a bead in one of the moccasins. A pile of sticks was heaped in the center between the parties and every time the guesser was right he received four of them. When he failed to guess correctly he gave back two to the other side, and lost his turn. The game was kept up until one side had only two sticks left. Then the winner returned all his pile but six and if the loser still failed to get the bead on the next trial, the game was over and the winner made the loser give presents for from one to ten sticks from his pile. Horses, clothes, horse equipment, etc., were given. One of the favorite songs was "When I see you, I laugh," lines supposed to be about a girl.

KICKING GAME. Nakicitanpi. This is a rough game played by
the boys, who divide into equal sides and kick each other on the shins and thighs alternately. Those who are knocked over and are unable to rise are gently kicked by the winner who nicknames them. The side knocking over the most opponents wins. Sometimes the game is played more roughly. Those who are thrown down are attacked by their opponents who bump their knees into the faces of the prostrate players. If a man is approached by one of the other side and lies down without any resistance he is spared, unless it has been declared before staring that no quarter will be given. This game is said to usually wind up in a free-for-all fight.

**HOOP AND JAVELIN.** Tahuka canhdeska. Several hoops laced with rawhide and graded in size, perhaps as many as eight in all being used, are thrown so as to run along the ground and are speared at by the players. Sides are chosen which line up abreast, standing opposite each other. The leader of one side goes between them and throws the hoops, beginning with the large one, while the players on the other side try to transfix them with their spears. The small hoop is thrown last, and the object is to drive the spear or javelin through the small circle left in the center of the web and called the eye. When the hoops are all pinned by one side the players on that side snatch them up and pursue those on the other, throwing the hoops at them and trying to hit the fleeing players. If a man on the losing side is hit by a hoop which afterwards rolls away he tries to spear it, and if successful he throws it back. The winning side then rests while the others throw the hoops again. This is considered a
"brave" game and not beneath the notice of warriors.

**SHINNY.** Takapopas. This was played by women as well as men. It was similar to the proverbial double ball game of the Central Algonkian.

**CAT'S CRADLE.** Cat's cradle was a common game and many different forms of twisting the string were known.

**BASDOHAMPY.** A shaft of weed or ash was thrown over the ground by taking it by one end and shooting it across the instep or the foot might be raised from the ground and held in various awkward positions.

**TOPS.** Whipping tops of horn or wood were beaten on the ice or on the ground.

**DARTS.** Throwing darts, feathered on one end, were hurled at a mark.

**WAR GAMES.** In playing this game, grass spikes or burrs were pulled off their parent weeds in bunches. The grass spikes were wet and twisted together and the children used them to throw at each other. They would stick to the clothing or to the flesh like little arrows. The game had no formal rules.
COASTING. For coasting, a flat piece of wood like a barrel stave was taken and a rawhide thong tied to one end. The children would stand on the other end while they held the thong tight and slid down hill. They guided the sled with a stick.

BOW AND ARROW GAME. Miniature bow and arrows were made of dry stalks of grass. They were used to war and also to see who could shoot the farthest.

RACES. Sticks were set up for goals sometimes as far as one or two miles apart and horsemen watched at the start and finished while the contestants raced from one post to the other. Prizes for the first four places usually consisted of guns, quivers, arrows, bows, spears, etc.

TEST OF BRAVERY. This was a game which was played by boys. Pith was dampened and placed on the skin of the bare arms and hands and set on fire. Those who could let it burn down to the skin until it went out were considered the bravest. Jingling-cloud has scars on his arms and hands from playing this game.

HAND STICK GAME. This is known perhaps to the Sisseton and to a few Wahpeton, but is more common among the Teton. Jingling-cloud has seen it played at Rosebud, where an Indian named Short-bull got into the center between the two contestants, counted his coups and announced that he hoped his side would win. Two play at once.
In this particular game they had thirty-two cartridge shells. They shook their hands and waved them back and forth with many tricks of legerdemain while the opponent tried to guess in which hand the bullet is held.

[End of Transcription]
NOTES

1Mrs. Mary Eastman authored *Dahcotah: Life and Legends of the Sioux* in 1849, becoming a major source on the Sioux very early.

2The term "Isanti" refers to the people of "Knife Lake" or Mille Lacs, Minnesota (from Isanyati). This term became synonymous with "Santee", which Skinner believed to be Mdewakanton rather than inclusive of all Eastern Dakota as the term is used later by others.

3Simon Cekpa identified himself as a Sisseton of the Itokaktina or "South-dweller" gens. He said he was the first drum owner of the Sisseton Omaha Society and Grass Dance. He was Skinner's informant on the gentes of ethnology, on dress, and on the mounds.

4As an editor of Skinner's text, the symbol "[...]
shall indicate my own opinion or corrections, and the symbol "{(....)}" shall indicate handwritten additions and corrections to the original typewritten copy which are most likely by Skinner himself. The symbol "{(....)}" shall indicate Skinner's original use in his text of that symbol. Throughout the monograph, I corrected those places where handwritten editorial notes indicated correction, but I otherwise did not correct errors in the text.

5Stephen Return Riggs (1983) wrote a standard ethnography of the Dakota. Rev. Dr. Edward Ashley was the U. S. Indian Agent at Winnebago in the late 1800's and at Standing Rock Mission by 1925. His death announcement in the *Tapi Qaye* identifies him as Episcopal and having served in Yankton, at Sisseton Agency and at Crow Creek, South Dakota, and in Fairbault, Minnesota. He died in Aberdeen, South Dakota.

6A1anson Skinner (1919:172) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 21, p. 172, attributes nine groups as Sisseton. In handwritten notes, indicated by my symbol { }, Skinner was trying to solve the confusion surrounding various gentes of varying fortune.


8"The outbreak" may refer to the 1862 Minnesota Sioux uprising which continued through the late 1800's plains wars.

9This paragraph was on a page without a page number and was appended to the preceding text by my own judgement.
Skinner (1919:172) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology" in American Anthropologist, vol. 21, recognizes six groups. Here Skinner is trying to reconstruct or determine the varying fortune of some other gentes surrounded by confusion.

Latchets are straps or laces for fastening a shoe.

The source here is not explicit.

Crow Creek, South Dakota was the first relocation point of the Dakota removed from Minnesota after the 1862 war, not sent to prison in Davenport, Iowa.

It is impossible to determine if Skinner or someone else typed and inserted this page. There are no script corrections on this page as there are on others to which one can compare handwriting. However, the typeface is larger on this page than the others. The note on the bottom of the page, beginning "In Skinner’s account..." makes it possible someone else inserted this page, perhaps a reader for the monograph or a scholar in later comment.

Stephen R. Riggs (1889) defines "wakiconza" as one who determines or decides; to purpose, or determine for one. He defines "wakiconze" as a leader or chief; or one who decides, in accord with the Teton dialect.

Skinner (1919:173) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," American Anthropologist, vol. 21, states that each gens’ group of twenty "wakicun" or councilors, each had a tent of their own.

Skinner (1919:167) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," talked about canoes and found that dug-out canoes were still used by all three peoples—Isanti, Wahpeton, and Sisseton. He also stated that the last two formerly had many bark canoes.

Peter Oneroad, the father of Amos Oneroad who is Skinner’s main informant, was credited as bringing the Omaha or Grass Dance, Pezimihanka, in 1868.

Skinner (1919:173) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", American Anthropologist, vol. 21, mentions that the "akictcita", known as "soldiers," or "police," occasionally may have been selected for bravery among the Sisseton, and according to Lowie, among the Wahpeton. Skinner concluded that the Eastern Dakota more nearly resembled the Algonkian and Southern Siouan than the Teton in this respect. Thus, "the akictcita performed the typical acts of soldier killing, had their separate tipi, and their challenging contests, etc., in regular Plains style."

"Members", is Skinner’s euphemism for penis or male sex organs.
21 The Eastern Dakota contested the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Gros Ventres in the northwestern most extenstions beyond their habitual territory. These tribes were along the Missouri River, generally in North Dakota and the latter in Montana. The Arikaras, Assiniboines, Plains-Cree, and Plains-Obijways were encountered on their northwestern boundaries. The Ojibways were on the northeastern boundary. Their southern extenstions were contested by the Poncas, Omahas, and Iowas in Nebraska and Iowa. The Cheyenne were generally to the southwest of the Western Dakota (the Western Dakota insulated the Eastern Dakota's west boundary).

22 The Riggs dictionary defines "tiyotipi" as a "soldiers' lodge" established for the purpose of making laws and providing for their execution. The object is generally to regulate the buffalo chase.

23 "Akicta Wicaktep" literally translates as "soldier killing". The verb "akiciakte" translates as "to punish officially"; "to punish for the violation of a law" and Riggs says this is done by those who have attained to the place of brave, and consists in the killing of a horse or dog, cutting up tens and blankets, breaking guns, etc. If the latter verb were used the insertion of the pronouns "wica...pi" would translate "them...they".

24 "Wakan tanka" translates as great spirit.

25 The Riggs dictionary defines "wotawe" as "armor, weapons consecrated by religious ceremonies; whatever is relied upon in war".

26 The Riggs dictionary lists "Taku'skanskan" as one of the Dakota gods, the moving god or god of motion.

27 Riggs defines "wotawe" as consecrated war weapons.

28 Diver are diving birds like loons or grebes.

29 See the version of the "Earth-Diver" tale called "The Origin of the Medicine Dance" in this thesis (p.174) with the folklore under "Traditions of the Sisseton-Wahpeton".

30 Skinner (1919:167) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," states that bows, often quite long, and arrows tipped with stone, antler, or bone, and rawhide shields were common weapons. Skinner found the warclub was either ball-headed or flat and shaped like a gun butt. He determined that stone-headed clubs, like those of the prairie Sioux, were probably not used to any extent, unless by the Sisseton.

31 "Tokana" society detailed later, was a social association rather than religious, according to Skinner.
Here it is not clear if Skinner is speaking of Jingling-cloud the elder or Amos OneRoad. Two paragraphs later, he is definitely speaking of the elder and not Amos OneRoad. Jingling-cloud, the elder, Mahpiyasna, was Iyangmani's chief soldier at Lac qui Parle, according to Riggs (1918:509-513). He was described as tall and boastful, and had given away more horses in his day than all Leaf-villagers had owned. He had visited St. Louis and Lord Selkirk's settlement on the Red River. In regard to the incident of this tale, Riggs said he took responsibility of disciplining Mnahudan or "Black-haw Bush" for killing a Chippewa during peace and shot him. Iyangmani was the chief at Lac qui Parle in 1834 on through the 1850's. Samuel W. Pond (1986:14) thought him a better man than a chief, intelligent in conversation but "would not speak in public to people when they needed most....while he was silent others ruled."


Riggs defines a "winkta" as a "hermaphrodite" or a bisexual. Skinner alternates this Dakota term with the term berdache.

The Ojibway are a linguistic group of Algonkian American Indians or from the Chippewa groups which formerly lived near the Great Lakes. During the period spoken about here the Ojibway contested the northeastern boundaries of the Santee or Eastern Sioux.

Skinner (1919:167) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," and (1920:262-305) "Wahpeton Dakota Wakan Wacipi, or Medicine Dance", Indian Notes and Monographs vol 4, have sections on "picture writing" which describe writing on flat bard slabs and on birchbark. Skinner said this was common particularly in connection with hunting charms and the medicine dance. Skinner said he collected five Wahpeton examples, but that several more Sisseton examples are in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. The latter article pictures three song boards.

Riggs literally translates "hunka" as "ancestor or parent". See William K. Powers (1975:100) on the Hunka ritual "to create a bond between two people which is stronger than a kinship tie."

The word "mococs" is unfamiliar to this author. Skinner did collect a Menomini birchbark "makuk" used to store sugar from sap according to Ritzenthaler (1970:14,16,68-69,155).

See "A War Story" in this thesis (p.177). It is the same ancedote with few presentational differences.

societies of the Plains type as: Tokana, No-Flight, Mawatani, Raven Owners, Badgers, Owl Feather Wearers; Skinner listed social societies of the Plains type: Omaha; and social societies and dances of the Central Algonkian type: Buffalo Dance, Medicine Dance.

Robert Lowie (1913:102-142) describes the Kit-Fox Dance, the No-Flight Dance, the Buffalo Dance and the Raw-Fish-Eaters’ Dance in detail, had less information on the Dance of the Thunder Dreamers, but includes other Sisseton and Wahpeton dance descriptions from Fort Totten, North Dakota. Lowie also did not say much about the medicine dance, which he considered outside his scope. Wissler addresses the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota.

41 "H'oka", translates the badger, whereas singers would be a variant of "dowanpi".

42 The Skinner manuscript ending on page 32 and beginning on page 33 seems to skip an intended explanatory portion of this sentence. "Mawatani" society explanation follows.

43 According to the Riggs’ dictionary "hinhan" means "owl", "hinhan'sa" is "the red owl", and "sun" is the large feathers of a bird. "Wapaha" can mean a hat or a bonnet, or a standard, shaft or pole on which feathers are tied and used in the Dakota dances. Lowie also attributes the origin of this dance to the Mandan, but says it also bore the name of a Dakota Band (p.110-112).

44 The Riggs’ dictionary gives "pezi" as meaning "grass" and "mihnaa" as meaning "to put in under the girdle as a knife or hatchet; to wear round the loins".

45 According to Riggs, "ceh'" is a contraction of c’ega meaning kettle or pail and "takpe" means to attack.

46 Skinner (1919:172) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," American Anthropologist, vol. 21, lists a number of peculiar cults and dances decidedly original in Skinner’s view, with the Eastern Dakota, a few found among both Eastern and Western Sioux but among no other peoples. These societies and dances are listed: Elk Ear, Thunder, Elk, Double Women, Bear, Raw Fish Eaters, Yumini Wacipi, Mocking Dance. Skinner said the Bear Dance resembles the Central Algonkian ceremony only in title of that ceremony.


48 "Akicita" are the soldiers or police.

49 Riggs’ dictionary lists "huntka" as the cormorant, or a large water-fowl, rather than "hontka".
Lowie (1913:120) reports his informant David Whale credited Standing Buffalo, the Sisseton, with revival of the Buffalo Dance when he was young. Lowie’s article has informant descriptions of the Buffalo Hunt.

"Nigetankin Kinyan" or nigetanka kinyan literally means "stomach-big-to-fly".

This monograph does not contain the section on musical instruments found in Skinner (1919:169) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology." There Skinner declares the deep water drum characteristic of the medicine lodge elsewhere, may have been used in the "wakan watciipi", but ordinarily the tambourine or deeper kettle drum, with one or two heads, was most common. Skinner said ceremonial rattles were usually made of sticks strung with deer hoofs, or of deer hoofs cut in fancy shapes and strung to wear about the neck or over one shoulder in dancing. He continued that the rattles used in the medicine dance were gourds. Flageolets, often carved with loons' heads, were used for courting, reported Skinner, and bone whistles were for war purposes and the sun dance. Metallic jinglers, ventured Skinner were probably the successors of deer hoofs, used on clothes and bags as rattles.

Skinner (1919:172) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," points out that the Medicine Dance deserves more than mere passing mention. He claims it externally resembled the Ojibwa and Central Algonkian Midewiwin, but its organization and ritual are of a very different order placing it with the Iowa, Oto, and Winnebago—perhaps intermediate between the Omaha and Ponca and Central Algonkain types. Finally, he states the coyote dance resembles the Winnebago woman’s dance and that heyoka clowns are found among many Plains tribes. Skinner (1920:262-305) "Wahpeton Dakota Wakan Wacipi, or Medicine Dance" is detailed in Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. 4.

Mrs. Gray-shawl was one of the informants who showed Skinner the serpents’ root and gave him a calico shirt adorned with native made silver brooches. She was Amos Oneroad’s grandmother, Hannah Grey Shawl, a Wahpeton. Skinner (1920:262-305) details the "Wahpeton Dakota Wakan Wacipi, or Medicine Dance" in Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. 4. includes sections on the origin myth, initiation ceremony, the ten rules of life, the ceremony itself, and funeral customs for society members.

The Medicine Dance and the Sun Dance were not included in the monograph found in the Braun Research Library. However, Skinner (1919:383-385) probably intended to include his findings on the Sun Dance in the article for the Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 16. It is also likely that he intended to include the above mentioned material on the Medicine Dance and other customs, as his monograph outline indicates sections for these.
56 Possibly "snake root" used to increase perspiration, is a stimulant, pain reliever, anti-spasmodic, tonic, and recommended for bilious conditions according to Joseph Kadans, 1973 Encyclopedia of Medicinal Herbs, New York: Arco Publishing Co. pg. 184.

57 Skinner retold this story in his folklore section, entitled "A Berdache Story," found in this thesis (p.188).

58 James Owens Dorsey and Stephen R. Riggs are the ethnologists referred to here. The Skinner manuscript Dakota language transcription system is inconsistent and in a stage of correction, obvious in all the handwritten notes and corrections on this page. I used the last form noted by hand on the manuscript. Any opinions of my own are offered in brackets [...].

59 A major portion of this section is repeated in the Skinner Collection folklore in this thesis under "Notes on Puberty Fasting and Dreaming" (p.179-185). Skinner's inclusion in both sections is consistent with his view of oral history and his insight on process. See the chapter IV on Skinner's method and theory in this thesis (pp.64-68).

60 Skinner (1919) article, "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", comments that the Central Algonkian blackened their faces, and both sexes fasted. Skinner also observes that the Central tribes dreams were generally of some great fundamental mythic power of the universe, the sun, morning star, thunder, moom, horned snake or underneath bear or panther.

61 Alanson Skinner says that a Tree Dweller or Canotina is "a little dwarf who has great power for hunting. He can make people come to him, and then gives them valuable information. After this he rattles off the names of his visitor relatives, winding up with "Will you give me this?" The bewildered visitor always agrees. He is then told that he must make a feast four times a year, is taught the proper songs, and dismissed. When he gets home he finds that some or all of his relatives, whom he has been hoodwinked into giving to the dwarf, are dead, but he ever afterwards has great powers. See "Tree-dweller bundle of the Wahpeton," in Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, vol ii. no.1. Pg.66-73.

62 Skinner (1919:171) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", contrasts that the Central Algonkian could reject a dream three times.

63 Skinner has a footnote here reading, "See Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIII, p.00".

64 Skinner has a footnote here saying, "This custom also has a Menomini parallel."
Skinner also repeats this story of the "wakan boy" in his folklore collection presented in this thesis (p.260).

The Riggs dictionary translation of "wohanpi" is "a boiling; a feast".

According to Riggs’ dictionary, in the "napesnikagapi or make-no-flight" dance and feasts connected with it, one makes a covenant not to flee in battle.

Heyuska could literally translate either horns or hills cleansing or whitening. Skinner uses it here to signify the grass dance, "all-friegds" or omaha dance.

"Bawling-bull" or Ptehontonpi was Amos Oneroad’s great grandfather. He was on the annuity roles with Inyangmani in 1853, 1854, and 1855; in 1858 he was with Waanata the "Charger". Stephen R. Riggs (1918:509-513)speaks of him in Dakota Portraits.

Riggs says that when a man has more than one wife, one calls the other "teya". Riggs gives the definition of "teyakiciyapi" as those who stand in the relation of "teya" to each other.

Skinner inserted an incomplete footnote here stating: "Some earlier writers claim that there was confusion in the minds of the Dakota as to the number of spirits that a person had, some Indians claiming as many as four. See Minnesota Historical Society Collections, p.[sic]."

One would speculate on the significance of this date. The major treaty with the Sioux setting up the early reservations was the Treaty of 1851. This date may have evolved to represent the impact of acculturation, which was a divisive factor among Inyangmani’s people, evidenced by the split of the more traditional faction to Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse and the accommodating farming faction remaining at Yellow Medicine or precipitating Hazelwood. Frank Blackwell Mayer’s diary, With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851 mentions cholera being prevalent on the river and related deaths.

The literal translation for "canotihnakapi" would be "wood-dwelling-dead persons laid away".

Ella Deloria indicates that this was an indication of honor. See the folktale "A Boy Joker," included in the Skinner Collection in this thesis (p.189).

Skinner (1919:170) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," states that a distinctly characteristic feature among the Eastern Dakota was the custom of having the society of the deceased, kit-fox, no-flight, or whatever it may be, mourn for him.
Here again it is not clear if Skinner is speaking of Amos Oneroad or his great-grandfather.

This is not a translation of "wapahta". Riggs defines "wapahta" as a bundle, a pack; of "pahta", to tie in bundles.

Here Skinner's footnote says: "But those who do not eat the food offered them by the souls will live. The writer had a peculiar dream of this nature during an illness just preceding his visit to Sisseton, in which he refused to partake of a dog feast. This, all his Dakota friends regarded, as the only reason for his recovery, and he received several visits from survivors of the families of those he dreamt of meeting, to inquire about the appearance and welfare of their dead."

Skinner (1919:169) article, "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," states that the souls were not supposed to have to cross a bridge.

Victor Renville was the son of Tiwakan or Gabriel Renville, a mixed Stantee Sisseton. The Renville family was with Inyangmani early on, but after the Minnesota Sioux Uprising of 1862, Tiwakan was a head scout. Victor was also a scout. He was ordained an Episcopalian priest and served many churches on and near the Sisseton Reservation. See Gary C. Anderson (1988) Through Dakota Eyes.

Skinner (1919:164) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", American Anthropologist, used "Isanti" in this article rather than "Santee" as he does in this monograph.


One would guess this is Wanata, the Charger's wife. Ptehontonpi or Bowling Bull, Amos Oneroad's great-grandfather was with Wanata's band in 1858.

Skinner (1919:164) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", American Anthropologist, says warriors who had entered the camp circle of the enemy and escaped alive were entitled to wear the warbonnet.

Skinner (1919:166-7) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," makes mention of Baby Boards as being much used formerly and of the same type used by both Plains Dakota and Central Algonkian.

If this were "titanka" it would translate "big or great dwelling".

"Tanpa" means "white birch bark".
Skinner (1919:165) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", says the Wahpeton and Isanti utilized the square bark house in the summer and the round or hemispherical lodge in the winter. He continues, the latter were sometimes heavily built and earth covered.

Skinner is not explicit about this source.

Parfleches were a kind of very tough rawhide made by removing the hair from the skin of a buffalo by steeping it in a strong solution of wood ashes and water and then drying it in the sun.

Skinner (1919:165) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", states that he obtained a specimen for the American Museum of Natural History.

Ibid, p.165, Skinner states that types of all these objects were collected for the American Museum of Natural History. Others he reported are in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Skinner (1919:168) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology" notes that the Eastern Dakota have controlled the catlinite quarries of Couteau des Prairies from time immemorial.

Skinner (1919:166) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", goes on to say that the square woven bages were formerly intended for all purposes, but were most recently used to hold medicines. He also notes that woven tobacco pouches of the Menomini and Ojibwa style, square, and worn around the neck, were used.

Skinner (1919:166) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology", also states these parfleches were painted with angular figures.

Skinner (1919:166) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology" finds the mortar and pestles common to the Central Algonkian, not the vertical variety of the Southern Siouans. He also says the Eastern Dakota raised corn, beans, squash, pumpkin, and tobacco. He said wild rice was formerly much used and maple sugar was manufactured.

Skinner (1919:166) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology," states that the pack straps were of the Ojibwa style, usually made of moosehide, with the center piece which passes over the forehead still retaining the hair.

Skinner (1919:383-5) "Sun Dance of the Sisseton Dakota," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 16, logically this information on the Sun Dance would be included with this ethnology, according with Skinners outline (Appendix One). It would fit under ceremonies.

100 Skinner (1919:166) "A Sketch of Eastern Dakota Ethnology" stresses that these double-pitted hammerstones are found on ancient Indian village sites all over the east, together with a rubbing and sharpening stone.

101 Ibid. p. 167. Skinner attributes the method of dressing deer hides as like the Northern and Central Algonkian method.

102 George Catlin was a portrait painter who spent several years among various tribes. His journals, The Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indian were published in Philadelphia in 1841.
CHAPTER VI

THE SKINNER-ONE ROAD MONOGRAPH: WAHPETON DAKOTA FOLKLORE,
TRADITIONS OF THE SISSETON - WAHPETON DAKOTA

INTRODUCTION TO HUMANISTIC DAKOTA FOLKLORE

Folklore and culture are linked in the minds of academics. Whether folklore is seen as containing token contents of culture (Boas 1935), as self-depiction (Boas 1935; Abrahams 1983), or in cultural, social, and referential context (Bauman 1983), it has been maintained that there are no cultures that did not have or employ folklore (Bascom 1965, Barthe 1966). Although perceptions of the role of folklorists have changed from collecting or preserving cultural tokens, to description, to explanation, to interpretation of function and relationships of folklore and culture, the folklore remains an entity in dynamic dialogue. Yet the change in perceptions is only one of the features articulating with folklore effecting the continuing dialogue. The scholar, the reader, the informant, the tale-bearer, their experiences and acquaintances, as well as current theories, philosophies, and current events, all influenced the dialogue.

Skinner was not the only academic working with Native American folklore in the early 1900's. Skinner's mentor, Franz Boas (1935), saw folklore as leading the investigation into things which are
important in societies' own individual minds or the key to the contents of culture. A few of Skinner's contemporaries working with Northern Plains folklore attempted an emic viewpoint to the division of tales. Martha M. Beckwith (1931:30) claimed that the Dakota Indians of the plains distinguish two classes of tales—the "true" and the "lying." Ella Deloria (1932:ix-xvi) an ethnologist and Boas student like Skinner, published a collection of Dakota folktales and had three divisions: the "Ohukaka" (story) to amuse and entertain; novelistic "Ohukaka", where gods step out of the picture, were not so universal, and were accepted as possible, at least at one time; and true more recent and local tales. English professor John G. Neihardt (1930), and his informant, Black Elk, divided tales into three categories. They were "Woyakapi" (They told it then), or true experiences, "Ohunkakapi," fiction or "old people made it up", and "Ehani Woyakapi", legend or "long time ago they told it" stories (DeMallie 1984:376). However, Stith Thompson (1965:xvii-xviii) a young folklorist in Skinner's day, used nine categories to deal with the Indian tales he encountered. They followed more of his type and motif focus in an Indo-European tradition. They were: mythological stories, mythical incidents, trickster tales, hero tales, journeys to the other world, animal wives and husbands, miscellaneous tales, tales borrowed from Europeans, and Bible stories.

Native American tales are what they are due to context—cultural, historical, social, and linguistic. As we read and absorb them, they expose us to that context. Originally, as folklorist Linda Dégh (1989) points out, tales were oral, traditional and
performed in a context shared by a community with common memories and repertoire speaking for the consensus. Each repetition solidified the regularities of the tale told with the forms allowed by the performance role the tale fulfilled. The comparison of variants of tale texts (Wallis, Waterman, Deloria, Neihardt-Black Elk and Skinner-Oneroad) points to these regularities. The contrasts of the same tales point to the individual participants and the change in context, purpose, and key or tone of the tale. When we take mental note of these shifts, as Dell Hymes (1964) suggests, we can recover remnants of the culture, its society, and their strengths and vulnerablities.

George Lankford (1983:18-24) maintains that the traditional rules of folklore transmission had a history of longevity and stability among the American Indian Plains tribes. Lankford speaks of the "bundle system," whereby each ritually consecrated sacred bundle had its own legend owned by an individual, who demanded verbatim accuracy from his chosen successor. Thus, the written version was not the first codification of any tale. Skinner's collected "Tree-Dweller" bundle (See p. 116; 158 note 61 in this thesis) may have fit this type of transmission, but the owner had been killed in the 1860's. The bundle was in the possession of the owner's father when Skinner encountered it. Skinner's own folktale introduction (See page 173 in this thesis) notes that most narrative customs were obsolete by 1914-1924. One influencing factor may have been Dakota literacy, developed early in the 1850's. Particularly after the 1862 War with the mass literacy achieved in the Davenport
prison, along with the breakdown of tribalism, the methods of transmission may have been temporarily interrupted. The native newspaper may have become another conduit of transmission (See chapter II, and p.36 in this thesis).

While working with Dakota refugees (many related to Oneroad), Wallis (1924:56-57) reports that in Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, Dakota boys at school used to make up stories to tell one another before going to sleep. Only one boy declined to tell them. The Dakota boys Wallis spoke with said this practice of making up tales was not known in the old days. Wallis goes on to say the elements of these stories were taken from old Indian tales the Dakota boys heard, as Wallis found they followed the lines of the older narratives (which also were the "older" of Oneroad's Dakota heritage). Robert Lowie's 1908 dissertation for Boas on repeated and reproduced tales found that the story changed for three major reasons: it changed with the purpose for telling the story; it changed with a change of experience; and it changed with a change in context of the teller (Lowie 1965). Skinner had some disagreement with his associate Lowie on "oral history" but they could agree that the basic value of narrative was to keep tradition alive.

Variation of a tale does not detach that tale from its tradition nor its context. Folktales are very resilient. Linda Dégh (1989) points out that the bearer of tradition is the one who retains and passes it on, officially or unofficially, whether verbatim, with a transformed plot, or improvised from familiar motifs and reconstructed according to the individual's idea. Narrators weave in
their own personality and point of view, fate, concept of society and illuminate the "world view" of their community. Dégh claims the theme remains recognizably faithful but the attitude and form are variable, lending to constant transformation. Dégh recognizes the role of personality, tradition, and audience in innovation much like Dell Hymes (1964) recognizes participants, norms, ends, setting, act sequence, key; instruments and genres. Therefore a particular rendition of a tale can articulate information about the narrator, society, and what is challenging the social norm and subject to negotiation within the cultural context.

Roger D. Abrahams (1983:349) raised the question of folk informants being those in the position of marginality, even if temporarily, who "tend to be segregated and produce more in-group expression in direct relation to the amount of time spent together under intense conditions". The perception of marginality tests the stability and boundary of the norms. "Marginality" should not be confused with being outsiders, or turncoats, but rather thought of as those acting on the dynamic borders of interpretation and conflict. We can say that through narrative, a socialized individual's interpretation reflects culture in the process of boundary negotiation. If we were to consider Amos Oneroad, his life experiences, the diachronic and synchronic state of the Dakota at that time, particularly in dialogue with the pressure of white society and the prevailing attitudes and goals of the time, it is clear that Oneroad could be considered in the region of "marginality". Individually, Oneroad was negotiating his stance and
reflecting the renegotiation process the Dakota were facing in the early 1900’s.

Skinner was also working in a discipline undergoing change. Anthropology was changing its goals from description to interpretation and explanation of data (See chapter IV p.59-68 in this thesis). Looking at North American Indians in the early 1900’s, Wilson D. Wallis, Gladys A. Reichard, T. T. Waterman, Stith Thompson, and Alanson Skinner were all concerned with dissemination. Wallis (1924) traced the Wahpeton Dakota to Portage la Prairie and Griswold, Manitoba to record their "cosmology" and "tales". Wallis' collection reveals more origin beliefs, avoidances, and reports of the beliefs concerning the spider. Reichard's (1921) research on three standard North American Indian tales led her to the conclusion that tales travel, become adopted and incorporated because of the episodic content rather than due to their style or plot consistency. Stith Thompson's (1966) motif-index of Indian folktales attempted to capture the uniqueness of an episode in a phrase and facilitate the study of variation and stability of these motifs cross-culturally. Waterman (1914) tabulating the explanatory component (or lack of it) of common motifs in Indian tales, weighed explanation as a secondary and localized component compared to plot line or episodes, as the latter is the disseminated component. He also finds tales shaped by contemplations not of cosmology, but of the contextual environment. Due to the preoccupation of early 1900 researchers, Thompson's extensive Euro-centric types and motifs will be footnoted in the following review of the Skinner text to show the similarities and
contrasts considered relevant to the idea of dissemination of culture traits. Dissemination was a prevalent explanation in the early 1900's which Skinner used in 1919 and dropped from the monograph. Skinner resisted much of the explanation and interpretation of the tales found in his contemporaries' work, in spite of the trend in the discipline.

For the purposes of this thesis, I rearranged Alanson Skinner's ordering of the texts included in his "Traditions of the Wahpeton Dakota Indians" to reflect my differing discrimination of folklore of the Dakota people. Skinner ordered the texts in groupings around Iktomi the trickster, then the hare, and finally into a section of miscellaneous stories. The tales found in Skinner's collection have been reorganized for this thesis into two main groups. The first group contains those tales in which the principals are primarily human and the second group contains those in which the principals are animals. This organization is basically the reverse of Skinner's as he placed humanistic tales in his miscellaneous group. The reason behind my grouping was to begin with the more believable in contemporary American culture and provide the reader with more contextual information within the native American culture as a base for the trickster's antithesis and the more culturally reliant tales. The exception is the first tale in the selection. Based on the content and the presentation style, it is often considered a tale of sacred origins. It seems a traditional starting point.

"A Migration Tale," renders an explanation of how the Eastern Dakota came to their general locale, while "A War Story," (See the
ethnology in this thesis, page 91-94) recalls an event and its heroes. "Notes on Puberty Fasting and Dreaming," also included in the ethnology (See pages 109-113, in this thesis), explains ritual beliefs with a supporting historical legend and anecdotes.

"The Mysterious Man" and "A Berdache Story" are localized tales. The latter also explains a berdache circumstance and cultural domain (also in the ethnology in this thesis, page 106). Two anecdotes are found in "How a Heyoka Got His Medicine" and "A Boy Joker". They lack the specific localizing elements. "The Man Who Was Changed into a Pickerel" is a localized transformation tale.

"A Witch's Story" and "The Flying Man" are variants of the same tale told by different narrators. "The Legend of Hoop Ravine" deals with a sacred belief of the Buffalo Woman. However, the presentational style of this narrator does not lend itself to this category. This points to the difficulty of delimiting belief and fantastic tales cross-culturally. William K. Powers (1975) and James R. Walker (1980) dealt with the Buffalo Woman stories in a sacred light. However, this Oneroad-Skinner rendition, out of performance context, strikes me less as believed sacred than other versions of the Buffalo Woman or sacred origins. This may reflect the belief hierarchy of the narrators. Amos Oneroad was in training as a Presbyterian minister at the time of Skinner's collection, which in itself may be an indicator of the tensions faced by Oneroad at this time. Ella Deloria (1932:136) reported in Dakota Texts that when events were deemed at too great a variance with actual life or forbidden in Dakota society, the narrator would say, "this is just a
"Star Born" is an old refined complex tale with several variants recorded (See Wallis, Riggs, etc.). This ends the tales grouped by human prototype principals.

The second group clusters into three subgroups: "The Adventures of Iktomi," the trickster cycle, "The Adventures of Mastina, the Hare," and miscellaneous animal tales of the Skinner Collection. "The Child of Love" is included in "The Adventures of Iktomi" section because of the serial role of Iktomi, and understanding the flexibility of his character is culturally relevant. The purpose of reordering Skinner's animal sequence and "other" division of the tales in this presentation is to convey the cultural context as basis of understanding the more context reliant tales.

(The Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California, provided the photocopy of the Wahpeton Traditions and Folklore from the Alanson Skinner Manuscript Collection MS 201. What follows in this thesis is an annotated transcription of this photocopy of Skinner's original typescript with his holograph comments. The footnote numbers refer to the present author's annotations, except where specifically stated, and are not, therefore, part of Skinner's original work.)

[Beginning of Transcription]
WAHPETON DAKOTA TRADITIONS

INTRODUCTION

The following stories were obtained in part from Mr. Amos Oneroad, a full blooded Wahpeton Dakota, whose native name is Mahpiyasna or Jingling Cloud, who comes from a long line of distinguished Eastern Dakota, numbering among his ancestors Standing Buffalo, Blue Medicine and Jingling Cloud. They were recorded in English during the summer of 1922 while Mr. Oneroad was acting as the writer's assistant in the Department of Anthropology of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee.

Mr. Oneroad has been an intimate friend of the writer's since 1913. In 1914 he acted as the writer's guide and interpreter among the remnant of the various groups of Eastern Dakota residing near Sisseton, S.D. on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History of New York. A small collection of Wahpeton myths and tales was gathered by the writer at that time, and, with the permission of the American Museum of Natural History those stories which do not duplicate Mr. Oneroads [sic] contributions have been added to the manuscript.

Mr. Oneroad had access to the writer's collection of Ioway myths and tales, and has endeavored to give the Wahpeton versions of all of these with which he was acquainted, so that the document is valuable for comparison with the Ioway manuscript. The entire series has been edited by the writer.

The Wahpeton are one of the seven primary divisions of the Sioux
or Dakota nation, and are closely related to the Wahpekute group, who took part in the famous Inkpaduta troubles in northern Iowa.

Wahpeton customs concerning the narration of these tales are mostly obsolete. However it is known that in former times the usual tabu against telling the stories in warm weather was in force, the Indians fearing that those who violated the rule would have snakes or toads creep into bed with them.¹ The convention ending of each story is said to have been: "This is the end of the tail of the elk."

Alanson Skinner
Curator of Anthropology
Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee,

May 10, 1924.

TALES

The following tales are part of a series that were obtained from Mahpiyasna (Jingling-Cloud) and his brother Matomaza (Iron-Bear) during the summer of 1914, mostly near the Sisseton Agency at Sisseton, South Dakota. They present only a very few of the numerous tales known to the Wahpeton Dakota. A number of stories duplicating those given in the first part of this paper [Iktomi and Mastina tales] were also collected, but are omitted, as Mr. Oneroad's versions are always fuller. The tales are published by the courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History.
THE ORIGIN OF THE MEDICINE DANCE

The Great Mysterious One (Wakan Tanka) descended from above in a rainbow upon the deep sea. "I will make two Powers to be leaders of the Medicine Dance and preserve it for mankind," he said.

He took his right lower rib and sunk it in the water, and in a moment there rose a male Unktehi (Underworld Panther 2). He took his left lower rib and sunk that, and there rose a female Unktehi. Then the Great Mystery said: "You twain shall be leaders in the grand Medicine Dances and all the rituals and ceremonies pertaining to them, which must be preserved and followed by the Indians." After saying these words the Great Mystery ascended in the rainbow again, and went back into the heavens.

The two monsters floated on the mighty sea. The female monster spoke first. She seemed to be more intelligent than the other: "There is no earth, but we shall cause it to appear." Through their magic they caused several animals to appear. These were the otter and the muskrat, the loon and the grebe. The loon was first commanded to dive in search of black soil. He obeyed, and was submerged for a long time. When he came up he floated breast up, and his life was gone. The two monsters gave the medicine cry: "E-ho-ho-ho-ho! Blowed their sacred roots on the on the loon, and laid it to one side.

The otter was ordered to dive next, and he stayed under the water even longer than the loon had done, but the otter likewise appeared on the surface dead. As before the monsters gave the medicine cry, and, after blowing their sacred roots upon it, laid it
to one side.

Now the grebe dived. The bubbles and ripples died away, and he stayed down longer than the other two had done, but he too came up breast first. Again the monsters gave their medicine cry, blew their roots upon him, and laid him to one side.

Last of all was that small animal the muskrat, who also went in search of black mud. It stayed down a very long time, and the female monster said to her mate: "This time our prediction will be verified." Just then up popped the muskrat, floating with its back up, showing that it was still alive. They picked it up with the medicine cry, and between its paws, in the hollow, they found black earth, and they blew their sacred roots upon the muskrat, and laid him with the rest.

Then said the female monster: "Henceforth, this shall be west." And, as she was wiser than the male, she took the black earth and threw it towards the west, and they moved off in that direction. The animals were sent ahead to scout and carry back the news when they came in sight of land. As the monsters swam the noise of their going was like the swift rushing rapids of a river. It was the muskrat again who first sighted the land and brought the news. "It is true, what we have said," cried the monsters, and they landed in a large round bay that resembled a lodge in shape.

The male and female Unktehi took their positions at the west shore of this bay, facing the east, and called upon the animals and birds to participate in the first Medicine Dance. The two powerful monsters sang different songs, and the animals and birds, changing
into human form, began to dance. The first missiles that they used to shoot their magic into each other were the claws of eagles and other birds, and of panthers, but, as these often actually killed their victims, they changed them into the carved shell missiles used today.

The Unktehi monsters showed the dancers how to restore those who had been shot, and bring them back to life again, and instructed them in the lore of the roots, the inner bark of trees, the plants, and seeds. The animals were furthermore instructed how to appear to the Indians seeking guardians in dreams, and how to answer their prayers for help. The two Unktehi then said: "We leaders will lie beneath the ground with our ears spread out wide to hear the prayers and listen to the songs of the ceremonies. From our backs will grow the roots and herbs to heal the wounds and cure the sick." Then the two monsters sank under the soil and the birds and animals carried their secrets to the Indians, and instructed them in their dreams.

Thus it has come about that everything is wakan (mysterious or powerful) to the Indian that he does not understand. He sings certain songs for the different species of plants and herbs, approaching them and covering them with white and red bird's down before he takes up the plant or herb that he wants to use for any given purpose.

The grasses and herbs appear like human beings to the Indian, and four times a year, a dog, covered with white and red down is thrown into the lake (or some other body of water) as a sacrifice to the Unktehi, who are ever listening to the songs and prayers of the
Indians. 8

A MIGRATION TALE

The Eastern Dakota claim that the Sioux originated in the north, and came south, until, somewhere to the southeast of their starting-point, they were stopped by the ocean, where they scattered and went in different directions. They fought many tribes, and finally grew stronger, and then traveled northwestward towards the prairie. When they reached Minnesota and eastern South Dakota, they came upon the Cheyenne, whom they drove out onto the prairies. The Cheyenne still remember this, according to the Dakota, and declare that their ancestors lived at Enemy Swim Lake, South Dakota. 9 The name of the lake was derived from an incident that occurred in early times, when the Cheyenne were attacked by some enemy from the north. There are Eastern Dakota now living, who claim descent from the Cheyenne who dwelt about Enemy Swim Lake, which is in northeastern South Dakota, not far from Sisseton.

A WAR STORY

The Eastern Dakota always spared prisoners who were brought inside of the camp-circle. Once an Ojibwa was brought in, and a young man of the Sisseton camp wanted to kill him. Mahpiyasna, the elder volunteered, if the council so decreed, to shoot the Sisseton rather than have this custom violated. The council decided upon his death, and Mahpiyasna shot him, although he had no grudge against the warrior. Afterwards Jingling-Cloud [Mahpiyasna], the elder, supplied
the family of this man with food, when he returned from his hunt, in order to show his good will. The Ojibwa was later taken a day and a half journey into the woods towards his own country, and released.

The following spring a letter, written on birch bark was found near the Sioux camp. On the bark was scratched the figure of a man taking long steps, with foot prints that showed he was running. This referred to Iyangmani (Running-Walker) the Wahpeton chief. The other side showed a man with clouds over his head, and crooked lines running from them. This referred to Jingling-Cloud, and the whole meant that the Ojibway were coming to make peace with the Dakota through these two warriors. The Dakota prepared to receive them; and in a few days Ojibway scouts came in with their candipahta (tobacco-bundle), composed of little bags of tobacco and the Dakota sent some back by them. Then the Ojibway approached, and peace was made.

When they drew near, those of the Wahpeton who had horses circled back and forth between their own people and Ojibway and both sides sang. The Sioux dedicated their songs to Running-Walker and Jingling-Cloud. When the two lines were near, they stopped facing each other, and the head chief on each side approached with tobacco; and the hunka-song ["ancestor"-song], dedicated to the four winds, was sung, concluding with the words, "Long live Iyangmani and Mahpiyasna! As long as you two warriors live, no one will dare to run over us."

Meanwhile the chief brought out a pipe, which he offered wakan tanka [Great Spirit] and the four directions. When he had done this, he gave it to the opposing chief, and all the Ojibway took a whiff.
Then the Ojibway prepared their pipe in their own way. After this everybody approached and shook hands. The Ojibway chief gave his best horse to Running-Walker, and a lot of mococks or bark boxes of rice and maple-sugar. Then the Sioux and Ojibway mingled, giving presents; and the Ojibway were brought into camp, where they were told where to pitch their tents. That evening Running-Walker invited all the Ojibway to his lodge, while Jingling-Cloud singed a deer whole, and made the "chief dish" for them. The Ojibway thanked him [Jingling-Cloud], and told him that from that time forward they looked upon him as being half Ojibway.10

NOTES ON PUBERTY FASTING AND DREAMING

Among the Wahpeton, unlike their Algonkian neighbors, boys only are required to observe the puberty dreamfast, and the age at which the ordeal takes place is from sixteen to eighteen, later than is usually the case among the Forest tribes. In anticipation of the great event, the youths are taught certain prayers and formulae for appeal to the Great Powers.

Mahpiyasna, together with the other children of his family, was taken by his grandmother to the shore of Dry Wood Lake, and there caused to cast red bird down into the water with a prayer to the Unktehi, of which he remembered the following:11

Uncina maka kin den mahen
Grandmother earth the this inside,
nonge hdubdaya non kapi kte kehapi
the ears to spread out you be there will you have told me
At the close of this invocation, the children, who stood on stones near the brink, cast the bird's down into the water.

When undergoing their fast, the youths would retire to the top of a hill, and wail there all night. Some had their hands tied behind their backs to keep them from running away. In many instances four stakes were set up; and the faster was tied between them, and left there all night. They do not blacken their faces as do the Menomini. This is only done among the Dakota when in mourning, or on the return from a war party.

Jingling-Clod gave the following anecdote to illustrate the fasting procedure.

"At Fort Totten a youth, intending to fast, went with his friend up a high hill called the Devil's Heart.12 His friend dug four deep holes and set four stakes in very firmly. The faster loosened his hair and stripped to the clout, and allowed himself to be bound. Nearby was placed his pipe and tobacco pouch, for his partner was to
help him to smoke at intervals during the night.

When all was in readiness, his friend went away, leaving the faster wailing "Hee-u! Hee-u! Hee-uuu!" Just about dark he sneaked back, with his face whitened to resemble a ghost. The faster, in terror, tried to break away, but could not. Four times the joker approached, and on the last trip he washed his face, and offered the pipe to his friend saying, "How are you? His friend was very angry, but could not help himself. When the Morning Star appeared, the faster saw a hill rise up in the north and come down to the lake, like a monster with a huge mouth ready to seize him. This was too much for the Indian, who, with a desperate wrench, broke away from his moorings, and fled without having had his vision."

The beings who most frequently have mercy on fasters are the bear, buffalo, elk, Unktehi and Tree Dweller. Men who dream of the Winyan Nupapi, or "double women", must become berdaches.

The Dakota dreamer must take whatever dream comes to him. Unlike the Menomini, he may not try again. The "spirit" may appear to him in its true shape as an animal; or it may come as a man, interview the faster, and go away as an animal.

Dreams of this nature are not to be discussed in public. The most common occasion for referring to them by doctors of shamans is before taking charge of a patient. Then the healer recites his dream, and enumerates his powers.

Jingling-Cloud’s great-grandfather had the grizzly bear as his guardian. He was often wounded, but recovered through its aid. On one occasion a party of Gros Ventres and Mandans drove some Dakota
into a hollow and shot down on them. Although the Sioux killed the Mandan chief, whom Iron-Bear (the Hero) would not allow to be scalped, the enemy prevailed; and all the Dakota were slain except Iron-Bear, who was wounded. When the allies gained possession of the field, and saw that their chief was unscalped, they merely counted all four coups on Iron-Bear, and released him.

They left him lying on the field, but were astonished to find, on the following day, that he had escaped. They saw the tracks of a grizzly bear leading away. They trailed the bear to a thicket, where they found a wounded grizzly lying groaning. Later, when Iron-Bear did not return, the Sioux heard of what had happened from the Mandan, and found his skeleton in the bushes where the bear had lain.

The Thunder is an important dream guardian. He appears to dreamers as a man with his hair cut just below the ears, as though he were in mourning. He carries a gun. The Thunder always prefaces his statements by saying that he has heard a cry, and has come in answer. He can give war powers, prophesying the number of scalps and coups, etc., the recipient will get. The recipient must cause four ceremonial sweat-houses to be built, and must sing certain sacred songs while sweating. If a man does not keep his obligations to the Thunder, he may lose some of his warriors.

The following ideas are held concerning the reason why certain animals appear to some individuals.

A man may know his guardian before he is born, and such a person makes this fact public as soon as he can speak. Accordingly he prays to this guardian when he undergoes his fast. The powers who are
connected with this phenomenon, which resembles the Menomini ideas concerning the thunder are the Unktehi, or water panthers, buffalo, elk, coyote, horse, thunder and bear. The person who claims previous knowledge of these powers usually maintains that he has led a previous existence, but was killed in war, after which his spirit wandered about, visiting various Indian bands and tribes until he found some one who pleased him. These wandering spirits are often very hungry and wretched, so it is customary for Dakota who are charitable, to offer food to the spirits and pray before eating, saying, "Spirits, partake of this food. Bless it, that this day may be bright! This day may we be provided with a four-footed animal (as food), and be satisfied."17

Couples who habitually do this are apt to be rewarded by having some wandering spirit enter the body of the woman, and be born as their child. Reborn persons tell that their ghost, after having left the corpse, wander about until it sees a man standing on a high bank or hill, who calls to it, and invites it into his lodge. The hill turns out to be a magic home, with a door facing the east or the southwest. Human beings are seen going in and coming out. As the ghost enters, the person who called him becomes an animal. When they are inside, the host resumes his human form, and reveals his secret and medicines to the ghost. He forecasts its future life, and takes care of it for sometime. Finally the ghost is dismissed and visits the Indian villages, when it peeps into the tents until it strikes a family it fancies. Then it goes in and is born. The things that the ghost hears as it enters the tent, are its last recollections of
spirit-life. When the ghost recovers consciousness of himself, he is in the body of a child, probably about four years old, having been in a trance from the moment of birth. The child, on realizing who he is, is bewildered. It no longer recognizes its parents, knowing that his real first parents were other people. The phenomenon usually comes to light when the children are playing. Some child will ask the little one what his name is, and the wakan (spirit) boy will reply, giving his former name instead of the one by which he is known. The children, astonished, tell their parents, who inform those of the wakan boy, who then realize that he is in rapport with the powers.

It is not always necessary for such a child to fast like others. He knows the proper things to do, the feasts and sacrifices to make for his guardian; and when he does so his patron appears again and instructs him.

Jingling Cloud has often heard people tell of their experiences of this kind. A Kiowa young man in Oklahoma invited some Yanktons to visit him, and told them that in a former existence he had been a Dakota. He told them his name, where he lived, who his relatives were, and all these details turned out to be correct.

One of Jingling Cloud's uncles claims to have been reborn three times. The first time he was a whiteman and a blacksmith in the cast. He quotes as evidence of this fact that he is an excellent gun maker today, although he never enjoyed any instruction. His second existence was as a Hidatsa were in rifle-pit, and were surrounded by Dakota. There was a trench running from the rifle-pit to the
river. He tried to flee down this with his bow and arrows, but was met by a foe wearing a buffalo-horn headdress, who struck him over the head with a sword and killed him.

When he came to, he was detached from his body, and was a spectator of the Sioux scalping his own corpse along with those of his comrades. Then he became cold and miserable. He was apparently still clad in his blood-soaked clothes, so he determined to go back to his wife and son. He travelled along a few feet above the earth, but was unable to tread upon it. The gusts of wind blew him back. He had no substance, so could not make headway against them. At last he reached the village, but the wind prevented him from entering. He could see his wife and child inside his lodge, and tried to call to them to get dry clothes, but they did not hear him. People passed back and forth very near him, but only the dogs saw him and barked furiously. He could see the lodge-poles, and the contents of the tipis; but the lodge covers were transparent and invisible.

In some of the tents, people were eating corn-cakes baked in ashes. He was very hungry, and wished that they would invite him to eat, but they did not, so he wandered on forlorn. Here and there, as he travelled, he met various animals, who saw him, greeted him, gave him shelter and comfort, and told him their secrets.20

At last he came to a village where he saw a lodge in which sat a young and lovely girl working hard at porcupine quill embroidery. He went in and sat down, but the busy girl took no notice of him, and, though famishing, he was ashamed to speak to her there alone. Finally the girl said, "I am going out," and, suiting her actions to
her words, she got up and last he got up, went to the door of the lodge, stepped out, and was born.

The busy woman was his twin sister, who came into the world nearly twenty-four hours before he did, and the lodge was his mother’s womb. The midwives thought his mother would die for it seemed as if he would never come forth. As soon as he was able to talk, he was able to recall all these things up to the moment of his birth.

Now it is known that sometimes female twins are Winyan Nupapi, or "double women" exceedingly wakan and important, or, if male and female, that they were formerly husband and wife, but the man’s story, and statement that he never saw the girl before he entered the lodge that turned out to be his mother’s womb, preclude this from being the case.

THE MYSTERIOUS MAN

The events told in this story occurred near Big Coulee on the old Sisseton Agency in South Dakota. This strange man is said to have had physical endurance beyond comparison with any other man. He had the power to reincarnate himself. He was desperate when attacked, but quiet when unmolested.

This man had the reputation of taking women and girls of marriageable age and fleeing with them to remote places for many months or sometimes years before he would revisit his people. He was very much feared on account of this habit, and his name was dreaded throughout the various Dakota camps.
Men in defending their women had shot their arrows into his body with no effect whatever. They had stabbed him with their knives, and clubbed him and left him for dead. They would move and hide their camps for safety, but there was no eluding him when the passion to steal a woman came upon him.

A certain woman whose two daughters were married to a warrior were encamped on what is now the James River. She had heard that her children were not treated right by their husband, so she started to go to them from her camp at Mde-ipaksan (Bent Lake, the middle stretch of Big Stone Lake, now known as Hartford Beach). She arrived at her son-in-laws and was directed to his lodge by the other villagers. She met her daughters, and remained with them for sometime. Meantime she told them secretly why she had come so far, and that she was ready to take them home. She had them make new moccasins, repair old ones, and pack up a supply of buffalo pemmican. The men were always away hunting, so this went unnoticed. When she was ready, one day the herald announced that the men were to go on a hunting expedition for two or three days, and were to take sufficient provisions for that time. That very night the three women made their departure, travelling all night until daybreak, when they came to a ravine at the foot of the Coteau des prairies, where they hid. At night they travelled on over the rolling ridge, and at dawn they rested for a short time and then moved on.

The older woman knew the way and thought that they were now safe, but, when they were a little ways west of the Big Coulee, they came on the Mysterious Man quite unexpectedly. He gave them no
opportunity to speak, but said: "There is my camp yonder, and I am well supplied with buffalo meat," and he led them to his tipi for the night.

At night, however, the three women escaped again, but the next day they were overtaken and headed off by the man, who seized one and cried: "This is the one I will keep as my wife!" The girl screamed, and all three of the women attacked the man. The old woman was brave and steady. She grappled with the man and tried desperately to throw him down, and held her own for some time, when she signalled her daughters that she was weakening. Then the girls pounced upon him, thrusting and slashing his back until the blood gushed forth. The man turned to them with a surprised look, exclaiming: "Wan! De camape ye!" (Look! She stabbed me!) He grew weak from loss of blood, and they fell on him and cut off his head.

The mother told her daughters to run on towards the Big Coulee, which was not far off, and she followed, carrying the head of the man, as a trophy. As they entered the coulee the old woman threw the head down and it rolled to the bottom. They looked back and saw their headless enemy running around as though looking for something, and the old woman cries: "He is trying to find his head!"

They fled down the sloping side of the Big Coulee, and headed for Bent Lake. Nothing was ever again heard of the Mysterious Man after this encounter, which ended his career.

A BERDACHE STORY

A boy was once very sick, and a winkta (berdache) learned of it
and said he could cure him. The boy objected violently to having anything to do with the berdache. He was overruled by his parents and did indeed get well. He was then obliged to marry the berdache as a reward. The berdache, whom he had married, was given new clothes by the boy's parents, and then went off to collect gifts for them. While he was gone, the boy died; and the berdache hearing of it, cut his hair, and returned in mourning with horses for the parents. They gave him gifts to end the mourning, and accepted his presents.

If they had had another son, then they would have been obliged to give him to him. If a berdache nicknames any person, then that person must use this name or he will become very ill. Mr. Oneroad's father, the late Peter Oneroad, was once nicknamed by a berdache, who called him "Sack-of-flour" because he used some of his supplies as a pillow. This name clung to him for many years.

The story is told of some girls who teased a berdache, and were accordingly nicknamed by him. One of the women never mentioned the name until she was sick years afterwards, when it occurred to her to confess it, and she became well.

A BOY JOKER

Some Oglala went to war. In the party there were four middle-aged men and a boy about sixteen years old. The three men were brothers, and the boy was their cousin. He carried the moccasins and other baggage of the party, and it was the first time he went on the war path. The expedition was headed against the Crow. When they had
gone part of their journey, they were out of tobacco; and a little
distance away on the bank of a river, was a tipi in which a relative
had died. The tipi still stood by the river-bank, with the corpse
and all its belongings in it. The warriors knew that there was
tobacco in the dead man's pouch. They decided to get some at noon
the next day.

That morning the boy told his brothers to carry the moccasins,
while he went off to shoot a deer and have it ready. He succeeded in
killing a buck, and carried it to the place opposite the tipi of the
dead man, for he wished to take a swim there. He made a fire, put
his meat on spits to roast, and stripped off for his plunge. When he
came out of the water, he saw that the crayfishes had thrown out
white clay in their mining operations, so he rubbed some on his hands
and daubed it all over his body.

He observed that he looked like a ghost. So he crawled to the
top of a hill, and went behind the tipi and entered. The corpse lay
there all dried up and the tobacco hung on the center pole of the
lodge. There the boy stood until his four relatives came up, wiped
the perspiration from their faces, and said, "Eh! here lies our
cousin. He was a powerful person; but here he lies, with no one to
feed him or give him a smoke." The oldest had a little tobacco,
which was just enough for a pipeful, so he offered it to the six
directions and spoke to the spirit of the dead man. "Spirit, partake
of this!" When we get into the enemy's country, help up to take a
running horse and two others, and help me to count at least the
second coup!" Just then the hidden boy grunted. "Let this be a fine
day!" continued the speaker; but the other three saw and were frightened, so they rushed from the lodge and the boy jumped out. The speaker dropped his pipe and fled, while the boy chased him. He overtook one of the brothers who fell over in terror. Then the boy hid in the brush, but another one looked up and saw him, and fell down. This happened several times, then the young fellow sneaked home, washed, and went back to the fire to eat. When the others recovered, they went back again, and once more smoked to the corpse of their cousin.

They saw the boy's footprint in the ashes, and the place where he had cut the tent in order to get in, so they returned to their camp, and said nothing about it. The boy asked them why they had been gone so long, and they said they had seen a bad sign and turned back. The boy was amused at this, and told of it long afterwards, when he was older.

HOW A HEYOKA GOT HIS MEDICINE

Once a Heyoka found the gas-inflated carcass of a buffalo, commonly called a "whistle" by the Indians. Not far away he saw someone standing on a hill. He told him to go on and take the buffalo, adding, "I did not shoot it." This one was a real Heyoka; and of course he was talking backwards, and meant to tell the man that he had shot the buffalo, and therefore the Indian was not to take it. But the man failed to understand. He skinned the animal, and took its heart.26

That night his head ached, and his nose bled, his face turned
black, and he went crazy. His companions desired him, for, learning what the trouble was, they were afraid. Lightning came, thunder roared, and passed over. The man sang all night; and the next morning, when the people looked at him, they saw that he was covered all over with black spiders, and that he was laughing, and crying, "He, he he! Get him, hit him, there he goes!" At sunrise he came out, took a tent-pin and rolled down one eye lid wither. Then he took another tent-pin for a flute, and began to act like one crazy. Later, when he had recovered, he told the people that the real Heyokas had come to him that night, and wanted to kill him, but one white Heyoka, who had a whistle, defended him.

Later he went to war, and, by order of the Heyoka, took with him a bow and arrows made from a great hickory tree, large enough to cover a man's body. He held the bow in front of him, and he was defended as though by a great tree. When the others shouted to him to step back, he went ahead. Once an arrow struck him between the fingers and went into his bow, but he was uninjured.

THE MAN WHO WAS CHANGED INTO A PICKEREL

Two young men, friends, who were travelling on the warpath alone together, arrived at the shore of a lake now said to be at Stillwater, Minnesota. Tired and hungry they stopped for a short rest, and, when one of them went to get water he found a dead pickerel washed up on the shore. He examined it, and, as it looked fresh, he called to his companion: "Friend, here is a pickerel that has just dies [died]. We will cook it."
"You had better not do that," replied the other, but the youth who had found the fish said that he was hungry, and so he made a fire and boiled the fish, that they might have soup. When he had finished, he tasted it, and said that it was good, but the other insisted: "I cannot partake of that fish."

The first young man urged and coaxed his partner, who finally said "I will have to eat it, if you won't give up." The first youth was somewhat confused, and repeated: "This soup is good, and you ought to have some." Again said the other, "I will eat it, if you don't give up."

"No," replied the first, "I won't give up!" So between them they ate the fish and drank the broth. A little while after it was finished the young man who had demurred said to the other: "My friend, will you bring me a drink of water?"

The friend brought him the water, but, in a little while, he said again: "My friend, will you bring me a drink of water?" And again his friend went after some for him.

The second youth kept up his requests for water so long that the other finally said: "My friend, I am getting tired of hauling water. I will take you down to the water, and you can drink all you want."

"Yes," said the other, "My friend, I knew that you were going to get tired and give up."

So the thirsty youth was carried down to the lake's edge to drink all he wanted. The sun was setting, and the other man prepared for the night by carrying in firewood. He sat by the fire alone for a long time, and then, as darkness gathered he went down to see how
his companion was making out. He found the other youth still lying there drinking, and, as he stared at him he discovered that his chum's ankles had been changed into pickerel's fins! 28

Speechless with amazement he returned to his campfire. The next morning he was awakened by his companion's voice calling, "Friend, come down now and look at me." He went down and what he saw made him weep. During the night his friend had been transformed into a pickerel, all but his head!

"Go back to our people," said the fishman, "and tell them about this strange thing which has taken place. Next summer at this season bring them here to make sacrificial gifts, and pay homage, and I will lie across the lake."

With these words his head became that of a pickerel also, and slowly and gracefully the giant fish moved his fins and glided off into the water. The water ripples, and the waves dashed against the shores.

The young man stood at the water's edge weeping for a time, and then returned to his people. The next summer, as they had been instructed, the people came to the spot. They saw the fireplace, and in the middle of the lake the waves rose and parted at the exact spot where the great fish lay. 29 The people sacrificed by throwing into the lake beautiful robes, deerskin shirts, moccasins, or anything that they had which was rare and valuable. Each year they visited the spot, and some go even yet, as they can still see the resting place of the pickerel where the waves part in the center of the lake, down to this very day.
A WITCH STORY

A man and his family, which contained six young men and boys were startled at night by the cries of animals and birds. Finally they heard an owl fly against the tent poles. The morning after this had happened, the oldest son died, and the father buried him in the ground. He dressed in mourning and moved his tipi away from the camp-circle, blackened his face, and put mud on his head. A few nights later the same thing happened and the next son died. Then he knew that the owl was a witch.

Finally there was no one left but the youngest son, and the same manifestation came again. So the man loaded his gun and sat in the dark and he saw a horned owl come. He fired at it, and when it fell, it turned into a man. He was not quite dead. "Well," said the wounded witch, "You are pretty smart to get me before I die. I will teach you my medicines." It seems that the witch had little packets tied around his wrist, his elbows, and over his shoulder. With each packet went the skin of a certain bird or mammal. He told his captor how to use these, how to dress, and how to turn into an animal and go to another part of the country. When he had finished instructing the man, he died. His slayer knew who the witch was and thought he was a member of the Medicine Dance. He took all the evil medicines and wrapped them up in a bag, intending to slay the old man's sons. He butchered the witch, wrapped up the body in leaves as though it were a bear, and told his wife that he would bury his victim. A little later he brought home the supposed bear. Then he invited all the medicine men to a bear feast. His wife cooked the
meat in a big kettle until the grease boiled over into the fire. That night the medicine men all came in response to the tobacco which had been sent them. They brought their medicines in their wooden bowls, sang their bear songs, and started to eat. The witch's son was there; and he held his head down, for he suspected something and feasted and drank very little. When they were through, the man lectured them severely, and said, "You do kill your own relatives and eat human flesh, just as has always been said." In conclusion he brought out the head of the old witch, and told them what the had eaten. All the guests hung their heads and cried "E ho ho."31

In a variant of this story, it is said that the children are not buried, although some narrators say that they were buried and the witch dug a hole by the head of each grave into which he went in the form of a snake and stole the lungs from the corpse. This version, however, has the bodies wrapped in buffalo hide and hung on a platform. The father sat near the scaffold with bow and arrow. He heard a distant noise like the cry of a kite, then of an eagle, then of a sparrow-hawk. Then he saw a bird flying like a speck. Presently there was the growling of a bear, the of a panther, then of a wildcat. Finally a horned owl rose from the ground, rolled its eyes. On looking closely, he saw that the owl had a man's hands and that it started to untie the thongs. So he shot the owl. The rest of the story is the same.

The coyote, bear, and other fast-walking animals were used as witch medicines. They could go to other tribes in two days, when it took ordinary people five days to travel there. Therefore they were
used as scouts.

THE FLYING MAN

In a certain village lived a man who had four sons, all of whom had grown to young manhood. The father was very proud of his boys, as they were all handsome and manly. It so happened that one night, after they had all gone to bed, a great horned owl lit on the ridge pole and hooted, and then flew away in the darkness. The next morning the eldest boy complained of a headache. At first no one thought it was serious, but it developed until they were unable to help him, and, after lingering delirious for a time, the young man died. He was buried under the earth, and his father mourned according to the custom of his people cutting his hair below the ears, blackening his face, and going barefoot. Each morning he would sing the death song, and wail until the woodlands reverberated.

Not long after the death of the eldest youth the great horned owl again came and hooted from the ridge pole. This time the next to eldest boy took sick and died, and was buried beside his brother. At dawn each day the father wailed beside the two graves.

A few days later the great horned owl came again as before, hooted from the ridge pole and flew off in the darkness. The sign was now known to the family to mean death, and soon the third of the brothers followed the other two to the grave and the spirit world beyond. He too was buried with the others. As the father wailed over the graves in the morning he noticed a small hole bored in the earth at the head of each grave.
Not long after the third death that the owls [sic] call was heard again. The father noticed, as he had before that just before it was given he could hear the cries of different birds of prey and of carnivorous animals. Like the rest, the youngest boy died, and the father had his body laid in the branches of a tree, not far from the graves of the others. He went there in the evening and took his position concealed, with his gun loaded with shot.

It was not long before the man heard the growling of a wildcat, drawing nearer and nearer. Then followed the long drawn howl of a timber wolf, and the shrill cry of a hawk, as it flew half way between the tree tops and disappeared. Then came the chattering of the bill of a great horned owl as it swooped from the darkness right to the head of the corpse, where it lit, turning its head from side to side and peering towards the ground.

The man watched every move of the bird, and, as he looked, all of a sudden the owl changed into a man and began to unwrap the covering of the corpse. He aimed carefully, fired, and his enemy toppled off its perch and fell to the ground, fatally wounded, and exclaiming: "Oh, you have brought ill fate and misery upon me!"

The man was clothed as a witch. He was naked, but on each ankle were tied tiny globular buckskin packets of herbs and roots. The same things were on his wrists, and to his elbows, wrists, and ankles, were attached the skins of animals and birds. He also wore a charm necklace and belt. As the man who shot him came up, he cried: "I am near the end, but before I go I'll inform you as to the use of these medicines."
He explained each bundle carefully, telling its use, and its remedy, and how to turn oneself into the various animals and birds. When he had finished he lapsed into silence forever. The man who shot him understood it all now. The holes in the graves in the earth had been made by the witch who had changed himself into a snake and had taken the tongues of his victims as charms. After sitting there waiting until it grew very dark, the bereaved father cut off the witches arms and legs and buried them. Then he carried home some of the flesh and cooked it, telling everyone that it was from a bear that he had shot for a medicine feast. Then he sent invitations to the most dreaded shamans in the camp, including the father of the witch whom he had killed.

One by one the shamans came, each bringing his wooden bowl, and the father seated them in the customary circle, according to their rank. The host then addressed them, telling them that the feast he was giving was in honor of his dead, and that, while he was unable to feast them sumptuously he was able to offer them the flesh of a four footed mammal (a ceremonial circumlocution for the bear), for the occasion. Then acting as waiter himself, he began to serve them soup and meat in their wooden feasting bowls. As he did so, each called him by the usual courteous term of ceremonial address on such occasions, "my grandson," or, "my nephew." Then they began eating, immediately imitating the animals which were their dream guardians as they did so, growling and smacking their lips. However, the most notorious of all the wicked shamans took only one or two bites and then hung his head and refused to eat any more. He was the father of
the witch who was killed, and was very suspicious, suspecting the whole thing. 33

When they were half through their host, to their surprise, turned on them in rage and defiance saying: "You witches claim to be terrible and you certainly are." With these words he brought forth the bundle containing the head of the owl man whom he had shot, and unwrapped it before them. They gave one look, and with the medicine cry, "E-ho-ho-ho-ho!" They vanished into the darkness.

THE LEGEND OF HOOP RAVINE

The Indians had gone into winter quarters at the foot of Hoop Ravine. It was a severe winter, and the struggle to keep alive was desperate, and the famine was great. In the early spring that followed two young men who were friends strolled out towards Thunder Claw Print Lake. They wandered around on the east side, eating roseberries, and filling their hunting bags until they were ready to come home. Just then there appeared buffalo coming over the ridge to the south straight towards them. "Friend," cried one, "the buffalo are coming right this way."

They watched until they were quite sure that there was no mistake, then one said to the other, "Friend, we must in some way waylay them. Remember, we are in the midst of famine." They hid themselves in the tall grass. One youth had a bow and a quiver full of arrows, while the other, having only a few arrows, naturally depended on the first to do the killing. They lay flat on their bellies, never taking their eyes off the approaching animals.
Presently the buffalo came close enough for the youths to see that they were two young buffalo cows.

The first youth straightened his arrow and took careful aim. He let fly his arrow, and one of the cows bawled and fell over dead. The other ran on a few paces and then turned back as though to take a last look at her companion, then wheeled, and ran off, dodging the hunters, and finally escaped over a distant knoll.

It was getting along towards evening, and the youths wanted to get back home before sunset. They worked fast to skin and quarter the animal. The less fortunate hunter said, "Friend, I would like to take the tongue." The other answered, "No, my friend, that is my packstring knot." Later the unfortunate youth said: "Friend, I should like to take the heart," but again, he was answered, "No, my friend, that is my packstring knot." They continued the butchering, and at length the unfortunate youth said, "Friend, I should like to take the liver." But the reply was as before, "No my friend, that is my packstring knot."

Whether the second youth was joking or not, his companion took his replies seriously, and stopped and wiped his knife on the grass and put it back in his case. Then he said: "Friend, this is a time of famine. All of us alike are suffering from food. When you return home bear the news well. I care not what becomes of me, I am going to trail that other buffalo to the end."

The other youth was surprised at this, and cried; "No, my friend, do not go. Take the tongue and whatever you will."

"No," said the unfortunate youth, "that is your packstring knot."
The meat is all yours. What I have said is well." With these words he walked off, although his comrade coaxed and begged him to stay.

The prairie was wet from melted snow, and the hoof prints of the buffalo cow could be seen clearly. In some places her feet had sunk deep and the tracks were filled with water. The sun had sunk, but the hunter did not slacken his strides. The trail led on parallel with the Côteau des prairies, the great ridge that runs across the Dakotas. Although it was dusk he could still see the tracks, and he thought that maybe the cow would stop somewhere to feed and there would be a chance of overtaking it.

It was now getting dark, yet the Côteau was still visible along the horizon. He knew that he could go no further, so he determined to camp for the night and go on in the morning. Just as he had decided to do this he saw a tent ahead of him, with sparks flying out of the smoke hole. He thought: "It is good. Someone is camping here, and I can rest for the night."

He hesitated outside a moment, then, without a word he raised the door flap and went in and sat down. There was a woman there sitting on one side, combing her hair, and he waited some time until she had finished her toilet. Then she spoke: "Well, I will give you some food, but I don't know whether you will eat it or not." Saying this, she handed him a bowl full of mashed wild cherries mixed with a little meat and tallow. The youth thought: "This little bowl full is nothing." But he began to eat, and soon found that he was unable to eat it all. There was always enough there. When he could eat no more he handed the bowl back to the woman, who seemed surprised,
and remarked: "A little bowl full, and you couldn't eat it up!"
With these words she dumped the contents into her hand and devoured it.

The woman continued to sit opposite the man, and neither spoke a word. Every now and then she would poke up the fire and make it burn brighter. The young man, tired by his exertions, soon fell asleep. When he awoke he found himself alone, sleeping on the prairie. There was no sign of a tent there. He thought that he must have been dreaming and rubbed his eyes. There were the hoof prints looking as fresh as if they had been made that very morning. He followed them, and they lead north west along the edge of the Coteau des prairies. All day he saw no one, nor any animals.

At night he followed the tracks over a ridge, and as he descended the other side to a broad prairie, it became dark, and just as he felt that he couldn't go any further he saw a tent ahead of him. "Someone must have been hunting out here," he thought, "I'll stop here for the night," and he walked in. There was the same woman sitting combing her hair.

"I am going to give you something to eat," she said, as before. "But whether you will eat it or not, I cannot tell." With these words she handed him bowl full of turnips. He was hungry, and tried to eat it up, but he could not finish it. So he handed back the bowl with just as much in it as there was before. The girl took the bowl with a surprised look, and said: "A little bowl full, and you gave it up!" She tipped it over in her palm and put the remainder in her mouth.
They remained sitting opposite each other as before, and neither spoke, although every now and then the woman would poke the fire to make it burn brighter. The young man, being tired, fell asleep, and did not awake until the next morning, when he found himself alone, as before. He was ready to go, however, for he expected to overtake the buffalo some time during the day, for the hoof prints were fresh.

Refreshed with food and a nights [sic] rest he hurried on over the rolling country, and at night fall he stood on a high elevation and gazed over the surrounding country, then he hastened down the slope. It was dark when he got to the bottom, and he began to look for a suitable place to sleep, when he saw a tipi in the distance with sparks flying up through the smoke hole, so he decided to go there and spend the night. He approached the tent as before, and entering sat down as usual in the guest place. The same woman was there, combing her hair. When she was through she said: "I am going to give you some food. Maybe you will eat it, and maybe not." So saying she handed him a little bowl full of raspberries, and although he was very hungry, he was unable to finish it all, and when he handed it back it looked as though it wasn’t touched. The woman took the bowl, exclaiming, "Such a little bowl full, and you gave it up!" Whereupon she dumped its contents into the palm of her hand, and disposed of it all in a single bite.

Again they sat silent opposite each other, with the woman once in a while poking up the fire to make it lighter. The youth soon dropped off to sleep, and when he awoke in the morning he was alone. Again he travelled all day, and found the tipi at night. This time
the woman fed a bowl full of wild potatoes that magically stayed replenished, and with her customary remark finished them herself.

This time the youth was not very tired, and he sat there watching the woman by the firelight, while she sewed upon a pair of moccasins. Suddenly she looked up and spoke to him: "Young man, whence came ye? Where are you going, and why do you follow the hoof prints of the buffalo cow?"

The young man answered her, saying: "Our people are in the midst of a great famine this winter at their winter encampment at Hoop Ravine. My friend and I went over to Thunder-claws Print Lake to gather roseberries, and along towards evening we saw two buffalo cows. My friend shot one, the one on the left. The other cow ran on, but returned to her companion and then ran away, circling till she was out of reach of shot. Then she fled north along the base of the Coteau des prairies. We butchered the cow he killed, and I asked my friend to give me the tongue, but he replied: 'No, my friend, that is my pack thong knot.' Then I begged for the heart and he answered: 'No, my friend, that is my pack thong knot.' Then I requested him to give me the liver, and he said: 'No, my friend, that is my pack thong knot.' Then I made my last plea for the kidneys, and had the same answer, 'No, my friend, that is my pack thong knot.'"

"So I stopped right there and said: "Friend, this is a time of famine when all alike are suffering for want of food. When you return home, bear the news well. I care not what becomes of me, I am going to trail the other buffalo cow to the end.""
"When he head heard my speech he coaxed me to take the tongue or whatever I wanted, but I answered, 'No, my friend, that is your pack thong knot. It is well, what I have said,' so I came on, and followed the trail all these days until now I am here."

The woman nodded and made reply: "Hau, young man, you have spoken the truth. I am the buffalo cow you are trailing, and we are near to the end of our journey. Listen, and you will hear the voices of my people, who are patiently waiting for my return."36

The youth bent low and listened, and he could hear the distant rumbling as of thunder, and he knew that it was but a day's journey to the main herd of buffalo.

Then the young woman spoke again: "This is my story. My friend and I were sent on a dangerous expedition to Makato-oze (Mankato, Minn.) and on our return trip she was shot by your friend.37 Our object was to get the blue earth paint that is found in that locality, and she had it in her mouth when she fell, so I ran back and took it. Tomorrow, before the sun is at its zenith you shall see my people, and, if you will do what I tell you, both you and your people shall be made happy. We shall go, and when we have arrived at the last ridge you must remain and wait until the chief sends his messenger for you. Then you shall tell them all the tale of your adventures. The famine, your friend, and your trailing of the buffalo cow to the end. The Chief will surely answer you favorably, and, if he will permit me to do so, I shall go home with you as your companion. "Then the buffalo woman looked out of the tipi and said, "See, Wica-akiyuhapi (Urea [Ursa] Major) is overhead. Now it is time
to be going."

They saw the approach of dawn and the coming of the morning star. "Follow me," said the buffalo woman, and they set out and he noticed that they ran magically, seeming to glide over the tops of the grasses. The journey seemed much easier, the sun rose more glorious in the land of the buffalo than it does at Hoop Ravine, in the land of the Indian people. "I must be near the end of my trail," thought the youth.  

The sun rose still higher and higher, and the ridge which the buffalo woman had mentioned was in sight. In a few moments they were standing on the promontory of the ridge, and looking ahead as far as the eye could see the earth was a dark with bison as though a prairie fire had swept through that section of land.

"Now wait for me [and] the messenger here," said the buffalo woman, and she became a buffalo again and descended the slope. She ran over the prairie towards the herd and disappeared among them, and he could hear the bawling of the animals like the pealing of distant thunder. He knew instinctively that the buffalo were cheering and applauding their heroine.

Now all was silent. "She must be speaking at their council, telling about her adventures and the loss of her companion. What will they say about that?" Thought the youth, and he began to tremble lest her plea for him and his people should be rejected. At that very moment there came the thunderous bellowing of the bison to his ears. This time it was not rejoicing, but distress that he detected in its sound. He could see great clouds of dust rise, and
the herd seemed to waver. Then it was quiet again. Suddenly, the solid herd opened, and out shot a black object with the speed of an arrow. It came straight towards him, and as he saw it approach it resolved itself into the messenger: "Hau," said the buffalo, coming up to him, "You are wanted to appear before our great chief. He is waiting."

Accompanied by the buffalo the youth walked down and crossed the prairie, while the eyes of all the buffalo were upon them. The great herd seemed to give way as they approached, and it opened and closed in again behind them. On every side they were surrounded by the buffalo. Smooth horns, bent horns, and even little spring calves wrinkled their black noses at them, for it is a saying of the buffalo people that "It is better to smell than to see."

At last they came to the midst of a large circle that was carefully guarded by akitcita (Soldiers or Braves), and in the center of the circle was a lone lodge. The Messenger led the way to it, followed by the youth, and they entered the tipi. Just opposite the door sat the chief, and, from his immense size the youth knew at once that he must be the ruler of the plains. Servants brought him something to eat, and he was given a pipe to smoke, and he looked around and saw that the leader of the Buffalo Nation were all assembled. The youth discovered that he had been seated next to his friend the Buffalo woman, and that the father and mother of the cow whom his friend had shot were there, in mourning, with their faces blackened with charcoal.

In that great assembly were mostly old bulls, though close
behind them were the smooth horns, who were being trained by their elders. He saw also the sacred pipe, freshly painted with the blue earth that the Buffalo cow woman had brought with her from Mankato. It was leaning from a crotched stick in the center of the lodge. Finally the old chief addressed him, saying: "Stranger, speak. Tell us what is in your heart, and what has brought you to our country. We desire to listen to the message that you bring from your people."

"Hau, oh chief!" answered the youth. "Our people are in the midst of a great famine at their winter encampment at Hoop Ravine. My friend and I went over eastward to Thunder Claw's Print Lake to pick rose berries and towards evening we saw two buffalo cows coming. My friend shot one."

Here the old chief grunted, and the councilors bellowed until their mournful cries shook the earth.

"The other cow ran back to her companion and circled around within arrow range."

At this point the buffalo bellowed again in tones of thunder, cheering the courage of the cow.

"Then she fled north along the foot of the Coteau des prairies, and we butchered the cow." The young man then went on to tell how he had asked his partner for a share of the meat and how he had been refused, and how he had then pursued the escaped cow and his adventures until he came to this very spot.

"Stranger," said the chief, when he had finished, "You have spoken well. You have told the truth. What is your wish? Tell us, that it may be granted to you."
The Buffalo woman leaned forward and whispered something in his ear, and he replied: "I want my people to make the chase four times."

The Chief nodded and said: "Where and how do you wish your people to make the chase?"

Again the Buffalo woman prompted him, and he said: "I wish that four successive herds should follow the west bottoms of the Coteau des prairies, crossing over at Turkey Buzzard Knoll and descending south of Big Coulee straight to Otter Tail Lake (Lake Traverse). Then north, following the east base of the Coteau."

"Hau," said the Chief. "As for you, your reward shall be to take our heroine with you as your wife. We lack two very precious ornaments to decorate our pipe. We desire an eagle feather and a strip of red broadcloth. These we desire you to furnish."

At this moment the chief was interrupted by the appearance of the messenger accompanied by a young bull of the smooth horn class. Two other young smooth horns began to pull off his beautiful hair, and when they were through he was a singed scabby bull. Two netted gaming hoops he carried, concealed on either flank.

"Now," said the old chief: "This is the singed bull who is to avenge the death of our heroine. When he arrives at your village, be ready with the eagle plume and the red broadcloth. The bull's life will be spared in spite of many shots, until he has accomplished his mission. As soon as he receives the fatal wound, run to him, wrap up his head in the broadcloth and attach the plume to it. What I have spoken shall be true. Go now to your home, and take our heroine with
you."

The youth and the buffalo woman went slowly away, and all eyes were upon them. The herd divided and they passed through, and it closed again behind them as they went out onto the broad prairie. The woman took the two magic netted gaming hoops and rolled them ahead of them and they went on at great speed, passing the singed bull as they ran. "That is my cousin," said the Buffalo woman, "and he is on his way."

They passed on, and before sunset they had arrived at the north end of the Coteau. They seemed to glide over it, and as the sun sank they were already at a hill west of and overlooking Hoop Ravine. They saw that when they arrived at the creek bank the youth said to the woman: "Wait here until I send some one." Then he took the path and followed it until he came to the camp circle. Finally he found his father's house and entered, saying: "Father, it is I who have returned."

His family had all mourned him as dead, and his father answered, "You boys all say this, but it is not so." Then some one poked up the fire and then indeed they saw that it was their son who had gone off on the trail of the buffalo cow.

"My sister," said the young man, "Your sister-in-law is waiting down at the water." At once the girls ran down to meet her, and in the meantime his father and mother who had mourned his death began to rejoice aloud, and the people came running to their lodge to see what was the matter.

When the young man had told his story the people were very
happy, especially when he showed his wife, and predicted the coming of four great herds of buffalo.

Only a few days later, at dawn, the Buffalo woman said to her husband: "Go up on the hill. My cousin is coming." So the young man put on his moccasins and ran up on the hill. Near the north end of Drywood Lake and on the east side stands a hill that looms above the rest. The youth ran and stood there, and he saw the singed bull, surrounded by a pack of wolves making a running fight. He ran back and aroused the camp. All the men went out to meet the bull. The youth took his roll of red broadcloth and wrapped it up with his eagle feather. He took his wife with him, and other women joined the party, but they went slower than the warriors. When they arrived at the knoll the sun was quite high, and the men, who had outdistanced them were at the other end of the lake shooting at the bull, who was holding his own. No matter how well the men aimed their arrows they did not seem to be able to hit their target, and each time they shot the bull charged ferociously.

Presently the youth's friend, who had slain the cow and refused him a share, arrived, and announced his name aloud that all might hear and know. "I am the one who is to slay this buffalo" he proclaimed, and, while all eyes were upon him, he took his arrow and placed it against his bowstring, aimed, and shot. At that moment the bull charged, and struck the young man and split him in two. Thus the cow was avenged, and the bull fell dying. The youth ran up with his cloth and feather and laid them on the head of the bull, while he and his wife stood guard over them.
Now the hungry Indians cut the meat in small bits and distributed it. As they carried it off over the hill and the young couple were left alone they heard the angry challenging bellow of a bull, and behold the buffalo was restored to life once more! It stood there, pawing and tearing the turf and throwing the sods over its back. It ran its smooth horns into the black soil, and the dust eddied up 'around it. Then it turned and swiftly ran away around the lake. Then the young couple went back to wait the coming of the herd.

During the following summer the words of the Buffalo chief were amply fulfilled. The buffalo came to the people four times, so that they could make the chase, and all had supplies of meat to last until the spring.44

A few years after this the Buffalo woman said to her husband: "I must soon leave you and your people." Soon the time came, and they walked together to the knoll at Drywood Lake, and as they stood there she said: "Next summer about this time we shall meet here for the last time.45 Then I shall return to my people and you to yours. I shall bear posterity among my people and you among yours." So saying they parted, and she became a buffalo cow as she walked away.

Next summer Hoop Ravine camp moved to Otter Tail Lake. The young man was watching a game of Hoop and Javelin when suddenly he remembered something. He ran to his tipi and dressed in his best, and ascended the Coteau to its summit. As he arrived there he met his Buffalo wife, and they stood there talking for sometime, then separated and went their ways. What they said, no one knows, but
this is the legend of Hoop Ravine as it was given to me.46

STAR BORN

Two young women were lying on their backs on the prairie one evening, gazing into the sky, and one of them said: "I wish that that bright star would be my husband." Said the other: "I wish that star yondèr, which is less bright, would be mine."47 No sooner had they spoken these words when they were bodily taken up into the sky, fulfilling all their longings.48

The first speaker married the bright star of her choice, who was an old man. The other married the dimmer star, who turned out to be a young man. In that land there were many tipsina (prairie turnips) and the girl who married the elder man wanted to dig them, but her husband forbade [forbade] her to do so, saying that the people of that country never used them.49

One day, while building her tipi, she found that she had set up her tent over a large turnip. She was curious about it, so she took her knife and just as she pulled it up by the stalk, she fell through the hole it left, down to the earth, and her body burst open.50 An old man was passing by, and he saw her lying there, and her child was still alive and kicking. He felt very sad at the sight, and picked up the baby and put it under his robe and took it home.51 When he got to his lodge he said to his wife; "I saw something today which made my heart ache."

"What was it?" queried the old woman.

"As I was walking over the prairie I saw a young woman lying
dead with her body burst open, and a baby boy lying there, crying and
kicking."

"Old man," said his wife, "Why didn't you bring him home?"

"Here he is," said the old man, and he took the tiny babe from
under his blanket and gave it to her.

"Old man, we will raise this child," she cried.

"Very well, old woman, we will roll him over the top of our
house," he answered, and he threw the baby up through the smoke hole
and it rolled down the roof. Presently a child crawled in. The old
man seized it and threw it through the smoke hole again and it rolled
to the ground. Then a little boy walked in. The old man threw him
through the smoke hole and a youth walked in bearing a handful of
fresh cut shoots. "Father," he said, "Make me some arrows." The old
man, however, threw him through the smoke hole once more, and a young
man entered with fresh saplings, saying: "Father, make me some
arrows."52

The old man was now satisfied, so he made a bow and some arrows
for the young man. The youth became a great hunter, and in a little
while he was able to supply them with all the provisions that they
needed.

Then the old man said to his wife: "Old woman, I am going to
make an announcement, because my heart is filled with gladness." So
he went up on top of the ridge pole and proclaimed to the people: "I
have enough provisions; I even chew the fat of kidneys."53

It is said that this old man was the meadow lark. The yellow on
his breast represents the breaking dawn, and the black half moon
shape spot there represents the smooth horned buffalo.

Soon after this Star Born, the young man said to his grandfather: "I am going on a visit to other villages." To this his grandfather replied: "When one is young, that is the time to travel." So Star Born went away to visit a neighboring village.

As he approached he saw that the men were enjoying a game of hoop and javelin, so he stood there watching. Finally he met a young man about his own age, who said to him, "Kicuna (friend 54) let us go to my home." The two went home together, and when they entered the lodge the host, who had been raised by his grandmother, said to her: "Grandmother! I have brought my friend. Give him something to eat."

"What shall I do, my grandson?"

"What is the matter?" asked the youth, and the grandmother replied: "When anyone from this village goes after water they never return."

"My friend," said Star Born, "get the water pots and we will fetch some."

On hearing these words the old woman was very sad, and in pitiful tones she said: "My grand child, you whom I have raised in spite of great obstacles!"

"Grandmother," answered Star Born, "You worry yourself over trifles."

The two young men carried their pots to the water and stood there after filling them, and as they looked around they could see many other brimming water pots deserted on the water's edge. Star Born raised his voice in challenge: "Where is the one who destroys
those who come after water? Where are you? I am here to get water."

All of a sudden they were engulfed. And when they came to they were in a large, long room where there were many young men and women. Some were already dead, and others were in the agony of dissolution. "What are you all doing here?" asked Star Born, and they answered, "You have heard of those who went after water and never returned? We are the ones." 

There was something hanging overhead, swinging to and fro. They were told to look out, for this was the heart of the monster fish that had swallowed them. Star Born took out his knife and began to cut into it, bit by bit. Suddenly, with a tremendous shock the giant pickerel leaped and fell dead upon the shore. Star Born cut a hole in its side and let out all the young people who were imprisoned there.55 The people were made happy over the return of those who they had lost, and they offered Star Born the choice of two beautiful young girls as wives, but he declined to accept, and bestowed them on his friend, saying: "I must travel," and he left the camp.

Star Born soon arrived at another village, where he stood, watching the youths and men indulging in the hoop and javelin game. A young man came up and spoke to him and watched with him, until the other said to Star Born: "My friend, I will take you home." So they went to the former's lodge, where he dwelt with his grandmother who had raised him.

"Grandmother," said the youth, "I have invited a friend of mine to our lodge. Do give him something to eat."

"What can I do, grandson? We people here barely manage to
exist. When anyone goes after wood he never returns, and for that reason we dread to haul wood."

"My friend," said Star Born, "Get the thongs and we will gather wood.

The old grandmother began to sob, saying: "My grandson! You whom I have raised with hardship, toil and difficulty."

"Grandmother," retorted Star Born, "You do worry about little things."

They took the packstraps and went out to the forest where they gathered wood and strolled about. Finally, Star Born cried aloud: "Who are you who is so powerful and destroys all the youths who come after wood?"

All at once they were engulfed, and when they came to they found themselves in a long house full of men and women. "What are you doing here?" they asked. And the reply was: "We came after wood, and something brought us here." Star Born asked them "What was it?" and they replied: "This is the thing," and pointed to a small dark hole.

Star Born took his bow and arrows and shot bolt after bolt into the dark cavern, and then a door seemed to open, and they all walked out. It was the owl’s ear in which they were kept.

The people were made happy by the restoration of their young people, and, to show their gratitude, they brought out two of their prettiest girls and offered them to Star Born as wives, but he declined to accept the offer, and presented them to his friend, saying: "I want to travel, and must now be going." So off he went
to the next settlement.

Star Born soon arrived at the next village, and stood on the outskirts watching the men and boys playing hoop and javelin. As he was looking on a young man came up to him, and said: "My friend, shall we watch this game together?" They watched the game until they were tired, when the young stranger said: "My friend, we will go to my home."

The strange youth had been raised by his grandmother, and when they got to his lodge he said: "Grandmother, I have brought a friend home with me. Do give him something to eat."

"Alas, grandson," replied the old woman, "Where can I get the food that you speak of?"

"Why do you speak thus?" asked Star Born.

"Why," said the old woman, "The people here are very successful in their buffalo hunts, but lately Waziya (The God of the North) comes along and takes the meat for himself by force. Therefore the people are half starved."

"Grandmother," said Star Born, "You go over to Waziya's lodge and say: "My grandson who has travelled from afar has come to visit me, but I have no food to set before him."

The old woman went over to Waziya's lodge as she had been bidden, and stood at a distance and called: "My grandson who has travelled from afar has come to visit me, but I have no food to set before him."

But Waziya, in a gruff, unmerciful voice growled back: "You are a bad malevolent old woman. Get out! What do you mean by disturbing
me?"

The old grandmother came home crying, and Star Born said, "Grandma, what did Waziya say to you?"

"Oh grandson, he almost killed me!"

"My friend," said Star Born to the other youth, "Get the pack straps."

The poor old woman dreaded to see them go, but Star Born said: "My grandmother, you worry about little things."

They walked right over to Waziya's lodge, where the meat was hung outside to dry.56 They took enough to make a load, and the youth brought it home, while Star Born went over to Waziya's house and entered, thus saying to the North God: "Waziya, what do you mean by talking so rudely when I sent my grandmother over here?"

Waziya made no reply, but glared furiously at Star Born. Behind him his terrible Ice Bow was hanging peacefully. Star Born looked at it. "Waziya, what is that bow for?" he asked.

"Don't touch it," replied Waziya. "Whoever touches it breaks his arm."

"All right," replied Star Born, "I will see if it breaks my arm." And he took down the Ice Bow and pulled the string back so far that it snapped and broke. Star Born left Waziya in consternation and went back.

In the morning the people made another great chase of the buffalo and slaughtered many that day. But, while they were butchering, Waziya appeared, taking away their meat, and packing it in his blanket above his belt. When he came to where Star Born was
at work, he paused, and asked: "Who is butchering here?" Star Born replied boldly, "I am."

"Who bore ye that you boast of yourself?" asked Waziya.

"Rather, who bore ye to boast of yourself," replied Star Born.

Waziya, to show his power, retorted: "Whoever points his finger at me shall die."

Mockingly answered Star Born: "I shall point my finger to see if I die," and he did point at Waziya, but nothing happened to him. "Now," said Star Born, "Whoever points his finger at me, the flesh of his hand to his elbow will rot."

"Ho," said Waziya, "I will point my finger to see if my forearm decays."

And Waziya stretched out his hand and it was decayed. Then he stretched out the other and that one was rotted also.

Then Star Born sliced Waziya's blanket with his knife, and the buffalo meat all fell out. He told the people to gather up their own and take it home.

Next morning a herald announced that Waziya's wife had mended his blanket, and that he was about to shake it. Waziya stood facing the north, shaking it. The north wind brought snowflakes as large as a tent, and it continued to snow until the village was out of sight.

Then the people began to murmur against Star Born, saying: "We were at least accustomed to live and exist until this young man came and caused us to perish."

Star Born said to his grandmother, "Announce that I want a fan." She made tunnels to the other lodges and bore the message.
"What is this for?" grumbled the people. But they sent him a fan. Then Star Born dug his way to the roof, and facing the south, he began fanning himself, and the warm south wind sprang up and melted the snow to water. Waziya and his family were all smothered to death, except the youngest who hid in the frosted tent pole and so escaped. That is why we have the cold god still existing today. Modern Dakota young people identify Waziya with Santa Claus. The Sioux call this story "Fallen Star."

[End of Transcription]
NOTES

1George Lankford (1983:18-24) and Wilson D. Wallis (1924:56-57) also mention this local rule for not telling tales in the summer. Wallis reported it was limited to stories "which are recognized as not true but valued for the pleasure of the tale." Wallis reported his informant did so in deference and slept out in a tent to show the belief had no foundation, only to awaken to a snake crawling toward him.

2Stephen R. Rigg's (1889) A Dakota English Dictionary calls "Unktehi" the Dakota god of the water; a whale; an extinct animal; the mastodon." Amos Oneroad specified that this was a four-footed, longtailed monster with shiny horns, somewhat resembling a buffalo, but their heads were white like snow (Skinner 1920:339 in Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. 4).

3A grebe is any of the diving birds comprising a family related to the loons, characterized by a short flattened body, lobed feet, a pointed bill, and a short tail.

4Alan Dundes (1965) analyzes tale variants and find "four" to be a stable and significant number. Here we have the fourth animal successful on the fourth dive and later four times a year make a sacrifice to Unktehi.

5Stith Thompson's (1965) Tales of the North American Indians list the motif as A541 Divinity's departure for west 11.

6This tale resembles the Earth-Diver tale studied by Gladys A. Richards (1921:269-307), incorporating an origin explanation.

7Stith Thompson (1966) Tales of the North American Indians makes a list of motifs he found in the tales of that book. Within Skinner's tales are repetitious motifs not listed by him. See Appendix Four: Stith Thompson Motifs (lists motifs found in Skinner-Oneroad tales). I will note Thompson's motifs by Thompson's designated number, description, and note number: A810 Primeval water 29; A540 Divinity teaches arts and crafts 12; D1880 Rejuvenation 50.

8See "Notes on Puberty Fasting and Dreaming" in Ethnology and tale following for comparative information on this ceremony. This myth and the Medicine Dance ceremony is detailed in Indian Notes and Monographs, vol. 4 pg. 262-305, by Skinner (1920).

9Enemy Swim Lake, located on the head of Coteau des Prairie, middle of Sisseton Reservation, is associated with the ancient mounds and with the practice of the grass dance in Skinner's ethology.
10 See Skinner's ethnology in this thesis, beginning on page 93, for another version of this story. Stephen R. Riggs (1918:509-513) speaks of Mahpiyasna. Riggs says he was Iyanmani's chief soldier at Lac qui Parle. He was described as tall and boastful, and had given away more horses in his day than all Leaf-villagers had owned. He had visited St. Louis and Lord Selkirk's settlement on the Red River. In regard to the incident of this tale, Riggs said he took responsibility of disciplining Mnahudan or "Black-haw Bush" for killing a Chippewa during peace and shot him. Iyanmani was the chief at Lac qui Parle in 1834. Samuel W. Pond (1866:14) thought Iyangmani a better man than a chief, intelligent in conversation but "would not speak in public to people when they were excited and turbulent, so that his influence was felt least when it was needed most...while he was silent others ruled." The Dakota newspaper, Tapi Oaye, reported his death on June 7, 1873, mentioning his son Peter Tapetatanka, and that he was a father-in-law to Little Crow.

11 See Skinner's ethnology in this thesis, beginning on page 109 for this story. Dry Wood Lake is located along the line of the Coteau des Prairies, near the head. Is is north of Enemy Swim Lake, southwest of Sisseton and west of Good Will Church on the Sisseton Reservation, South Dakota.

12 Fort Totten and Devil's Heart were on the Devil's Lake Reservation in North Dakota. Devil's Heart Butte was south of Devil's Lake, and northwest of Tokio, North Dakota where Skinner was killed in an auto accident.

13 Alanson Skinner notes that this is "a little dwarf Canotina, who has great power for hunting. He can make people come to him, and then gives them valuable information. After this he rattles off the names of his visitor's relatives winding up with, "Will you give me this?" The bewildered visitor always agrees. He is then told that he must make a feast four times a year, is taught the proper songs, and dismissed. When he gets home, he finds that some or all of his relatives, whom he had been hoodwinked into giving the dwarf, are dead, but ever afterwards he has great powers." Riggs' Dictionary (1889) gives "Canotidan" as Dakota god of the woods.

14 The Mandan and then the Gros Ventres were tribes further west and north along the Missouri River. The Gros Ventres radiated into Montana as well as North Dakota and Canada.

15 See Skinner's ethnology on "war honors" pp. 80-82, in this thesis. The most prestigious was to touch the enemy, with the next three "coup" receiving the same award but not as prestigious.

16 Rigg's dictionary (1889) defines "Unktehi" as a whale, or water monster. Walker (1980) just says its a water monster.

17 Alanson Skinner notes "this custom has a Menomini parallel."
The Yankton Sioux were Skinner's "end village" or Ihanktowan. By this time they were on several Dakota reservations. They had roamed the James and Missouri Rivers, and historically encountered the Eastern Dakota on their southern most and western boundaries. The Kiowa were on the Yankton's southern most parameters.

The Hidatsa are a tribe of American Indians that were located in the Missouri Valley, associated with the Arikara and Mandan on the boundaries of Dakota activity.

Stith Thompson (1966) lists: B300 Helpful animals 146.

The James River flanked the Coteau des Prairie on the left. It ran from south of Devil's Lake Reservation in North Dakota to the Missouri River near Yankton, South Dakota.

The northern most head of the Coteau des Prairie is near present day Hankinson, North Dakota, just northwest of the intersection of the borders of North Dakota, Minnesota and South Dakota. The head of Coteau des Prairie is repeatedly mentioned. The Sisseton Reservation overlaps this area.

The Rigg's (1889) dictionary definition of "winkta" is a hermaphrodite, a male or a female with traits of both sexes. This is a more flexible term indicating either a feminine male or a masculine female, whereas the term berdache is limiting to a male. The term berdache is appropriate to the tale as it does seem to refer to a male. See Skinner's ethnology in this thesis, beginning on page 106, for another version of this story.

Alanson Skinner notes that "many stories are told of the Oglala and other Prairie Sioux merely in jest." The Oglala were Western Teton Dakota.

Sometimes a lodge was erected around the burial place of a distinguished warrior and a rack set up with his clothing to view. See Royal B. Hassrick (1964:333). John G. Neihardt has a version called "Young Man Pretended to be a Ghost" in DeMallie's (1984:346-7). Deloria (1932:227) reports that a burial scaffold with a tipi over it was for "only very specially favored people" and was usually avoided as an abode of a ghost.

The Heyoka are persons who, because of a vision of thunder, act always in an anti-natural manner. When cold, they appear to be warm, and vice versa. They also use "inverted speech" saying the opposite of what they mean, and acting accordingly," inserts Alanson Skinner.

Stillwater, Minnesota is west of Minneapolis-St. Paul on the Wisconsin border along the St. Croix River.


Thompson (1966): D651 Transformation to kill enemies 26; B500 Magic power from animal 146b.


The right side of the tipi looking in is the family side of the tipi. Relatives and guests sit on the left side. The space immediately left of the doorway was where old and those coming to "seek house" with the purpose of getting something to eat sat. See Deloria (1932:112). Pemmican was the choice food, considered the mark of honor for the donor or recipient. It was dried meat roasted until brittle, pounded after wetting to result in a light fluffy substance. This was mixed with a portion of rich marrow fat and grease derived from boiling fresh pounded bones. The pounded dry fruit, generally wild choke cherries, was added and kneaded together into a hard firm cake that kept indefinitely. This was a delicacy like a desert. Because of the grease it was always kept in a well dried paunch lining. See Deloria (1932:96).


Mankato, Minnesota or "blue earth take" is on the bend of the Minnesota River, due east of the Coteau des Prairie.

Thompson (1966): F0 Journeys to other worlds 192.

This echoes of the "mythical Tatanka (buffalo) Republic", which became the nickname of Fort Sisseton (formerly Fort Wadsworth) reported by Elijah Blackthunder (1973:49) as where a herd of 3,000 buffalo were discovered in 1865. This is the Buffalo Woman motif.

Present day Otter Tail Lake is northeast of Lake Traverse and Fergus Falls, Minnesota.

A note by Mr. Oneroad says that a buffalo bull, whether young or old, that had been singed in a prairie fire was always very vicious, and was exceedingly dreaded by the Indians. -- Alanson Skinner.

The head of the Coteau des Prairies is near the present intersection of North Dakota, Minnesota, and South Dakota border. The Dakota were active around the parameters of Coteau des Prairies in the 19th century.

The repetition of "four" is very significant throughout.

Drywood Lake is located in the middle of the Sisseton Reservation, southwest of Sisseton, South Dakota and northwest of Good Will Church, yet east of Fort Sisseton, nicknamed the head of the Tatanka Republic.


Thompson (1966): C15 Wish for star husband realized 193. In Riggs (1893:83-94) is the version collected from Michel Renville called "Star Falls". Wallis (1924:85-88) found this motif incorporated into the Canadian Dakota "Trickster Cycle," in "Spider and Thunder Boy." John G. Neihardt gives his version "Falling Star" in DeMallie (1984:395-409). DeMallie says Beckwith (1930:409) identifies a variant and Grinnell (1921:308-15) has a variant called "Falling Star". This tale has differing heros in many different variants. Reichard (1921:269-307) studies this tale in several tribes and concludes tales travel, are adopted and incorporated because of their episode content rather than plot consistency or style. She considers this tale of the Plains style, and addresses re-localization, incorporation, and transfusion of elements with alteration of motive. She also addresses "mythification" as a diffusional method, pointing that change is reciprocal. Waterman (1914:49) tabulates various explanations of this tale and considers explanation secondary to story plot in dissemination.

Thompson (1966): F15 Visit to land of stars 118c.


Thompson (1966): T581 Child removed from dead mother 152, 166i.

53To be able to chew the fat of the kidneys denoted a fresh kill whereby a certain fat near the sternum was eaten in honor. See Deloria (1932:236).

54The Riggs dictionary lists a "kicuwa" as meaning friend, but "kicuna" is not entered.

55Thompson (1966): F913 Victims rescued when swallower is killed 159a.

56Meat strips were made by cutting fresh meat in long pieces against the grain, six inches in length and two inches thick. Deep gashes were cut into one side with a knife at regular intervals approximating a mouthful. Meat strips were then boiled, especially for a feast. When knives were scarce the feasters could bite off suitable pieces with the least inconvenience when the meat was so prepared. See Deloria (1932:76).

57Thompson (1966): D2062 Death by pointing 242a; D1701.1 Contest in magic 182.

58Thompson (1966): A1150 Determination of the seasons 60.
CHAPTER VII

THE SKINNER-ONEROAD MONOGRAPH: WAHPETON DAKOTA FOLKLORE, THE ADVENTURES OF IKTOMI, MASTINA, AND OTHER ANIMAL TALES

INTRODUCTION TO THE IKTOMI TRICKSTER CYCLE

"Iktomi" is the Dakota word for spider. Ella Deloria, James R. Walker, Wilson D. Wallis, and Alanson B. Skinner were relative contemporaries collecting folktales from Dakota Sioux. Deloria (1932:ix) published eight tales in which Iktomi is the "mythological character." She comments that the expression "'he is playing Iktomi' is understood to mean that a person is posing as a very agreeable fellow, simply to get what he wants." Deloria characterizes Iktomi as out to get the better of others, yet always comes out the loser. In deference to social kinship he calls everyone his younger brother. Iktomi is often active as a human principal without any mythological character. Iktomi is the amoral practical joker, the "trickster" who flouts the most sacred tabu with impunity.

In comparison, it seems that Deloria (1932:10) did not collect any potentially obscene or offensive tales. She mentions the reluctance of her informants to repeat any vulgarities to her. Skinner includes these tales but appears to have made an effort to replace with obscure euphemisms any term a publisher of the 1920's may have considered offensive. Wallis' (1924) Iktomi tales use fewer
euphemisms but had fewer episodes in the tale needing them. Barbara Babcock’s (1975:153-185) article on the Winnebago trickster uses explicit references and the episodes of the trickster parallel those of Iktomi to tell the same overall "rites of passage" tale which is part of the cycle Paul Radin (1956) records.2 Skinner’s collected tales therefore sound more obscure than Babcock’s.

William K. Powers (1986:153-9) identifies the paradox of Iktomi as the "trickster" who names all things fixing their identity, yet "is amorphous and without a specific appellation." The term Iktomi only refers to one of the many shapes he is capable of assuming, yet never calls himself. Powers points out his role in the creation story as marking "a time period in cosmology that separates a prehuman existence from a human one." Powers further claims that by his act of naming, differentiating all of natural phenomena and making distinctions, "we can assign the creation of culture to the trickster, Iktomi" (that is, if we understand "culture" as being the way humans live differently from animals)(154). Although Iktomi’s behavior is antithetical to social standards and physical reality, he is regarded as the wisest of all creatures, the "most ubiquitous", as he lives and travels everywhere. Still, he is called upon to intervene to protect humans from the wrath of thunder. Iktomi is the subject of a cycle of tales that serve as morality stories for young children.

James R. Walker (1980:53;107;128) refers to Iktomi as the "imp of mischief" whose delight is to make others ridiculous. He is "wakan" and credited for inventing language and colors. He gives the
"wakan" medicine bag. Skinner's and Wallis's (1924:39) Dakota credited Iktomi with making black arrowheads of stone as a model to Indians.

Deloria (1932), Walker (1980), Wallis (1924) and Powers (1986) see the Iktomi texts as incredible in that they are removed from everyday events but call to mind the remote past, the "wakan" or spirit characters from the time of creation, still moving on the earth. All four considered Iktomi as a belief, as supernatural, as inhabiting part of the universe, threatening mankind, yet he may be warded off by proper rituals, aromas and smoke of a pipe in the Sioux culture. Wallis's informant offered tobacco to Iktomi to ensure the encounter to kill game. Deloria reports that during an Iktomi trickster tale there are "little asides or comments made constantly by the story-teller and hearers, concerning the folly and stupidity of the people who believe him" (1932:9).

Skinner's collection of nineteen Iktomi tales concentrates on the adolescent stage of life. They appeal to humor through absurdity and the conflict of the norm in society and activity. "The Adventures of Iktomi" is the serial of a maturing male who due to his character leaves home and travels. Iktomi exposes the follies of one who thinks he has answers for everything, the follies of trickster pranks, and the folly of immoral and unsocialized acts. Iktomi finally settles within a society and tricks even his own family when he has it good.

As Mikhail Bakhtin (1984) demonstrates in Rabelais and His World, most cultures and societies have the potential for use of
grotesque images, irreverent language, and lower body stratum images in their repertoires. Such images are part of Iktomi's character--flatulence, buttock and gential preoccupation, uncontrolled sexual urges and intrigue, homosexual encounters, breaking conventions. Through humorous absurdity in ignoring the culturally defined limits and boundaries, Iktomi hypothetically tests those boundaries. The tales amuse, validate the culture, educate, impart morals, and provide social approval to those who conform and ensure continuity. At the same time that the tales reinforce the stability of the norm, they prevent direct attack on the social norms by providing an accepted form of release and boundary testing. Although it is known that Iktomi is "wakan", the tales are meant to entertain and impart learning or a moral.

(The Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California, provided the photocopy of the Traditions of the Sisseton Wahpeton Dakota from the Alanson Skinner Manuscript Collection, MS 201. What follows in this thesis is an annotated transcription of this photocopy of Skinner's original typescript with his holograph comments. The footnote numbers refer to the present author's annotations and are not, therefore, part of Skinner's original work, unless specifically indicated.)

[Beginning of Transcription]
THE ADVENTURES OF IKTOMI

1 IKTOMI AND HIS MEMBER

In the remote long ago, so the old Dakota people narrate, Iktomi was even more mischievous than later on in his history. On this account he carried his member, which was of abnormal size, wrapped up in a blanket made of raccoon skin.

2 IKTOMI AND THE BATHING GIRLS

Once as Iktomi was strolling along he saw two girls in swimming on the opposite side of a lake. He immediately uncoiled his member, and submerging it beneath the water thrust it into the body of one of the girls whom he held a prisoner while the other fled screaming up the bank. Attracted by the commotion the grandmother of the girls came down and waded out to the captive. She felt all over her body until she discovered what it was that held her fast. The old woman pulled it free, exclaiming as she did so: "It is only Iktomi." Some versions say that the sisters were twin fresh water clams.

3 IKTOMI AND THE MYSTERIOUS RACCOON

After his adventure with the girls Iktomi proceeded on his journey. When night fell he camped on his trail, covering himself with his raccoon skin robe. He slept soundly after the days [sic] adventures, and thought of what might happen the following day. When he awoke the sun had risen diagonally in the heavens, and as he looked into the clear sky he saw something fluttering, very different
from his feathered friends when they make ready to pounce on their prey. Iktomi watched it for some time, and could not make out what it was, so he rubbed his eyes, arose, and went on his way. As he ascended a knoll he saw, in the distance ahead of him, a raccoon walking slowly along. Iktomi ran after the animal, but the raccoon ran on also, keeping an equal distance ahead of him. He reduced his pace, puffing to get his breath, and so did the raccoon. He descended the other side of the knoll, but the raccoon was at the foot before him. Now it dawned on Iktomi that he missed something, and on examining himself he found that during the night the recollection of his exploit the day before had caused his member to enlarge, and that his raccoon skin blanket had been caught on the tip of it like a war standard. When he discovered what was the matter Iktomi coiled up his member, and wrapping it in his raccoon skin blanket, went on his way again.6

4 IKTOMI AND THE GOPHER

As Iktomi journeyed a gopher peeped at him from its burrow, and was amused at his ridiculous appearance. The gopher began to laugh and sing:

"Look! Iktomi is packing his member!"
"Look! Iktomi is packing his member!"

This made Iktomi so angry that he said: "Keep quiet, or I'll poke you with it."

Nevertheless, the gopher kept on singing:

"Look! Iktomi is packing his member!"

Iktomi at first paid no attention, but Gopher was so persistent
with his singing that Iktomi from being annoyed became very angry.

"I'll punch you to death!" he cried in his rage, and uncoiled his member and thrust it after the gopher into his burrow. The passage was long and had had many turns, but pushed his member down its entire length. Meantime Gopher had run up a little side passage, and he began to gnaw at Iktomi's member, until he bit it off close to his body. Iktomi did not care much about his loss, as it made him feel considerably lighter. 7

5 IK TOMI IS CAUGHT IN A SKULL

Iktomi travelled on across the prairie until he heard a sound of people singing, and dancing. He stopped and went back a little ways. Then he thought it sounded to his right, then all around. At last, as he listened and looked, he found that the sounds came from the buffalo skull that lay on the prairie. His little brothers the mice were having a frolic and every one was happy. Iktomi lay down and peeped in and said, "Brothers, I would like to join you in your good time." The spokesman of the mice replied: "Oh, Iktomi, you might spoil our fun."

But Iktomi said again, "Brothers, I would like to join you in your good time."

"Oh no, Iktomi," said the leader of the mice, "You might spoil our fun."

However, Iktomi persisted until they said that he might come in, so he forced his head into the opening for the spinal cord at the base of the skull. 8 The singing and dancing ceased, and though
Iktomi looked, he could see no one, for the mice thought it was time to make their exit when he entered.

Poor Iktomi now found that his head was imprisoned in the skull, and he had to feel his way like a blind man. He would feel of each tree that he bumped against and ask it to direct him on his way. Certain trees grew on the high bank and broke his prisoning cap. Then Iktomi pretended to be angry and scolded the steep bank for crushing his buffalo skull. "Why, I had no headaches when I wore that on my head he said." 9

6 IKTOMI AND THE ELK

Iktomi once spied a herd of elk taking a noonday siesta, so he said to himself, "Now I shall have some elk meat."

With his bow and his quiver full of arrows he cat pawed his way slowly and softly toward them. Some of the animals were sleeping, and others were chewing their cud. Iktomi took an arrow between his thumb and forefinger, set it in its place and aimed at the nearest elk and shot it. Just then a breeze puffed it over the heads of the herd. The elk at once knew who it was, and one called, "Iktomi, you almost shot me in the eye."

"Brothers," cried Iktomi, "that was some hunter passing by. He almost shot me first." Of course, it was a poor excuse, but Iktomi had to say something. "Oh brothers, make me one of you," he begged.

"Oh no, Iktomi, you'll get us into trouble."

But Iktomi begged and insisted until they agreed. The elk brought up a model, a buck of the younger type, but after Iktomi had
examined it he felt that it was too good for him, and he made his own selection, a poor, lean old buck with very large antlers. Before he had been transformed the elk told him a certain sign that all the elk know, and when it is given they are all accustomed to rise up and follow the leader and do as he does. After the instruction was given, Iktomi was made to lie down with the herd. In a little while the old buck who was leader gave a short snappy grunt and they sprang up with speed. Iktomi sprang up with the rest, and to his astonishment he was transformed into an old buck, according to his wishes. They fed for sometime and then they came to a grove of shady oaks. It was in the fall and nature had clothed herself in brilliant and beautiful colors. The leaves shook in the gentle breeze, a leaf fluttered here and there through the air, and a number of acorns fell, only to be promptly munched by the herd. Iktomi was the one who slept while the others ate.

Another breeze came up and more acorns fell to be quickly gulped down by the hungry ones. The wind grew stronger and stronger and at length the leader gave a sharp whistle of distress. Iktomi heard and sprang up with the rest of the herd. The elk stampeded to a knoll snorting as they ran. Iktomi was at the tail end of the herd. As he came up he cried: "Someone shot me with a bullet, but I shook it off." The elk all knew that it was only an acorn that fell on him.

They all fed by a river and at intervals walked over to the tall grass to rest again, but as they were dozing, the same signal of danger was given by Iktomi and they raced off for life. When the herd assembled again Iktomi was the last one to join them. They
asked him what it was that had frightened him.

"My brothers," said Iktomi, "I was the farthest away from the herd, and I saw a man with a shield on his back and a spear in his hand crawling up on us."

But one of the elk had seen it too, and he spoke up and said that it was only Turtle out foraging.

The herd followed the leader towards the woods, and Iktomi, as usual, walked by himself. Some hunters had been watching the herd for some time, and not knowing their hiding place the elk passed near then. They shot at the herd but the elk made their escape. Iktomi was the last one, and the men gave chase, shooting as they ran. Iktomi's antlers were so large that now and then they were caught between trees, or in the branches, so that the hunters caught up to him and shot an arrow into him, which knocked him down. When he came to himself he was Iktomi again. He looked at the hunters gathered around, and said, "Brothers, what has happened to you?"

7 IKTOMI AND THE NIGHTHAWK

Iktomi stood and watched the nighthawk as it soared up into the sky. Every now and then it fluttered and uttered its harsh cry, then, all of a sudden it would swoop down and spread its wings out, producing a booming sound.

Iktomi was pleased and thought that he would like to be a bird, so as the nighthawk came down and lit on a rock that stood near, he walked over and begged it to turn him into a night hawk too. At first the bird didn't want to do it, but Iktomi begged and coaxed and
finally persuaded the nighthawk, who said: "Watch me and do as I do," and from the rock the nighthawk rose with its horse cry of "pish," and flew away. Iktomi did the same, and sound that he could fly with perfect ease, following his feathered friend into the air, swooping, booming, and rising again. The nighthawk flew off in one direction and Iktomi took another. He thought that he would like to boom again, so he did, and then again. Then he thought he ought to go higher than ever before and swooped and boomed so loud that it reverberated over the hills and vales, so that Iktomi was very proud. Then he rose to go still higher than ever before. He soared like a small speck, and then he swooped down, intending to boom when he was only a few feet above the ground. When the proper time came he tried to spread his wings, but his power was gone, and he fell to the earth so hard that it knocked him senseless, and when he came to himself he was Iktomi again.

8 IKTOMI AND THE TURKEY BUZZARD

Iktomi's last misfortune had not been over more than a few days when he saw Turkey Buzzard sailing above the treetops looking for food. Iktomi cried out to him, "He! Brother! Let me ride on your back."

So the bird said that he would let Iktomi ride for a little while until his wings grew tired. When Iktomi was once on his back he urged the Turkey Buzzard to go higher and higher, so the buzzard soared upward in great spirals, and would then turn and glide downward, as it was getting tired of carrying Iktomi's weight on his
flight. Still Iktomi urged the buzzard to fly, until finally the
bird grew angry, and as he flew over the tree tops he saw a large
stub broken off some distance from the ground, so he dumped Iktomi
into it.12
Iktomi was imprisoned in the hollow stub for a long time, how long he
did not know. After a while he heard voices, not far away, and he
knew them to be the voices of women who had come for firewood.
Iktomi then remembered his raccoon skin robe, he wrapped it tightly
around himself, and began to sing:

"I am a large fat raccoon! I am a large fat raccoon!"

He kept this up until he was heard by one of the women. "Ah, I
hear a voice," said she, "It seems to say, 'I am a large fat
raccoon.'"

They all stopped their work and listened, and they could hear it
clearly, "I am a large fat raccoon."

"Where did it come from?" asked one of the women, and they began
to search until they found and chopped the bed tree. They took
turns, and by and bye they could see the fur of the raccoon, and hear
from within the voice of Iktomi, crying: "I am a fat raccoon! Cut
the hole larger. I am a large fat raccoon!"

Now the women could see the raccoon skin moving inside the
hollow, for Iktomi was preparing to spring out. They backed [sic]
the hole larger, and all at once Iktomi leaped forth with the
exclamation, "Look out! You are killing yourselves!" The women were
sorry that they had worked so laboriously for nothing, but Iktomi
walked away grinning tauntingly.13
IKTOMI HAS REVENGE UPON THE BUZZARD

Iktomi thought over the trick that the Buzzard had played upon him, and came to the conclusion that he must punish the bird severely. He decided to turn himself into the carcass of an elk, so, finding a place suitable for his snare, Iktomi lay down and turned himself into a dead bull elk. The wolves and coyotes came and ate from the carcass, as did all the lesser carnivorous animals. Even the feathered ones came.

The Buzzard was suspicious, however, and he soared in great circles until he was satisfied, then he sailed down and began to eat the meat bit by bit, biting the buttocks of the elk. Finally he ate a large cavity and on stretching his neck inside to get another bite, Iktomi caused the hole to snap together, and caught the buzzard by the neck.

Iktomi now sprang up in his own human form, and began to dance with the Buzzard hanging from his back.

"I have a real live feather

........................................

[Page 9 Missing From Skinner Collection]
[the end of "Iktomi Has Revenge Upon The Buzzard"
and beginning of "Iktomi and the Ducks"]
........................................

"YOU dance with shut eyes
Whoever shall look
Hence forth will be red eyed,
Hence forth will be red eyed."

Iktomi took his position at the door, and all the birds began to dance with their eyes firmly closed. When the dance was at its height Iktomi added the words, "I too, join myself," so that all the
birds would think that he was also dancing. As a matter of fact, however, he was standing there and grabbing the largest birds as they passed by and wringing their necks. One big swan was too tough to kill at once, and he screamed and honked, so that the woodduck became alarmed and peeped and cried out, "Open your eyes! Iktomi is wringing your necks!"

All the birds fled flapping and screeching for the door, and Iktomi tried to head them off, but they knocked him down and trampled over him to freedom. But the woodduck, who did not obey Iktomi's instructions, has had red eyes ever since.14

Iktomi was well satisfied with his kill that day, and he selected a spot under some trees for his meal. There he built a fire and began to cook the fattest ones of the birds. Some he put in his kettle, some he stuck on a spit near the fire, while others he buried in the coals. As the fowls cooked Iktomi squatted by the fire, and skimmed and tasted the grease with a feather. As he was doing this he heard two limbs overhead rubbing and squeaking and it annoyed him very much. He looked up and said: "If you don't stop that I will come up there and take you apart." The noise kept on, and Iktomi climbed up, but as he took hold of the limbs his hand slipped in between them and he was caught. He pulled and pulled, but he was held fast. He looked down and saw that his meal was now nearly cooked, and just then some wolves passed that way. Iktomi called to them: "My younger brothers! I have some waterfowls here that are almost cooked. Don't take and eat them."

"Ah," said the wolves to each other. "Iktomi says that he has
something for us to eat over there."

They came over and ate all the birds in the kettle, leaving only the bones. They ate those that were on the spits also, and smacked their lips and made ready to go. Just then Iktomi called, "My brothers, don’t eat those that are in the ashes."

"Ah," said the wolves, "Iktomi says he has come hidden for us in the ashes," so they ate there also leaving only the bones.

Just then the wind blew and the limbs moved again, releasing Iktomi, who came down to find nothing but the bones, which he gnawed hungrily. He was no better off than before, indeed, he was hungrier. 15

11 IKTOMI AND THE ARTICHOKE

Iktomi felt hungry, and naturally turned his footsteps towards the woodland. At the edge of the woods near a slough he discovered an artichoke, where these plants grew in abundance.

"Artichoke, what is your name?" asked Iktomi.

"You have said it," answered the plant. "Artichoke is my name."

"People usually have more than one name," replied Iktomi, and he seized on and thrust it in his mouth, and began to munch it.

"I am also called the 'Defecator,'" cried the plant.

"Pshaw," answered Iktomi with a sneer, "A thing like you couldn’t be a defecator!" And he ate his fill and went away.

Presently the artichoke began to work upon him and he began to be loose in the bowels. "Why, I begin to believe that little root was right," said Iktomi to himself. He began to break wind. "Yes, I
am beginning to be convinced. No [now] the concussions of his flatulency jarred him, "Yes, in a way I believe it," he said. Then the concussions grew faster and harder, and Iktomi began to be blown off the ground at every discharge. He grabbed hold of a sapling, but still his legs were both lifted up into the air. He then saw that it was a mistake to have ridiculed the artichoke. His breech-clout was split by the discharge, and the tree that he held was torn out by the roots. Still he clung fast. "Yes, I kind of believe it," he said. Then there was a great explosion that rolled him over and shattered the tree trunk to pieces. When Iktomi, who was knocked unconscious, came too, he sat up and scratched his bushy head. Half of his breech-clout was gone and the tree was a pile of fragments. "Well," said he thoughtfully, "I kind of believe that Artichoke's name is in harmony with what it can do."16

12 IKTOMI AND THE ROSEBERRIES

Iktomi was still hungry, and the roseberries were ripe. He picked a handful and asked them: "Roseberries, what is your name?" They replied, "You have said it. Roseberries is our name."17

"Well," said Iktomi, "It is customary for people to have more than one name."

"We are also called buttocks-itchers, oh Iktomi."

"What, a thing like you make my buttocks itch?" asked Iktomi with a scornful look, and he ate to repletion, swallowing seeds and all. Then he went on into the woods. Presently his buttocks began to itch. "Why," said he, "I kind of believe that what those
Roseberries told me was true.” He began to scratch himself, and the more he scratched the more it itched. Finally, he could stand it no longer, so he backed up against a tree and rubbed and scratched until the skin came off. Then he thought of another plan. “I’ll build a fire and stand over it.” This he did, and presently he began to feel better, he piled on more wood, and the itching was much relieved. He went on through the woods, wandering here and there. As he went he presently came across a trail of drops of fresh blood, and thought that it must be a deer that someone had wounded. He followed it until he discovered entrails strung along the ground, and he picked up one end of these and began to eat them. As he was very hungry, he ate a lot but just about the time that he was filled up he came back to the fireplace that he had built, and discovered that he had been eating his own intestines. The fire had burned him until his bowels fell out and this had relieved his itching. He stood there spitting in disgust for a moment and then exclaimed: “Why, I kind of believe that the Roseberries were right.”

13 IKTOMI AND THE TWO GIRLS

Iktomi had not met any human beings since the women had chopped down the hollow tree into which he had fallen and so released him. He went on until he came to a lake on the opposite side of which he saw two girls in swimming. He watched them for a moment, and then said to himself, “I’ve got something for those girls.” Then he plunged in and swam under the water until he came close to where the maidens were, then he popped out his head and said: “I am a
mysterious being and anyone who licks my buttocks will have a long life."

He submerged himself again, and then rose again saying: "I am a mysterious being, and anyone who licks my buttocks will have a long life."

The girls heard him and one said to the other, "Cousin, I will be the first one, to they both obeyed the order of the mysterious being, who vanished and again stuck out his head at a distance. Then the girls saw that it was Iktomi who had duped them and they threatened and scolded him but he only laughed and swam back to where he had come from.

14 IKTOMI AND THE RACCOON FAMILY

Once, when Iktomi was travelling along a trail he came to a lodge whence smoke issued from the top. He stopped and listened, and he could hear two women (raccoons) talking within. Then he took one of his testicles and tossed it through the smoke hole, and listened again. One of the women said, "Cousin, I am going to eat that plum" and she took it up and bit it in two and swallowed it.

Then Iktomi took the other and threw it in, and the other woman caught it up and swallowed it. Then he lifted the flap and went in and sat at the place reserved for visitors. He sat there perspiring and fanning himself with a wing, and the two asked him; "Where did you get those juicy plums that you gave us, brother?"

Iktomi looked wise and nodded his head towards the western horizon: "You see that brilliant red colored cloud yonder? Well,
right beneath it in a ravine are plum trees loaded down with this fruit and it is their reflection that you see in the sky."

The women took their bags and went out to gather the plums, but finally returned without the fruit, for Iktomi had directed them astray. However, he pointed out the place where he said the ravine was, and they started out again. Peeping through the door, Iktomi finally saw them disappear from sight. "Now I am going to have some food," said he. So he started up the fore, filled the kettle with water and taking his knife he cut off the heads of the baby raccoons, singed their bodies, cut them up and dropped them in the kettle. After a while he went out and began digging in the hillside until he had made a tunnel right through the hill. Then he came back to the tipi and ate heartily of the flesh of the baby raccoons. When he was satisfied, he took some of the grease and smeared it over the mouths of the heads that he had cut off and stuck them back in the cradleboards and waited the return of the mother raccoons.19

He was almost asleep when he heard them coming, talking and laughing, and bringing their bags full of plums. When they entered, Iktomi said: "My sisters, while you were gone a badger came this way with her young ones, and I killed them and cooked them. I ate some and some I left for you to eat. Don't take up your babies. I fed them and put them to sleep. Eat first and then you can nurse your babies.

The two raccoon women were hungry after their long walk, so they started to eat, while Iktomi crouched, ready to leap for the door. At last one of the women finished, and took up her cradleboard. When
she did so her baby's head fell off and rolled away. Iktomi began to
laugh, "I'll tell you what has happened. You have eaten your own
babies!" Then he fled for his life out of the door. Both women
screamed in sorrow and rage and shouted, "Wicked scoundrel, Iktomi,
you have killed our children!" 20

One of the women snatched up a knife and the other a pole which
happened to lie there, a short pole or a digging stick used in
gathering prairie turnips. They chased Iktomi but he outran them and
crawled into the tunnel that he had dug through the hill. He came
out of the opposite end and then blocked it up and going to the water
he washed himself. He gathered wild sage and made himself a
headdress and arm bands, belt and garters and returning approached
the women from another direction. "My younger sisters, what are you
trying to do? And what are you crying about?" he asked.

The raccoon women told him what Iktomi had done to them and how
they had driven him into this hole for refuge. "My younger sisters,
do you but wait out here, and I will go in and kill Iktomi, then you
can go in and drag him out."

Iktomi removed his sagebrush regalia and crawled in. Then with
shouts and yells he made believe that he was fighting a desperate
battle. He scratched his cheeks until the blood ran, then, covered
with dirt and sweat, he crawled out again.

"My younger sisters, that was a terrible battle! But at last I
prevailed because I am handsomer and stronger than Iktomi. I have
indeed killed him and his body lies in there. My younger sisters,
now that he is dead, go in both of you and do what you please with
his body."

The two raccoon women then crawled into the tunnel and as soon as they were out of sight Iktomi stuffed the mouth of the hole with dry grass. Then he took his flint and struck off a spark on a piece of punk. From within came a voice: "Brother, are you striking a flint?"

"No, my younger sisters, that is only a woodpecker rattling on a tree."

As the fire started to catch, Iktomi began to blow on it and a voice from within called out as before: "Brother are you blowing a fire?"

"No, my younger sisters, that is only the wind in the tree-tops."

The fire caught well, so he piled on more grass, until a great smoke began to rise, and Iktomi had to fan it very fast to keep the smoke in. There were screams from within, but finally these died away and he knew that the raccoons were smothered. Then Iktomi crawled in himself and pulled them out, already singed. He tied them on a branch and then went down by the mouth of a river that emptied into a large round lake, searching for a good spot to cook his dinner. As he turned a bend of the river he heard a voice crying: "I'll wear a coat! I'll wear a coat! From the flexible pickerel skin! I'll wear a coat! I'll wear a coat! Head him off there, Iktomi! I'll wear a coat! I'll wear a coat from the flexible pickerel skin!"

It was none other than Mink who was out fishing.
"Oh brother Mink," cried Iktomi, "I have something here good to eat. Raccoons two I have killed on the way, and if you will go and bring your very best cooking pot, we'll have a feast here."

So Mink went off at once, and brought his elder brother Iktomi what he thought was the very best cooking pot, but the sight of it only made Iktomi angry. "Go again! Take this back and fetch me the very best one that you can see!" he ordered. So Mink scurried away and brought him his next best kettle. Iktomi shook his head: "Do you call that the best?" Mink was abashed and surprised but at Iktomi's order he hurried back with a still poorer one. This one Iktomi again refused saying: "You watch here and I'll go myself and get what I call the very best cooking pot." Soon he was back, bearing the pot of his choice, but it leaked through a number of holes. So Iktomi made plaster with his spittle and clay and stopped them up with that.

When the meal was almost cooked, Iktomi looked foolishly at Mink. "Brother," said he, "let us have a race around this lake. Whoever wins shall get all the meat and the looser shall have the bones and the soup. Mink was very hungry and did not like the idea of a competition but as Iktomi kept on urging him, he hesitated. "Brother," said Iktomi, "I will tie some stones to my ankle, and the I can't run so fast." So at last, Mink agreed and they set out to run around the lake. When they were half way round, Iktomi could see the steam rising from the pot and as Mink was then away in the lead, he cut loose the stones and began to gain. Mink, however, repeated some magic words, and ice formed so that he was able to run across
the lake. 21

"Brother Mink! What did you say? Wait for me, and we will feast together," cried Iktomi in alarm.

"I said, 'Open ice and close again,'" cried Mink and the ice let Iktomi through and then closed over his head. Iktomi sank to the bottom and wandered all over the lower world. It looked very different there. After a while he met pickerel and said, "Brother, tell me, where is the shore?" The Pickerel answered him saying: "When I was young with my brethren, we used to play close to the shore but when we grew up we left it, and I no longer know where it is."

Iktomi wandered on until he met Sucker and he asked him where the shore was and Sucker made him the same reply that Pickerel did. So Iktomi wandered on until he met Perch and he made the same inquiry of him and again received the same reply. At length he came across a little pinhead minnow and asked him. The Pinhead made reply: "When I was young I used to play near the shore but when I grew up I left it and now I no longer know where the shore is." With his answer Pinhead swam away and disappeared. Iktomi turned to walk away and as he turned, BANG! he struck his head, and when he came to, he was lying on his back looking up. Pinhead had deceived him, for they were at the shore itself, and Iktomi had banged his head against the rocks. "Now I know where I am," he said.

Iktomi looked up again and there he saw Mink sitting in the fork of a tree, eating the last of his meal with a pleased expression on his face.
"Oh pray, brother," cried Iktomi, "give me a bite?"

The Mink took a sharp bone and skewering a piece of meat replied, "Now close your eyes, Iktomi, and I will drop this into your mouth." Iktomi, was delighted for he was very hungry so he shut his eyes and opened his mouth. Mink threw down the meat on the sharp bone with such force that it knocked Iktomi unconscious. When he came too he saw that Mink had finished and gone off. It was some time before Iktomi was able to drag himself about. When he had recovered, he discovered that Mink had eaten the soup as well as the meat and had left only bones for Iktomi. This is the end of the Elk's tail.22

15 IKTOMI AND THE FOX

One time Iktomi met his friend Fox. He already had a scheme nicely planned out, and was only too glad to share it with his friend. The idea was this: Iktomi had a large family and among his children was a girl just about entering womanhood.

Iktomi said to his wife: "When I am dead and gone, dress me up in my best clothes, wrap me in buffalo rawhide, and hang me on a limb of a tree in the woods. Afterwards two young men will come to court you and your eldest daughter. He will wear a buckskin suit, a bow, a quiver full of arrows, and wear feathers in his hair. The other will wear a deerskin suit likewise, but he will have two feathers in his hair and bear a lance in his hand. Do you take him for your husband and give your daughter to the other one." So Iktomi proposed to his friend the Fox that the latter should dress according to his prophecy
and carry a lance, while Iktomi should pretend to sicken and die, but
should escape to join Fox disguised as the other young man with the
bow, and that they should approach Iktomi's widow when Fox should
marry her, and Iktomi his own daughter.23

"I shall be very sick soon," said Iktomi to Fox, "And I shall
die." So it came about that Iktomi feigned illness and seemed to
pass away. Everything was carried out as Iktomi had instructed his
wife except that the buffalo hide was not long enough.

"Mother, what shall we do?" asked Iktomi's daughter, "Father is
tall, and our rawhide is not long enough. Shall we chop off his
legs? We can't bend them."

When Iktomi heard these words he was alarmed and cried out:
"Bend them!" This they succeeded in doing. Then they carried him to
the tree that had been selected and hung him up and they mourned
greatly according to custom.

A few days after the funeral, one of the boy's [boys] came home
and said to his mother: "I was over at the tree where my father is
buried and under the place where we hung him there were already
bleached bones lying white on the ground."

"Ah," said the old woman, "Those are the bones of your father!
So she went over to the tree and saw for herself that what the boy
had reported was true.

The following day two young men appeared at their camp according
to Iktomi's prediction and the widow obeyed the sacred words of her
dead husband. To the young man with the deerskin suit, the bow, and
the quiver full of arrows, with one feather on his head, she gave her
daughter to wife, and she took the other, who wore two feathers in
his hair and bore a spear, in his hand to be her own husband.

The daughter and her husband moved into a new lodge that was
prepared for them. It was soon noticed that her husband was not so
young as they had at first supposed, but rather elderly, whereas the
widow's man was rather young, and very swift of foot. They hunted
every day and the younger man was very successful and brought in more
game by far than his 'son-in-law'.

One evening one of the boys came to his mother and said: "I
just popped into sister's lodge and saw sister and her husband lying
there, and brother-in-law has a scar on his thigh exactly like the
one father used to have on his."

The woman grew suspicious at once, for she had suspected
something was wrong from the very start, so she took her turnip
digging-stick and looked in for herself, and lo! it was Iktomi! The
old woman struck him a heavy blow on the back, "Hau! That is right,
old woman, just help me to have coition with your daughter," cried
Iktomi.24

16 IKTOMI AND THE HARE

Iktomi met his brother, the Hare, and they travelled together
until the sun set, when they came to a place to camp for the night.
As they were ready to go to bed Iktomi said to the Hare: "Brother, I
would like to lie with you and when I am through, you can then lie
with me."

"No," answered Hare, "Let me lie with you first, then you can
lie with me."

"Oh no, my younger brother, I will be first and then you may follow."

"No, Iktomi, I want to be first and you can come afterwards."

"Oh no, younger brother! Consider, I spoke first so I am to be first, and when I am through I will let you have your turn."

The Hare still objected and after Iktomi had thought it over for a while he agreed and so they lay down and covered themselves with Iktomi’s raccoon skin robe. But when Hare had finished and Iktomi demanded his turn, Hare hopped off a little ways and laughed at him. Iktomi coaxed and coaxed him, but he would not return. Finally, he ran over the knoll and vanished in the darkness.

The next day Iktomi got up and went his way, but soon his stomach began to feel strange, so he bent over and a young rabbit sprang from his body and dashed off into the bushes.

"Come here, my child!" called Iktomi, but the hare fled into the undergrowth and Iktomi went on his way. Presently he was again taken with strange pains and again gave birth to a little rabbit. This happened a third time, but the fourth time Iktomi was ready and he took off his raccoon skin robe, cut holes all round the border and laced it up to make a bag, then he sat down over it holding the string in his hand and when he felt something leave his body he pulled the string tight and snatching up a stick he began to beat it exclaiming, "You with the split lip, large brown eyes, and long ears!" as he did so.

Presently he was through with his rage and he opened the bag to
let the little rabbit out but to his astonishment he found that he
had only dunged into his robe and beaten it in. Chagrined, Iktomi
went on and soon came to a large boulder standing on the prairie. He
spoke to it: "Oh my Grandfather, you who have stood here from time
immemorial with nothing to shelter you from the heat and the cold, I
give you my raccoon skin blanket!" And with these words he threw the
robe over the rock and went on his way.

It is said that many things happened and that Iktomi went here
and there and did this and that but that he finally came back to the
rock one day and found that the rains had washed his raccoon robe
clean again. For a while Iktomi stood silently regarding it, then he
exclaimed: "My grandfather, you have had my raccoon skin for some
time, and now I need it again!" With these words he took the raccoon
skin off the rock, his grandfather.25

17 IKTOMI VISITS THE SQUIRREL

Iktomi went to visit his little brother, the squirrel. As he
drew near the lodge, the baby squirrel peeped out through a hole and
told their father: "Iktomi is coming! Iktomi is coming!" Just then
he opened the door flap, walked in, and sat down.

Squirrel promptly told his wife to prepare something to eat for
his elder brother Iktomi. She fussed around, although Squirrel knew
that they had no food in their home. Presently Squirrel called to
her, "Bring me an awl and you stand here and hold the big wooden
bowl." With the awl in his hand, Squirrel climbed to the top of
their lodge and then stabbed himself in one of his testicles,
whereupon wild beans gushed forth and filled up the bowl. With magic words he closed the wound, and stabbed the other testicle, upon which wild rice flowed forth. Then he likewise healed the new wound, while Iktomi stood bewildered.

"Here, my elder brother, you had better have something to eat before you go," said Squirrel. It was a good meal and as Iktomi left he said: "My younger brother, you must visit me in my home sometime."

The next day Iktomi's family saw Squirrel approaching the lodge, so they swept the guest place for him, and when he entered, they showed him to his seat with due ceremony. "Alas," said Iktomi's wife, "we have nothing to offer our younger brother to eat."

"I will look after that," answered Iktomi, "Give me the awl and you come here and hold that wooden bowl." The woman obeyed and with the awl in hand he climbed up one of the lodge poles, in imitation of what the Squirrel had done. He told his wife to hold the bowl ready and with the awl he stabbed one of his testicles. But instead of wild beans, blood squirted out and Iktomi howled in pain.

"Alas, my elder brother," said Squirrel, "You attempted to follow my example and now see the trouble that you are in." He went to the aid of Iktomi, healed the wound and by his accustomed magic, brought beans and rice from his own testicles. Iktomi, as usual, had an excuse ready: "My younger brother, this would not have happened except that my wife is undergoing her courses, and therefore my medicine has gone back on me."
IKTOMI AND THE BEAVER

Iktomi went to visit his younger brother the Beaver. Beaver was very cordial and presently he said to his wife: "What shall we give our elder brother to eat?" He looked all around as though he were searching for something as he spoke. Finally he called up his children and taking the youngest one, he said to his wife: "You comb her hair, paint her face, put on her buckskin dress and her porcupine quilled moccasins, and then bring her to me."

The wife obeyed. She took the child, combed her hair, painted her face, put on her buckskin dress and her porcupine quilled moccasins and brought her back to her father. The old Beaver said: "Make ready your fire and the cooking pot."

All this time Iktomi sat and looked on wondering what was going to happen next. He saw the Beaver kill and dress his child and cook it. It was served to them and just before they began to eat Beaver said to Iktomi, "Iktomi, when you eat, don’t break any of the bones."

"I wonder what he means by that?" thought Iktomi and just to see what would happen he secretly broke or took part of the ankle bones. When the meal was finished, Beaver collected all the bones, took them down to the water and threw them in. Then he walked back, came in, and sat down. Just then something was heard and Iktomi looked over towards the water and saw the baby Beaver coming towards them crying and limping, saying, "Father, Iktomi has disjointed my ankle." Beaver was annoyed and looking over at Iktomi he said: "Elder Brother, I told you to be careful and not disjoint any bones."
"Alas, my younger brother," responded Iktomi, "I didn’t mean to do it, it was only a slip of the jaw." ²⁷

After a while Iktomi rose to go: "You had better come over to my lodge soon," he said to Beaver.

Sometime later Beaver paid a return visit to Iktomi and Iktomi imitated what Beaver had done as nearly as was possible. He had his youngest child prepared and killed to make a meal for his guest, but he did not have Beaver’s power and the child did not revive and had it not been for Beaver who restored her to life when Iktomi failed, he would never have brought her back. ²⁸

¹⁹ IKTOMI AND THE BUFFALO

Iktomi had been out hunting every day but it seemed as if the game had all disappeared. He was unable to find any tracks and he finally became so tired that he climbed up on a high bluff where he could overlook the region round about and sat there watching. It went up in the air, straight, like smoke, so he shaded his eyes and looked again. It seemed as if the dust cloud was moving like a whirlwind, but it was not. Finally, as it moved on across the prairie, Iktomi saw that it was a herd of buffalo. Iktomi was delighted, and he took out his ce and said: "Mi-ce, do you see that herd of buffalo out on the plain?" ²⁹ He shook it and repeated, "Mi-ce, do you see that herd of buffalo? Do you see that herd of buffalo?"

All at once his ce answered: "I see, I see, I see, I see," Iktomi was amused that it answered him, but it continued to repeat,
"I see, I see, I see, I see," until he began to feel uneasy. 30

"Mi-ce, you have seen enough, stop now!" He ordered but it was no use, it kept right on repeating: "I see, I see, I see, I see." Iktomi wondered how he could silence it. He took it in his hand and squeezed it and it would stop for the time being, but as soon as he relaxed his grip it would cry out: "I see, I see, I see, I see!" He tried burying it in the earth of a mole hill but it puffed off the loose earth. He tried wading waist deep into the water, but that failed to stop it for the water bubbled up "I see, I see, I see, I see!"

"What in the world can I do to stop you?" asked Iktomi, at last.

"Take me to our mother-in-law and let her hold me in her hand and I will stop," said the ce.

Iktomi knew that it would be a great disgrace among his people to do this, but there seemed to be no other way to stop it, so he went to his mother-in-law and covering his face with his raccoon skin robe he told her what he wanted. She at once complied with his request and from that time on his ce stopped saying, "I see, I see, I see, I see." 31

THE CHILD OF LOVE

There was once a camp in which lived a young man who was known as "The Child of Love". 32 His father was a noted leader, and the young man had many brothers and sisters. It was a camp where everybody was happy and there were dances every night, but everyone noticed that this young man was not happy at all. He was never seen
at any of the merrymakings. It was suspected that there was something wrong with him, but no one, not even his intimate friends, knew what it was for the young man kept all his troubles to himself.

This young man had the best buckskin leggings and shirt. He was handsome and his companions were proud of him, yet he was very sad, especially in the evenings, when he would not even tell his parents why it was but one night he spoke to his grandmother: "My Grandmother," he said, "my heart is heavy. Every night when I am just falling asleep, and sometimes just after I have dozed off, someone comes and stands over me and micturates on me. It is a young woman."

"Aha," said his grandmother, "Now I see why my grandson has been sad these many days. Tonight when you go to your bed, have some red paint ready in a bowl and when she comes throw it on her body and her face."

The Child of Love did as he was told. Just as he was about to fall asleep, someone entered softly and stood over the young man, and he roused himself up and threw the paint all over her legs, body, and face. The girl, frightened, whirled around and fled in the darkness. That night the young man slept well and when he rise in the morning he looked handsomer than ever. He told his grandmother what had happened and she said: "My grandson, you tell your father and mother to prepare a feast and a dance. Watch the women who come closely, and you will be able to identify the girl who has done this deed of shame to you, by the paint that clings to her."

His parents were quite willing to give a feast and a dance in
the young man's honor, and when everything was ready they sent an old man as a herald to invite the people to attend the dance given for The Child of Love. No one was to stay home, old and young alike were requested to come. The dancing place was selected, and the people came singly and in crowds, in their best costumes and with painted faces. The dancing began and the young man went over to watch. He stood in the crowd with some of his companions talking and looking on. Presently, during the dance he spied a girl who was smeared with red paint and it was one of his own sisters. The young man was greatly astonished.33

He went home and sat a while in silence and presently he heard footsteps of some one coming softly but he did not look up to see who it was until he heard a voice saying, "My younger brother, I have come from another village and I hear that your people are having a good time. What makes you so sad, my younger brother? Especially when all your people are rejoicing."

The young man looked up and saw that it was Iktomi who was speaking: "Iktomi, I have something for you to do and it must be done right away." With these words he took his bow and his quiver full of arrows and handed them to the newcomer. "Do as I tell you. Take these weapons and go over to yonder dance. Watch for a girl who has a very peculiar smear of scarlet paint on her face and who dances differently from all the rest take one of the arrows and with a careful aim shoot her through the heart then run back here as quickly as you can and your life will be spared."

At first Iktomi did not want to do what the young man ordered,
but when the Child of Love insisted and told him who he was and why he took the bow and arrows and walked over among the crowd. The people saw him and cried: "Here comes Iktomi. Wonder what he has in mind now? Why is he carrying that bow and arrows?" Just then the singers beat on their drum, and the dance began again. Iktomi saw a girl with a peculiar smear of scarlet paint dancing differently from the rest, so with speed he sent his arrow to her heart.

There was great confusion and the bystanders yelled: "It is Iktomi! Iktomi did it!" And there was great tumult, the crowd swayed to and fro, and the women wept over the girl. The men gave chase to Iktomi who ran half way back to the lodge of the Child of Love who had promised him protection, and the young man came out of his lodge and stood with his hand stretched forth. The crowd came to a stand still and the young man said: "I am the cause of this tragedy and no one shall dare to harm Iktomi he shall have his freedom in peace."

The crowd dispersed, the young man turned back to his lodge and Iktomi went on his way. The camp soon learned the cause of the murder, and they buried the young woman on the outskirts of the settlement, and covered her grave with sod. Then they went about their daily duties and forgot about the unfortunate happening.

In the meantime the grave of the girl opened and more sods had to be cast on. Yet again, in a few days it opened again and the body was pushed up so that it had to be covered again until it looked like a sod mound from a distance in clear view of the camp. Still the body was thrust up until it became to high for the people to put more
sod on it so they built up a scaffold and then they discovered that a hawthorn tree had grown up from below through the channel left where the arrow had pierced her heart and had raised her body up in full view. It seemed to the people that this was a punishment meted out to the girl as a warning to those who lead immoral lives. Since that time a hawthorn tree has always been used to point out as a warning to naughty children. This particular hawthorn tree grew high and the girl on her scaffold was held aloft as a warning in full sight of the camp.

One day the young man said to his parents that he must go on a long journey and would not return for sometime. His mother made moccasins for him and when everything was ready he gathered up his pets. These were four in number, two birds and two mammals, a burrowing owl and a kite, an otter and a fisher. The latter was his most intimate companion, and it was carried in a pocket that he had made on his breast for safety. The young man left the tribe and went off for a long ways without seeing anyone. As he journeyed along with his pets they came to the foot of a large hill and the owl said to him, "Father, I would like to live here." So the young man agreed and they left the owl there and went on.

After a time they came to a large lake and on one side of it there was a high bluff with many springs gushing from it to run down to the lake. "Father," said the otter, "I want to stay here." The young man answered, "yes, you can stay and make your home here."

They continued on their way along the lake shore until they came to groves of pine and cedar growing on high rocks where the land
looked rough and rugged. Here the Kite thought it was a suitable abode for him and permission was granted him to dwell there by the young man.

The young man and the fisher continued their travels along the sandy shore that fringed the rough country, until they heard in the distance ahead of them the voice of a woman calling and saw a wooded point jutting out into the lake. As he came closer he saw that the point was really an island, and he could hear the woman still calling, just out of sight ahead of them. When he came nearer he could see a canoe, partly grounded on the shore, and an old woman standing there, leaning on a cane and gazing out towards the island. At her feet was a pack about the length of a man wrapped in the fresh inner bark of basswood and fresh leaves. To the young man it seemed very suspicious.

As he approached the old woman said to the young man: "My grandchild, I have waited long for someone to take me over to yonder island, and now you are come to paddle me over there."

The youth hesitated a moment, and the agreed. The old woman had some bundles, some of which lay on the beach and some were already in the canoe. She said to him: "Put the big pack in first." It was very heavy, but the youth managed to put it in. He was still filled with wonder at its size, weight, and shape, and did not know what to make of it. The old woman herself put her little bundles into the craft. Then the youth said, "Wait a moment, until I shift your big pack to a better place." He took up the suspicious pack as though he were going to put it in the other end of the canoe, but as he was
about to lay it down again, he dropped it in the deep water, and
springing into the canoe, shoved it out on the lake, looking back he
saw the old woman glaring at him with piercing eyes, saying: "You
save your life by your wits!"

It seems that the old woman was a witch, and the bundles were
her evil medicines. In the large pack was concealed a man with a
short handled lance with which he stabbed the youths whom the old
woman inveigled into coming to her assistance. She lived on the
bodies of those whom she was able to murder.35

The young man paddled out towards the island, which seemed quite
large. He wondered if the old woman was really calling to someone
there. When he reached the shore he pulled up his canoe and scouted
around on the beach. He saw human tracks, deer tracks, and those of
smaller animals. Then he came to a path that lead through the woods,
and so, as he naturally wanted to know where it led to, he followed
it. After a while he came to a clearing, in which he saw a large
lodge, and not far away was a smaller hut. On closer inspection this
hut brought forth a new surprise. It was made of human skins! Just
then the youth saw the door flap moved, and a gray haired woman
peered out under her shading palm. "Who is here? Who has come to
visit my daughters?" she exclaimed. With these words she looked
towards the woods and yelled: "Come home! Your man is here now!
Come home, your man is here now!"

The youth observed that the old woman's attire consisted of an
old tattered deerskin dress. Her hood was of human skin taken from
the front of a man. For earrings she wore a testicle and a
The young man realized that he was in great danger, and the fisher in his bosom began to snarl, "Father! Here is danger!"

In answer to the old hags summons two young women now appeared at the edge of the opening. The old woman began to mumble and scold the girls: "Why didn't you come at once when I called you? Your man is here and he is very hungry. Give him something to eat at once."

With these words she hobbled back into her hut.

The girls signed to the young man to enter the large lodge, and this he did, going directly to the guest place, in the rear, opposite the doorway, while the girls took their stations on opposite sides of the lodge, making it apparent to the youth that each owned half of the building. Inside the wigwam was decorated with beautiful colors. On one half the lodge were drawn pictures of human beings, on the other pictures of animals.

The young woman on whose side were the human drawings suddenly said: "Sister, I will serve the man with my food first." Whereupon the other sang under her breath:

"Ecin chan ni waste ke nakaes."37

To think the acts thy good art indeed

That is: "Indeed I think thy acts art good."

The youth watched every move that his hostess made and presently she brought him a wooden bowl filled with sliced human flesh, which she had boiled and offered him with broth. She placed a big wooden ladle in it and passed it to her guest.

The youth took up the spoon and stirred the broth until it cooled and bending his head, he watched the woman, while he fed the soup a spoonful at a time to the fisher in his breast. When it was
all gone he pushed the empty bowl back to the woman, who thought that he had eaten it himself. The other woman on whose side of the lodge the animal drawings were, sang again, saying:

"Wica kin, miye woyute ica waku kte."
Man the I food real serve shall

That is: "I shall serve the man real food."

With these words she whispered to the youth: "I am all right, don't be afraid of me," and he saw her prepare real venison with her own cooking utensils. This time he took the bowl and spoon and ate the meal.

Now the woods became dark and the youth knew that the sun had gone down. He began to get drowsy and sleepy after his days of tramping. The women began to prepare their beds and the one who had first fed him said: "Sister, I will sleep with the man first." And he heard her song in reply:

Ecin chan niwasteka nakaes."
To think acts thy good indeed

That is: "Indeed, to think thy acts art good."

When her bed was ready, the girl motioned to the youth to join her. She had a blanket which she called Mahpiya-sina, or Cloud Blanket and she called to her sister to cover them up. The Cloud Blanket was very light at first, but as the youth lay there, he was nearly smothered. Then he heard the chattering of teeth. He happened to remember that he had in his medicine pouch a gland of musk from a badger's ear, wrapped up in buckskin. He felt for and opened it and when the foul odor of the musk arose, the woman called, "Sister, open the blanket, this man has broken wind." Thus he got a
good breath of fresh air. Meantime he heard the gritting of teeth once more, and he decided that it came from his companion's vagina. So he found a deer bone in his pouch, and thrust it in. The hard bone broke the teeth and the woman screamed saying, "Sister! This man has killed me!" Meanwhile he heard the old woman grumbling outside, saying, "I thought you had finished the man by this time." This was one way in which they killed youths who came to visit them.

The girl threw off the Cloud Blanket and ran out of the lodge, whereupon the youth went over and got into bed with her sister, who said that she was a normal woman.

Now the girl from whom he had broken the teeth did not die, so the youth dwelt with them both, and each had a child. He continued to live with them until his two sons were able to walk and wander out in the woods alone. Then the youth began to think of his parents and he told his wives that he thought they would go and visit the people. They made ready for the home journey and they went over to the mainland in the canoe and thence started out on foot. When they came to the rocky country, the youth found the kite, who had discovered a mate and had raised a family. He was satisfied, so the youth told him to remain where he was.

When they came to the springy bluff, they found the otter living in luxury. He presented the travelers with fresh and dried fish, and, as he preferred to remain there, they left him and went on.

When they came to the land at the foot of the great hill, there they met the owl and his family living happily. He chose to remain there, and today, on your rambles over the prairie, you may see him,
in the land of his choice.

The homeward journey was slow, because of the children, but finally, the young man said to his family: "We are not far from the camp of my people," and he selected a permanent camping ground, pitched his tent, and told his wives that if the evening was quiet they ought to be able to hear the noise of the home camp. However, although the evening was quiet, no sound was heard, so early the next morning the youth set out alone to visit his people.

When he drew near to the camp he wondered if it had been moved but, when he came up on a hill overlooking the site, he saw at a glance that they must have had an epidemic or a panic, for the tents were still standing in part. Others were scattered on the ground, while household goods were blown and tossed everywhere. Where his father's dwelling had been he saw two small brown tents, and from one there rose a curl of smoke.41

The youth walked slowly towards the tents, with a heavy heart. As he came close, his mother met him, crying, and he noticed that she was covered with sores, as though she had been burnt all over. When the other members of the family appeared, he noticed that they were in the same condition, and this is what they told him:

"Soon after you had gone your sister whom Iktomi killed and who was later placed aloft on the scaffold returned as a ghost every evening. She would approach the people and ask, 'Has my elder brother returned?' and when we answered 'No', she snatches up a firebrand and burns one or two people until they die, and we are the only ones who are left."
The youth then said to them: "Tonight I shall change myself into an old stump, and when my sister comes to ask you about me, answer her as usual, that I have not yet returned. Then she will notice the old stump, and say: 'Why this stump was never here before!' Then mother, you reply, 'Yes, that has stood here always.' Then walk over to it and say, 'Don't you remember how I used to take bark and burn it?' Then take a bit of bark and strip it off and she will say: 'Why don't he come now?' Then she will grab a firebrand to burn you as before."

The old people understood what their son meant to do, and as he said he would do, he transformed himself into an old stump, and just before twilight the scaffold where the dead girl lay shook slightly, and the girl's ghost descended and came over to her father's tent and said: "Has my elder brother returned yet?" Her mother answered, "No." Then she looked around and saw the stump and said again: "Why, that stump never stood here before." But her mother returned, "Yes, it has been there all the time. Don't you remember how I used to burn the bark?" And she walked over and peeled some as though she were going to use it. Whereupon the girl cried: "Is my elder brother ever going to return here?" and snatched up a firebrand, when the stump rose up as her brother ready to defend his people, with a bow and arrow of magic power.42

The ghost screamed and fled towards the scaffold whence she had come, but the magic arrow passed through her swiftly and she vanished at its foot.

Then the Child of Love said: "Don't worry about her coming
again," and he told his family that he would now return to his camp and in a few days he would bring back his wives and family and some food. When he got to the place where his wives were they noticed that he had changed, and seemed sad once more. He did not tell them what he had found, but the next day he went back to his parents with a load of tipsinna, deer meat, and healing herbs. He found them already improved in their condition and left them, promising to return again.

That night the women in The Child of Love's camp said: "Someone is coming!" The stranger drew nearer and nearer, and the women did not know him. He entered the camp and said: "My younger brother! Is it well with thee? You have been gone a long time, and I have been looking for you in every camp."

It was Iktomi, and he played with the little boys and then the women started to joke with him, as their brother-in-law. They pinched him and he would laugh, and exclaim, "My younger brother, my sisters-in-law are getting reckless!" The young man said nothing and finally the two wives seized Iktomi by the legs and arms and stretched him over the fire. Iktomi laughed at first, but his laugh soon changed to pitiful cries, and these died away. When he was dead they took out his heart and laid it to one side, while they burned his body to ashes. Then they took his heart and sliced and dried it in the sun. When it was cured, they made it into pemmican.

All this time the heart of the youth was filled with wonder and suspicion. He thought of his encounter with the witch who ate people and his first meeting with the girls, and he wondered if their
appetite for human flesh had reawakened. But he could not fathom their hearts nor their thoughts.

After a while the two women set off over the hills without a word. The young man was left sadder and more puzzled than ever. Day after day he sat there, thinking over the past. Finally, however, the women returned loaded with tipsinna, which they prepared by peeling back the skin and braiding it to dry. Others they sliced and dried for winter use.

After a few days the women visited the camp of their husbands people. They took with them the dried heart of Iktomi, and at each threshold they dropped a few particles of it, and a few more at the scaffold. The next day they went there again, and they saw that maggots were swarming wherever the pemmican had been spread.

"Ah, sister," said the elder girl, "Our prediction is coming to pass."

Next day they returned with more tipsinna, prepared and ready to store away, and this time they saw tiny persons where the maggots had been. Men and women, they were trying to stand, but flopped over and over. They went home very happy that night, and in a few days they heard noises at the old camp as though it were peopled again, and they could hear dogs barking. They also heard the clear voice of a herald announcing something, and the sound of singing and the beating of a drum.

"Sister," said the elder wife, "our words have come true." They told the youth that his people had all been restored, and early the next morning he went over and found that his people really were alive
again. Then he saw and understood why his wives had burnt Iktomi alive and made pemmican of his heart. The young man and his family then joined the camp, and lived among his people once more. 45

. . . THE ADVENTURES OF MASTINA, THE HARE

HARE AND HIS GRANDMOTHER

The Hare and his grandmother lived alone in a little hut. One day he said, "Grandmother, I am going out hunting," and taking his bag he went over to the dancing ground of the prairie chickens. The birds saw him from a distance and cried out, "Oh here comes Mastina. Wonder what he has in that bag?" 46

However, Hare used his utmost skill and cunning and finally lured them all into his bag. Then hurriedly tying it up, he carried it back to his grandmother's lodge. He was very hungry, so he told his grandmother to watch the bag while he went to gather some firewood, at a little distance from the hut.

While he was gone, Uncina, the grandmother, became curious to know what kind of game her grandson had brought in. She opened the bag a little and the prairie chickens began to talk to her.

"Oh grandmother! We were having a good time on the brow of the hill when Mastina joined us and lured us into his bag," they said, and they begged and coaxed her to open it a little wider. The old lady did this, and they burst forth and each tried to be first to
escape by flying through the smoke hole. In the confusion they
knocked each other down with their wings, and grandmother was bowled
over also, but she managed to get up and yelling to Mastina she
seized hold of two legs, crying, "Hurry up, grandson, I have caught
two!"

Hare came running back but when he got there he saw that she had
only succeeded in catching one lean bird by both legs! He killed it
and began to pluck it, raging at his grandmother who sat on the
opposite side of the lodge. When he started to draw the bird he took
out the entrails and threw them across the lodge into his
grandmother’s lap: "Uncina," he cried, "You have become catamenial!
The medicine bags are inside and you must observe the custom of our
people. Be gone and stay away until you are through with your
purification."47

When the fire and the water were ready and the bird was boiling,
Mastina told his grandmother that he wanted to invite his friends to
partake of the feast, so he went out and began to call them in, the
animal people, addressing each by name. Then he went back in the
lodge and began to move the door flap, making noises as though
persons were arriving, and he was showing them their respective
places: "You sit over there, and you over here" he would cry,
talking and answering himself with the voices of different people.
The old grandmother thought that Mastina must have a great many
guests to eat of one little prairie chicken.

Then the visitors appeared to leave, one by one, as they came,
each one telling Mastina that the feast was very good. When they had
all gone, Hare called to his grandmother saying: "Uncina, come in now and partake of my feast," meaning only his leavings.

**HARE AND THE BEAR HUNT**

The Hare went out hunting with his grandmother. It was winter and he carried his sleigh with him. After a while he killed a large bear and cut it up into quarters and smaller pieces, not too heavy to be carried by one person. He said then to his grandmother: "What will you carry, Uncina?"

"Oh I am subject to the headache and if I carry the head I may have it again, so I don’t want to carry the head."

"Then carry one of the forelegs."

"Oh grandson, I have had sore arms and if I carry a foreleg, I may have sore arms again."

"Uncina, carry the ribs."

"No, grandson. I have had a sore side and if I carry the ribs I may have a sore side again."

"Well then, carry the hindquarters."

"All right, grandson, I will carry the hindquarters."

Mastina bundled up the meat into two or three loads, and took the first one and hurried home. Then he went back for another load and brought that to the lodge. In the meantime he had forgotten all about his grandmother, but now he remembered and wondered where she could be, for she had long since started home by another path with her load. Mastina searched and finally from the other side of a hill he heard sounds like his grandmother’s laughter. He was surprised,
for this was something unusual. He trailed her to the spot and saw his grandmother coasting down hill on the hindquarters of the bear, and having connections with them at the same time, and this was what was causing her laughter.

HARE AND THE EARLY RISER

The Hare rose in the morning as usual and looked over his line of traps, only to find that someone had been there before him, but he could not tell from the footprints whom it might be. On his return he told his grandmother all about the hunter who got up earlier than he did. She only told him to rise earlier.

Next morning Hare did arise earlier, but as on the day before he found his rivals footprints, showing that he had been there before him. He reported to his grandmother, who only said: "Mastina, go still earlier." The next morning Mastina set a snare in the trail of the hunter who had preceded him and on the fourth morning he rose earlier than ever before to go the rounds of his traps. As he approached his snare he heard strange sounds and saw flashes of light streaking across the horizon, through the branches and leaves of the trees. Mastina was amazed at this unwanted sight and as he came nearer a flash struck him and scorched his body so that he had to go and stand behind a tree.

From where he was hidden he could see the early riser shake his yellow locks and saw them flash again. The atmosphere was very hot and sultry.

"Ha," thought Hare, "This must be somebody who has power!"
Just then the Early Riser caught sight of Mastina and said in a gruff tone, "Let me loose, you are holding back the day."

However, Mastina ran home to tell his grandmother all that had happened. Grandmother was greatly excited and said: "Make haste and turn him lose, that is the sun."

Mastina ran to obey, but in loosing the Early Riser his beautiful fur was burnt brown as a punishment and so it has remained until this day.

OTHER ANIMAL TALES

THE MYSTERIOUS TURTLE

Some hunters were out after game and found a very large turtle on the prairie. They jokingly said to one another: "Let us get on its back and see if it can carry us," so they all jumped on its back, and it started to walk off with them.

The hunters thought that it was great fun to ride on the back of such an enormous turtle, but it was no fun when they found that they were stuck there and could not get off.

The turtle walked right straight to a lake, and walked on under water, and finally came up on the opposite shore alone. The hunters were all drowned.
CONTEST BETWEEN THUNDER-BIRD AND MONSTER

A thunder-bird once pounced upon a bear that dwelt beneath the water, but was unable to carry it off or to let it go. An Indian, happening to pass that way was besought by each for aid. The thunderer promised the man seven wounds and success in battle; the bear, seven enemies' scalps. The man finally let the thunderer loose without injuring either and received both rewards.

THE MOUSE AND THE BUFFALO

A mouse met a buffalo out on the prairie, and challenged him, saying:

"Tatanka ci hu hu."  
"Buffalo-bull, I will cohabit with you."48

This angered the bison, who bellowed in reply: "Keep quiet, or I will crush you with my hoofs!"

But the mouse sang as before, and the bison answered: "Keep quiet, or I will crush you under my heels."

For the third time the mouse sang his insulting song, and the bison was beginning to get very angry, pawing the dirt until the dust rose like smoke, and shaking his head, while he advanced towards the mouse. "I told you to keep quiet, or I will crush you under my heel!"

Ever alert, the mouse sang his song for the fourth time, and the buffalo charged on him, but the mouse escaped by leaping through the split hoof of the huge bull, climbed up his tail, and ran through his buttocks into his body, where it gnawed the buffalo's heart until it fell over dead.49 The the mouse came out and sat on the carcass and
sang:

"Isan au, wasanka bawakse kte!"
Knife bring, arrows not dried I cut shall.\(^{50}\)

That is, "Bring a knife! I shall cut arrow shafts!" This song he kept repeating, each time a little louder than before.

It happened that a fox was passing on the other side of the hill and he heard the call, and pricked up his ears in surprise, saying: "What is that? Listen! Ah, he says 'Isan au, wasanka bawakse kte!' That is, 'Bring a knife, I shall butcher beef.' Again the mouse sang, "Bring a knife, I shall cut arrow sticks!"

"Yes," cried the Fox, "Now I hear! He said: 'Bring a knife, I shall butcher beef'\(^{51}\) and he ran over the hill and found his friend Mouse sitting on the dead buffalo. Mouse was glad to see Fox, and they cut up the game. Mouse said: "Let us build a straw hut. You get the poles and I will gather the straw."

So they worked hard, and soon built a lodge, and there they lived happily, eating and sleeping, until they had devoured the buffalo.

RACCOON AND THE CRAWFISH

The Raccoon (Wica-ite-hdega) awoke from his slumber. He shook his fur and stretched himself. He was hungry, so he began to sing a song dedicated to himself, as he considered his face, his paws, his back, and his tail.

\begin{align*}
\text{Sisi ma-stosto,} & \quad \text{Sisi ma-stosto} \\
\text{Paw my smooth,} & \quad \text{paw my smooth,} \quad \text{(bis)} \\
\text{Wica ite ma hdehdega} & \quad \text{Raccoon face my spotted (bis)}
\end{align*}
Uta kin iwa hpaye
Acorn carrying in consequence of I fell (bis) [the] [iwa hpaye = I fell down]

Manica - pamdu sinte awa hdu sdohan
Pocket-gopher hills tail upon mine drag along (bis) [to snow upon]

Literally:
My smooth paw, my smooth paw. My smooth paw, my smooth paw.
My spotted raccoon face. My spotted raccoon face.
I fell in consequence of carrying the acorn [I fell the acorn down].
I fell in consequence of carrying the acorn [I fell the acorn down].
My tail drags along on the pocket-gopher hill
[I drag my snowed upon tail along pocket-gopher hills].
My tail drags along on the pocket-gopher hill
[I drag my snowed on tail along pocket-gopher hills].

He stretched again, yawned, sniffed, and saw a beautiful lake ahead of him. Softly he trod his way until he stood over on the high bank of the lake, and he thought over where the most likely places were to find cranberries, artichokes, and the black-haw berries that made him sick when he climbed for them. He looked at the lake shore below him, and then he thought of fresh crawfishes, and his mouth watered, so he sang again.

Wapakake, wapakake [Wapapa kte, wapapa kte]
I shall bark, I shall bark [I bark shall, I bark shall]

potpanke yud [yuta] unyanpi kte
Cranberries eat we go shall

Heca wata eca cuwi omaokuye
Suchlike to eat truly mine sweeten [side] [with help or sick]
Pangi yud unyanpi kte
Artichoke eat we go shall

Heca wata eca cuwi omatage
Suchlike to eat truly internal mine bitter

Mna yud unyanpi kte
Blackhaws eat we go shall

Heca wata eca cuwi omasde
Suchlike to eat truly internal mine fuse [grease]

Matuska yud unyanpi kte
Crawfish to eat we go shall

Heca wata eca cuwi omawaste.
Suchlike to eat truly internal my good.

Literally:
"I shall bark, I shall bark!
We shall go to eat cranberries.
Truly, to eat suchlike sweetens my insides.[makes me sick]

We shall go to eat artichokes,
Truly, to eat suchlike makes my insides bitter.

We shall go to eat blackhaws,
Truly, to eat suchlike fuses my insides.

We shall go to eat crawfishes,
Truly, to eat suchlike refreshes my insides!"

He thought of this and that as he came down to the shore, his old hunting ground. "I know what I will do," he said to himself, "I will lie down on the sand and pretend that I am dead."

So the raccoon lay down as though he were dead. Presently the crawfishes began to appear on the scene. They began to examine raccoon's carcass, for at first they did not know what it was. They felt it, smelled it, and pinched it, and finally one, who seemed to be wiser than the rest, remarked: "People, this is Raccoon, our enemy, who used to crush and chew us up. He is dead." And they re-
examined the carcass. "Sure enough," they agreed, "He is dead. Let us dance around his body, now that we have no enemy to fear."

By this time every crawfish, old or young, had heard the news, and came to see the excitement. They began to beat the drum, and to dance to the song that the drummers sang.

Wica unya huhugapi ece
Raccoon you crushed us always

Wan'ji den ta wanke
One here dead lies

Wohiya wohiya
Conquered, conquered

Ha hin mina kokiju
Skin hair with cover united
[knife or my-you---to come together]

Literally:
"You Raccoon that always crushed us
One (of your people) lies here dead.
Conquered! Conquered!
Unite to cover ourselves with fur, [You unite mine with fur]
Unite to cover ourselves with fur

Just when the festivities were at their height Raccoon jumped up and began to crunch and gulp down the crawfishes. He swallowed old and young until none were left to tell the tale of that eventful day. Raccoon looked around to see if any had been overlooked, but there was no sign of anything along the shore. He felt very well satisfied with his bountiful meal.

Just then his stomach began to feel uneasy, and suddenly he heard a muffled voice, crying. It seemed to be that of a crawfish. He could see no one. The voice continued, saying: "Wica, cesdi!" (Raccoon, evacuate!)
"Oh," said Raccoon, "That must be one of them in my stomach. One that I failed to crush!"

Again the voice cried pitifully: "Wica, cesdi!"

"No," replied Raccoon, "Not until I have digested your pinchers!"

However, the crawfish began to twist, and turn, and crawl, and pinch until he began to afflict Raccoon with internal pains. At last Raccoon was obliged to evacuate him, and there must have been more than one crawfish left alive in his stomach, for from these who escaped the crawfish people again replenished the earth with their kind.52

TURTLE AND HIS WARPARTY

It was announced that Turtle and his warriors were going on the warpath to make war on the enemy. There were Bladder, Dragon-fly, Fire-brand, Grasshopper, Dung, Squirrel, and Turtle himself. The party left early in the spring as soon as warm weather set in. Dung was the first victim. He could not stand the warmth, and crumbled in the rays of the sun. So one of the party ceased to follow the footsteps of their leader.53

The remaining six travelled on until they came to a patch of woodland, when Bladder was pricked by a thorn and burst. Thus another warrior laid down his life.54

The five survivors proceeded full of vigor. They came to a river, and all crossed it successfully save Firebrand. He was extinguished with smoke and hissing. He disappeared in the current
and sank to the bottom.

Turtle encouraged his warriors, telling them to fear nothing, four even four could accomplish something. The path lay through a bog, however, and Grasshopper’s legs were caught in the mire and pulled off, so he too was left behind, never to see the enemies country, nor to share in bringing home war trophies to his people.

Now there were only three warriors left to travel on. Dragonfly, bereaved by the loss of his near relative, Grasshopper, wept. He tried to wipe his nose, but in attempting to do so he pulled off his own head.

Squirrel and Turtle kept bravely on alone. They were now in the outskirts of the enemy’s country, so they proceeded cautiously, watching and examining every object which appeared the least suspicious. Finally, when they heard voices, they halted, and Turtle gave Squirrel his plans and issued his orders and instructions.

"I will enter the camp and make myself known," said Turtle, "If anything happens, you keep on watch from the tree tops and come to me."

With these words they parted, the Turtle [Squirrel] taking his station in the tree top, while Turtle strolled into the camp all alone. Almost at once he was captured by some boys, who carried him into the village to show him to the people. Turtle stood calmly while the crowd surrounded him, some laughing, some gesticulating to one another. Turtle couldn’t stand to be jeered at, so he boldly announced: "I have come to make war!"

The people understood him, and the old men counselled that since
he had announced himself to be an enemy he should be treated as such. It was decided that he must die, and he was to be thrown into a kettle of hot water.

"But," said someone, "Perhaps we had better not do that, for if we cast him in he will kick and upset the pot, and someone may be scalded. That will not be good."

So the elders counseled again. This time they agreed to chop his head off, thinking that that would be the easiest way to get rid of him. They got an axe, and one man pulled out his head and neck while another raised the axe to take his life. Just as he swung his weapon, Turtle pulled his head in, and the man who was holding it had one of his fingers cut off. Thus Turtle counted a coup.

"Throw him in the air, and the fall will surely kill him," shouted someone in the crowd. This sounded good, so they selected a strong man who tossed him high in the air, like a lacrosse ball. But Turtle fell down on a lodge and broke through the roof and fell on a sleeping child and killed it. Thus he counted a second coup.

By this time the crowd was getting restless and the women were wailing, and the elders didn't know what to do. "Let us drown him," suggested someone. When he heard these words Turtle began to exhibit signs of fear. He thrust out his head and cried: "I am afraid of water!"

"Listen," said every one, "He says that he is afraid of water. Now we will get rid of him, this Turtle who comes to make war."55

They took him to the water and threw him in. Turtle scrambled for the shore, "Inh! Inh!" Surely it appeared that he was afraid of
water, for he swam back every time that they threw him in. "Let us cast him in the deep water," said someone, so they threw him as far as they could, and he sank out of sight. "Ah, surely he will be drowned this time," said all the people, and they thronged the shore to watch. Just then Turtle stuck out his head in the middle of the lake, and raising his arm as far as he could, he showed two fingers to let the people know that he had counted two coups, and he called to the crowd: "This is where I came from." Then he dove again, and presently came up once more to show his two fingers and taunt them with: "This is where I came from."

He kept this up until the crowd was angry and fell into a great commotion. They called upon two pelicans to come and drink the lake dry. The pelicans drank until they had drained the lake, all but a little pool in the center, and Turtle began to get excited. He kept diving and coming up again. The people began to shout and cheer, but just then, before anyone noticed what was happening, Squirrel rushed up and shot both of the pelicans, and the water all ran back into the lake again. This saved Turtle, and Squirrel retreated again to his tree top.

Such is the tale of Turtle and his war party.56

THE WOODPECKER AND THE CRANE

The woodpecker was in his winter quarters, a large hollow tree, when, late in the autumn a visitor came to talk with him about staying there for the winter. The woodpecker, being a non-migratory bird, knew by experience what northern winters are, and, like a good,
wise, elder brother he said: "You had better fly south where it is warm. The winters here are cold, and I have not enough food laid by for both of us." 57

The visitor, who was Crane, answered: "Yes, brother, but I want to stay up here for the winter. I have enough food stored up for the cold weather."

The woodpecker again spoke, saying: "My younger brother, hear me, and listen well to what I say. We have hard winters, and your legs are too long. You will freeze."

But the crane answered: "Brother, I am going to stay up here and live with you in this hollow tree for the winter. I have enough food to last till spring."

The woodpecker saw that it was no use to argue with Crane, so he said: "All right, then. You may stay with me for the winter. Bring your supplies up here."

So the crane was happy to think that he was to stay north for once. He went home and brought back his supplies. Most of it was psincinca or "young wild rice," an esculent bulb or root which grows along the rivers and lakes. He piled it up in a corner of Woodpecker's abode, and then he went back and brought some more.

Soon after this the cold weather came, and snow began to fall. That day the Woodpecker and the Crane stayed inside, and they built a fire. The crane did not seem to mind his first cold day. The next day was fine and the crane went outside and made tracks in the snow. He thought that the woodpecker must have been telling him something that wasn't so. Day after day he would go out and walk on the snow
bank, and, although every now and then there came a storm, he thought that it was an easy winter. It did not seem so cold as he expected.

The two birds were very happy, and along towards midwinter the days were warm and the snow began to melt, and the crane waded in the pools of water that formed here and there. He thought surely spring had come, so he ran into the house and told his brother that spring had come and he had even waded in the water. He took out his winter supplies and dumped them in a pile.

"Brother, what are you doing?" asked woodpecker.

"Why, spring is here now, you know. I have been down to the lake and waded in the water."

"No, my younger brother! This is not spring. Don't throw away your food, bring it in again. We will have more winter yet, with lots of storms.

But the crane knew too much about the weather, so the woodpecker said again: "Brother, when we have some more wintry days you will wish that you hadn't stayed up here. You will long for your psincinca."

But the crane only laughed and went out to wade in the water until he came in for the night, to sleep and dream of the fine weather that was coming in the morning. But next day he awoke to find that a storm had come during the night, and woodpecker had been up for some time and had a fire blazing. The crane looked out and he couldn't see anything. The storm kept up all day, and the crane had nothing to eat. The next morning the wind was still blowing, and Crane was very hungry. He ran out to where he had thrown his roots,
and he was able, by aid of his long slender bill to dig then out, one by one. But they were now frozen as hard as pebbles. Then his legs began to get numb, and he had a hard time to get back. He found the woodpecker sitting by the fire, cracking a nut.

"I told you what was coming," said the latter, "But you didn't believe me. Better stay inside we will still have more stormy days before winter is gone."

Crane made no reply. He sat before the fire, thinking of the warm south where his relatives must have been for some time, and he hung his head. Day after day he sat there, poking the fire with his long bill, until the fire turned his bill black, and burnt the top of his head red. He used his wing to brush up the ashes, and the sparks burnt the feathers black, and his beautiful white plumage was smoked to a dull gray color. All these changes came to him as a punishment for staying behind his people when they went south. And today, if you chance to see a sandhill crane, you will notice the black bill, red top, and dull gray color of the bird, with the wing feathers tipped with black. This is the history of his change, for once he had beautiful plumage, like his elder brother the Whooping crane.

All this time the woodpecker had not been idle, and as he rattled and cracked his nuts he thought of his younger brother the crane. "I'll invite my friend to come here for the purpose of asking those who are adventurous to go after the spring," he thought.

That night the guests came in, one by one, until woodpecker's lodge was crowded. Came the bear, panther, lynx, fisher, otter, mink, weasel, timber wolf, prairie wolf, coyote, fox, porcupine,
raccoon, squirrel, golden eagle, kite, and, last of all, the tadpole. It was indeed a great gathering, and the result of the council which they held was that the tadpole, fox, otter, and kite were selected to go after the spring weather.  

When the day set arrived the brave men set forth on their dangerous quest. It took many days before they arrived at the home of spring weather, which was inside a great enclosure. The door keepers were two mountain lions (panthers or pumas), and so the warriors paused and talked over who was to first attempt to go in. The lot fell upon Tadpole, who was instructed to try to slip through the door unnoticed. He was then to go to the chief, who was called the "Keeper of the Sun-flower," and make himself known. The kite and the otter were to wait outside, and, while the tadpole excited commotion, Fox was to sneak in also.

Kite and Otter recognized some of their summer friends inside, but the door-keepers were not pleased at all. Otter presently began to feel very uncomfortable in his warm winter fur, but Kite did not seem to mind. Meanwhile, Tadpole passed in and being so small that no one noticed him, he made his way straight to the Keeper of the Sun-flower. When Tadpole got to the Keeper of the Sun-flower he began to mumble something, but as he had no mouth he could not be understood, so a great crowd of excited spectators gathered around, and soon his deformity was noticed, and all began to exclaim, "He has no mouth!" and that drew still more people to the place. Even the door keepers became curious and left their posts, and this gave Fox his chance to slip in.
Tadpole kept on mumbling away, until someone cried, "Let us cut a mouth for him. He has some news that he is anxious to tell us!" So they cut a mouth for him, but, before he could speak, someone cried: "Fox has stolen the Sun-flower!" And everybody rushed to the scene. Sure enough, the Sun-flower was gone, and all who were good runners began to make chase. Fox tied the Sun-flower to the end of his tail and ran slowly to deceive his pursuers. He was in the lead, and the crowd was headed by the two panther door keepers. Fox played all the tricks he was capable of, and caused great excitement because of his narrow escapes. As the spring travelled wherever the Sun-flower was taken, the birds were free to go, and they went as they pleased, in flocks or in pairs.

For two days Fox ran on, carrying the Sun-flower at his tail’s tip. The Indians say that he still carries the scent of sun-flowers at the tip of his tail. Finally he grew tired, and otter took the flower, and ran over the frozen lakes and along water courses, dodging his pursuers. The ice behind him melted, and torrential floods followed, yet the best runners among the enemy, headed still by the mountain lions, were close behind. Now the kite swooped down and picked up the flower, and, with a speed surpassing all animals and most birds he disappeared from their sight. The last stretch was finished, and the kite brought the sun-flower to the hollow tree abode of the woodpecker and the sandhill crane. He was received with great joy.59

The next day the crane left the hollow tree and walked down to the lake shore in search of food. There he stood, watching the
coming of his feathered friends, the water birds. He found that he was unable to fly, because his wing feathers were so badly burnt, so he ran up and down the lake shore, happy to think that spring had come again at last. Such is the tale of the sandhill crane who wintered in the north land with his elder brother the woodpecker.

THE TOAD WHO STOLE A BOY

In a village there lived a woman who had twins. One was a boy and the other was a black dog. It happened that once, when she went visiting her friends, she left the baby boy in charge of the black dog at home. She made a long visit, saying that the babe was fast asleep. Just then she heard the dog give a sharp yelp, and jumping up she ran back. But it was too late, when she got to her lodge she found it empty, but there was a piece of flesh scorching in the fire.

The whole camp searched, but they found no trace of either boy or dog. The woman mourned day after day, and the days turned into months and years, and still the woman could be heard wailing as she rambled in the woods. The people at length became accustomed to hearing her, and no longer paid her any attention. There was, however, a young man, who lived away from all others, who followed a different mode of life, and who had never seen a human being. He heard her each day, and it touched him deeply.

This young man had grown up amidst the forest, and he was as timid as a fawn. Yet, down in his human heart there was a yearning for the love of a human mother. He was kept in the family of an old Toad Woman, and when he came home and told her about his feelings,
she said: "That is only an old drudge (wiwatosu) who you hear. You must not pay any attention to her."

The next day he went out in the woods again, having as his only companion a black dog. He heard the wailing again, and slowly made his way towards it, keeping out of sight as he did so. As they approached his dog began to bristle and snarl, and ran towards the scene. The youth followed, and when he got there he found a woman in a low tree, where she had climbed out of reach of the dog. He spoke to her.

"Why is it that you wail so sorrowfully? I have heard you weeping many a day."

"Many years ago," answered the woman, "I was happy. I had a baby boy and a black dog. While I was gone visiting the Toad Woman came and stole both of them, but before she got away the dog bit a piece out of her thigh and left it burning in the fire. I have been weeping for them ever since but I believe that you are the pair for whom I have been mourning."

The young man stood there listening to her, while the dog was on its hind legs, with its paws on the trunk of the tree, barking. The woman spoke again: "It shall be proved that you are the stolen pair," and so saying she squeezed her breast and the milk ran down on the trunk of the tree. Whereupon the dog smelled it, and eagerly licked it up. Then it began to whine and wag its tail. "You are my two children lost long ago," said the woman. And she came down from the tree. "There is one more proof that I need. If this woman whom you claim as your mother has a scar on her right thigh, then she is
surely the Toad Woman who stole you both."

The young man well understood what was said and she spoke again:
"When you go back home pretend that you are ill, and get the Toad
Woman to dance and expose her thighs. Then you will see if she has
that scar as I suspect." Then they parted, being sure that their
separation had come to an end.

The young man went home and pretended to be very sick. He did
all sorts of queer things, and wanted everything. "Mother," said he
to the old Toad Woman, "dance for me." The old woman complied.

"Show me your thighs," he begged.

"Yes," said the Toad Woman, "When he is sick he wants everything
done his way."

The youth saw that she had a scar on her right thigh, and he
said: "Mother, why is it that my brothers and sisters are so
different from me?" and she answered him: "Why, they are only a
mixture of various species of frog progeny."

But now the youth had seen and understood all that had happened.
He left the old Toad Woman and was reunited with his real mother.60

[End of Transcription]
NOTES

1Iktomi could change form at will. Among American Indians the trickster took a human appearance with: the Winnebago's Wakdjunkaga; the Kiowas' Sayday; the Blackfeet's Old Man; the Poncas' Ishtinike; the Arapaho's Who. Animal tricksters include the Ojibways' Hare, the Pawnees' Coyote and the Raven of Northwest tribes. Consult Alan R. Velie (1991:44-45).

2Although no systematic collection of Iktomi tales exist on par with the Winnebago stories collected by Radin (1956), other popular collections are those of Beckwith (1930:43:339-443), Deloria (1932), Walker (1917), and the lesser known, Wallis (1924).

3Bakhtin also talks about the Roman harvest holiday, the Saturnalia, marked by revelry and license to the point of reversal of convention. Iktomi also is the embodiment of this feature. Babcock, Bakhtin, Karl Kerenyi (Radin 1969:181) and Alan R. Velie (1991:44-45) point to the universality of this character throughout history.

4Black Elk told Neihardt this beginning signals "Ehani Woyakapi" or legend, but since the old people are mentioned it may signal "Ohunkakapi" or fiction made up by old people. Perhaps it signals both. This is not a hard fast rule to apply, but a general introduction as is "once upon a time". See DeMallie (1984:376) and thesis (p. 164) introduction to Skinner's folklore.

5In comparative Iktomi tales, his "member" is a euphemism for his penis.

6Deloria (1932:36-43) also presents a tale where Iktomi wraps up in a raccoon skin, yet the story varies and is more elaborate. Also see a variant in Barbara Babcock (1975:169) episode #7.

7Barbara Babcock (1975:170) includes a variant in episode #15.

8Stith Thompson (1966): J2152 Trickster puts on buffalo skill 86.

9Deloria (1932:43-46) gives a version of this episode. She comments that she heard various endings and could not tell which was "the correct version". Alternate endings included are shattering the skull, soaking the skull so it would stretch, drowning, building a fire to burn it off and burning himself.

10Wallis (1924:97-8) tale versions, "Spider is Outwitted by the Elk."

11A nighthawk, generally just before a thunderstorm, sweeps down and then makes a sudden turn upward with a curious explosive
sounds. See Deloria (1932:76).


13Deloria (1932:43-46) includes a very similar tale which varies the story line a little, in the bird being a hawk. Wallis (1924:73-75) tale "Spider and Hedja [Buzzard]" is similar but incorporates Skinner's spider and raccoon tale.

14Waterman (1914:44) compares explanations for the "dancing bird" motif and finds the Dakota attribute an origin explanation to the wood-duck's red eyes. Peter Hunter (1889) June, offers a very comparable tale, yet shows individualized delivery.

15Deloria (1932:19-25) has this tale involving pheasants rather than ducks. Frank B. Linderman (1915:17-23) has a version called "How the Ducks Got Their Fine Feather" which has similar motifs. Riggs (1983:110-114) collected a version of this from David Grey Cloud called "Bad Song" that he says corresponds with Omaha and Ponca tales. Babcock's (1975:169) version is episode #6. Wallis' (1924:93) "Spider, the Ducks, the Child, and the Mink" contains this motif.


17Roseberries were the humblest of foods, common and distained, except during famine. See Deloria (1932:198).


21Thompson (1966): K11.5 Trickster's race 90.

22"This is the end of the tail of the elk," Alanson Skinner says is the conventional ending of each story.


24Deloria (1932:11-19) calls this tale "Iktomi Marries his Daughter". The Wallis (1924:92) "Spider Pretends to Die," is this
same motif. Wallis' (1924:68) the "Spider and Fox" is a contest tale whereby the Spider triumphs again.

25"Tunkan" in Dakota is the word for "grandfather" and in sacred language is the word for "a stone" regarded as sacred. This outrageous behavior or breaking of convention signals humor through licensed sacrilege in the spirit of Bakhtin's (1984) saturnalia. Wallis (1924:96) "Spider and Rabbit," is comparable.

26Waterman (1914:45) compares explanations for the "imitating host" motif. Wallis'(1924:88-89) "Spider and Squirrel," lengthens this same motif, and is one of the few of his tales where the Spider is foolish and not the victor over another being.


28Wallis'(1924:62) "Spider and Beaver," is an outwitting motif whereby the spider triumphs.

29"Ce" is Dakota for "penis" and "mi" is Dakota for "my" or "mine".


31Skinner's version seems to play on the sounds of "ce" and "see." Deloria (1932:8-11) has a tale of Iktomi violating mother-in-law avoidance where he takes her on the warpath and returns years later with a host of children. Thompson (1966): T417 Lecherous son-in-law 109s. Wallis (1924:62-3) collected a tale, "Buffalo and Spider," which uses the triumph of the small over the large over-confident motif.

32Ruth Landes (1968:136) says a "beloved-child" is a child "born after parents' travail of some sort and consequently honored in public ceremonies and consecrated to ethical ideals." Walker (1980:300) says they are who have been honored by the "Hunka" ceremony. Deloria (1932:110;175) said a boy-beloved was a great honor and carried heavy obligation. Parents who wished to declare their child beloved must first give away many presents in the child's name. Then they must always be the foremost in doing kind deeds to the poor and needy in the child's honor. In return, the entire tribe set great store on the child. It insured him the deference and recognition of the people and affection as one on whose account many had benefited. He was often raised in a separate decorated tipi where poor always found welcome and food. This Skinner tale incorporates another told to Stephen R. Riggs (1893:130-143) by Michell Renville called "The Younger Brother" or "The Unvisited Island".

A fisher is a slender mammal like a weasel or marten, but larger, living in forested regions. Its fur is dark-brown or blackish.

Waterman (1914:43) compares the explanation of this motif between differing tribes. He says the Dakota explanation for the "fiendish woman" is that women cannot kill people by magic. Wallis (1924:80-81) includes this motif in the Iktomi tale, "Spider and Young Man."

Mentula is another term for penis.

The Dakota word for "the act" is "skan" or "han". The editor is uncertain why "chan" which means "tree; woods; day or night; or when" is used. The editor also questions the translation of "ke" which generally signifies the future tense of the first person. Later the adjective "niwasteka" or "your good..." is used and should be the representation here instead of "ni waste ke".

The Dakota word for "real" is "hca" or "hecahca" not ica.


A skin tipi in long use or that is old becomes smoke tanned and was usually discarded or reused by the poor.

Thompson (1966): Dd1841.3 Burning magically evaded 120.

Tipsinna is the Dakota turnip, a bulbous root eaten by the Dakotas in the beginning of the summer. It grows on the high dry prairies.

Thompson (1966): D251 Trickster becomes a dish 100.

Deloria's (1932:175-181) "Incest" also is about a boy tempted by his own sister, who is punished, but he becomes the tree.

"Mastinca" is Dakota for rabbit. "Kunsi, Kunsitku, or Unci" are Dakota words meaning "grandmother". "Siyo" is a "prairie chicken" and "Siyo-owaci" is literally "prairie chicken - dance ground" in Dakota.

Alanson Skinner says while a woman is catamenial all the medicine bags and war charms and sacred ceremonial clothing are taken from the lodge and hung on poles at some distance away, or on trees. After her period, the Dakota woman must go to some remote pond or river and there plunge in and cleanse herself. Even in winter she must cut a hole in the ice and bathe. To be catamenial is the
euphemism Skinner uses for menstrual. It is suggested that the menstrual cycle interferes with "medicine."

48The noun "hu" means bones (particularly of the legs). Riggs says the verb "hu" means to have intercourse with a female. "Huhu" of the verb denotes repetitious action. Therefore, the statement to the bull carries a double insult with either possible translation.

49Thompson (1966): K952 Monster killed from within 159; Q478 Eaten Heart 241.

50There is not a negative indicator in the Dakota sentence.

51"There seems to be a play on words here," comments Alanson Skinner. "Probably a pun on 'wasanka', which is made to appear to mean arrowshafts and beef. 'Tado' is the usual word for the latter, however." It is also likely word play on "wasanka" and "tatanka". "Wasanka" means arrows and "tatanka" means male buffalo.

52Alanson Skinner wrote on the bottom of this tale: Menomini, Potawatomi, Fox, Ojibway, Ioway and Omaha.


54Bladders were blown up and allowed to dry and used like oiled paper to carry greasy food or used as children's balloons, and all sorts of things. See Deloria (1932:79).


56Alanson Skinner wrote on the end of the tale: Menomini, Ojibway, Potawatomi and Ioway.

Deloria (1932:77-80) also has a variant of this tale. The ending of the tale exclaims whence came the saying, "Like a turtle about to be thrown into water," whenever someone pretends to hold back from the very thing he wants.

57This echoes of the "grasshopper and the ant motif".

58A kite is any of serveral hawks with long, pointed wings and usually a notched or forked tail.

59Thompson (1966): A1151 Theft of the seasons 60a.

60Cornelius Matthews' (1877:90-97) contains a version of "The Toad Woman".
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The Skinner-Onesheet ethnology and folklore collection alone presents a tremendous amount of information on the Eastern Dakota prior to 1925. The ethnology is a descriptive source on material culture and the recollection of social institutions. The collection is a more extensive presentation of Skinner's 1919 article in American Anthropologist. This information lends understanding to the folklore which incorporates social and material Dakota ways into the tales. The folklore collection is a valuable addition to the work of Deloria, Neihardt, and Wallis on the Dakota specifically.

The thesis acknowledges that these texts were not the only sections intended for a Skinner-Onesheet monograph (See Appendix II: "Outline for A Monograph on the Ethnology of the Eastern Dakota Indians"). Indeed, other aspects of Dakota life would have been included to enhance the collection presented. However, based on the information presented in the tales, one can grasp salient features that the Eastern Dakota society saw as appropriate content for discourse in this medium.

The tales map the traditional territory as the area surrounding the west, north, and east sides of the head of Coteau des Prairies. The mounds near Enemy Swim Lake, the catline pipestone quarry, the practice of the Grass Dance, and the legend of Hoop Ravine emphasize
the head of Coteau des Prairie. We can guess that the other tribes mentioned (Gros Ventres, Hidatsa, Mandan, Objibwa, Ogalala, Yankton, Cheyenne, Crow, Kiowa) contrast with this society's perceived borders and delimit the parameters of their experienced range. Communities define themselves through contrast to who they are not and where they have been--by their experience. From the identification of the terrain, -lakes, bog, woodlands and prairie, --from the trees and wood mentioned, food gathered and animals encountered we can surmise the varied environment experienced. We can filter out the society's use of the environment from the various tools, foodway utensils, domiciles, pastimes, lifeways, and attire described by the narrator. The material objects define the characters of the tales and pinpoint the features of the society.

Daily activities and hunting are mentioned with greater frequency than war. These tales refer to ordinary routine more than the unique. Roles are demonstrated, particularly, the role of a young man and what he should know about his world. The role of women, lodge and social organization, and honorific customs are also defined. The herald, the messenger, the winka, the wakan boy, the witch, the shaman, and the heyoka are pointed out and explained in passing. However, it is how one is to perform in response to the routine that is given emphasis--how to be a good host, a good guest, how to hunt, butcher, and prepare the food, how to honor the dead, the folly of immoral acts, the importance of spiritual respect and the risk of not being astute and aware. Life's daily plight is not the focus but the power gained by the transformation effected by
socialized knowledge.

We are given hints of the belief system. The Four Directions and the Six Directions, repetitions of four, origins and Unktehi, the ancestor song, the dream fast, the Medicine Dance are invoked with all seriousness and obligation. Waziya, Thunder, witches, winkas, and heyoka are regarded as elements to be aware of, realizing how they affect one’s life. Various concepts of the physical effects of beliefs, reincarnation, transformation, and conception are presented. The symbols denoted in the society are presented as well as the belief behavior.

In a bilingual society, it is interesting to note the codeswitched terms. Those presented in the native language are reflections of the culture and the value of the concepts they convey. The Dakota words for grandmother, friend, ancestor, soldiers, prairie turnips, berdache, tobacco bundle, raccoon, wild rice, old drudge, Great Spirit, Unktehi, Double Woman, Ursa Major, and God of the North are the terms which are more valued spoken in Dakota (See Dakota Glossary in Appendix IV). Rhymes also remain in the native tongue as the more automatic and natural response, though they translate easily enough lexically.

Looking again to Skinner’s outline for his monograph (See Appendix II: "Outline for a Monograph..."), the conceptual categories not covered in the ethnology as it exists in manuscript are covered in a contextual manner in the folklore of the Wahpeton, with the exception of the introduction. For example, take the category of religious concepts. From the tales alone we can derive a
list of cosmic, fantastic, environmental and flesh wakan figures. We are told which are capable of transformation, which influence health, endeavors to favor or detriment, and which demand compliance of behavior. We can derive a list of symbols and their associations alluded to in the tales for a glimpse of what could be included in that category. For example, the circle is associated with the lodge, the encampment, the womb, the bay, the water, transformation and reincarnation. Whether Skinner intended to extract this material from the folktale portion, or if he had separate information gathered from his informants to present in these categories is not clear.

The Skinner tales support Linda Dégh’s view that folklore is not independent of ritual, sociology and material culture. Folklore reflects the tension between the traditions preserved by the individual and the community. It fills a social need to encode values, essential social and ethnic information, and provide cultural cohesion (Dégh 1989:54-63). This is demonstrated by the wealth of information recoverable from the tales themselves. The contextual information in the Skinner ethnology and folktale collection vitalize the Dakota community of Amos Oneroad and reveal the socialization process folktales serve.

This thesis has presented the Skinner - Oneroad Eastern Dakota ethnology and folklore annotated with information that those lacking a specialty in the fields of anthropology, folklore, history or linguistics would find useful in understanding the texts. In addition, this thesis has recontextualized the texts in Sisseton-Wahpeton history, in biographic information concerning Amos Oneroad
and Alanson Skinner, and placed their research and texts in the perspective of the disciplines of their time.

The main goal of the thesis was to assemble material surrounding Skinner - Oneroad's work to further inform contemporary scholars about the Dakota prior to 1925. However, in so doing, it was impossible to ignore the researchers and the disciplines with the same goal in the early 1900's and their struggle over method and interpretation. It was likewise impossible to ignore Alanson Skinner, Amos Oneroad, and their relationship. The articulation of the information has as much to tell us about the early 1900's, academia and society in general, as the data they collected on the Dakota.

This thesis has suggested that the texts found contained description and narrative without embellishing explanation or interpretation. The thesis further suggests that by articulating the texts with the contextual information a dynamic dialogue is reactivated. The dialogue is reactivated between society, history, the disciplines, individual filters of that society and history, and the present. The dialogue reveals a negotiation of stance with each articulation, and reveals the points of stress, of change, and of tension. This dynamic process makes the folklore, in particular, more than "dry bones." The thesis has suggested analysis, but not conducted analysis for interpretation. This is only a point of departure, the goal having been an assemblage of material helpful to further study of the Dakota.
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APPENDIX I

AMOS ONEROAD NOTE

Amos Oneroad wrote field notes from which Skinner dictated his ethnology and folktales. This example is from the Skinner Collection in the Braun Research Library, of the Southwest Museum.

Braun Research Library
Southwest Museum
P.O.Box 128
Los Angeles
California 90041

The only ceremony before the game is for a brave to relate some deed of notable action, and that his favorite side will be able to accomplish that which and then he throws the ball.
APPENDIX II

OUTLINE FOR A MONOGRAPH ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE EASTERN DAKOTA INDIANS

[By Alanson Buck Skinner]

A. INTRODUCTION
   1. Location, former and present
   2. Numbers, former and present
   3. History traditional and post European
   4. Future prospects

B. CIVIL AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION
   1. Tribal Divisions
   2. Officers and their functions, government
   3. Warriors and War honors, War Regalia
   4. Functions of Warriors, duties etc.
   5. Privileges and exemptions of warriors
   6. War customs, conduct of war parties, war medicines etc.

C. SOCIAL LIFE AND ORGANIZATIONS
   1. Method of camping
   2. Societies
      a. Warriors societies or military organizations
      b. Religious and semi-religious societies
      c. Other ceremonies

D. LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL
   1. Customs of pregnancy and childbirth
   2. Customs connected with infancy
   3. Naming customs
   4. Puberty fasting
   5. Courtship and marriage. Ploygamy [polygamy] and divorce etc.
   6. Terms of relationship, etc.
   7. Mortuary customs and belief in the hereafter.

E. RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS
   1. Pantheon
   2. Belief and observances
   3. Ceremonies
   4. Sacred articles

F. MATERIAL CULTURE
   1. Houses, costumes, etc.
      1. Dress
      2. Dwellings
      3. Manufactures, processes, etc.
      4. Household utensils
      5. Weapons
      6. Musical Instruments
      7. Ceremonial Paraphernalia
      8. Games
      9. Art
II. Hunting and Fishing  
   1. Methods and utensils, traps, etc.  
   2. Medicines, lures, etc.  
III. Agriculture  
   1. Products of the fields  
   2. Other vegetal foods  
IV. Foods and their preparation  
   1. Meats  
   2. Vegetal foods  
V. Miscellaneous Customs  
   1. Names of seasons, months, and days  
   2. Miscellaneous. Numerical system  
G. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE
APPENDIX III

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APPENDIX IV

DAKOTA GLOSSARY

The following words are compiled from the Skinner manuscripts and supporting documents. The symbol ['] used after "h" represents a strong guttural, and after "c," "s," or "z" represents an aspirated sound. Skinner did not use a standardized transcription system, therefore the representations of the words are irregular.

akitcita: soldiers or braves
akicita wicatapi: "soldiers killing" or soldiers punishment
anpetu: day
basdohamp': foot shooting game
caske: first born boy
catanna: fourth born boy
catku: guest place
candipahta: little bags of tabacco; tobacco bundle
canotina OR
canotidan: god of woods; "Tree Dweller Spirit"
canothikapi: "sleep inside" house over grave in the ground
canwiyuze yuha: serving stick bearers
cé: penis
ceh'takpea: pail chargers
duta: red
Ehani Woykapi: legend, long time ago
hakedan: fifth born boy or pitiful last
hapanna: second born girl
hapstinna: third born girl
hepanna: second born boy
hepina: third born boy
Heyuska: "all friends", grass dance, or omaha dance
hihans' unwapah
h'oka: singers
hukahe: a yell signifying "ready"
hontka or huntka: cormorant bird
Hunka: parent or ancestor
hutanicutepi: ice game
icasdohe: sliding game
icapa yuha: drumstick owners
icapsinte yuha: whip bearer
Iktomi: spider
iticiyakask: uniting poles
iwakici: victory scalp dance
kansu: bowl and dice game
kipuna: friend (kicuwa)
Mahpiya-sina: Cloud Blanket
maka: earth
Manica: pocket gopher
mantka: snow arrow
Mastina: hare or prairie rabbit
matuska: crawfish
mawatani wacipi: a society
Mde-ipaksan: "Bent Lake"
mice: my penis
mna: blackhaw
mococko or mococs
nakicitanpi: kicking game
napesni dance: (literally "hand-no")
nigetankin kinyan: "big stomachs" or buffalo dance
Ohunkakapi: fiction made up by old people
okyakiciyew owasin: "all friends", grass or Omaha dance
Omaha kiyotag kapi: omaha setting
pangi: artichoke
pasidohanpe: snow snake
pezimi hänka: "grass dance" or Omaha dance
potpanke: cranberries
psincinca: young wild rice
siyo: prairie chicken
siyo-owaci: prairie chicken-dance ground
tahuka canhdeska: hoop and javelin
takapoppa: shinny
takapsica: lacrosse
tanpawkaya: birch bark square lodge
tatanka: male buffalo
teyakiciyapi: oldest or first wife
titonka: bark house
tipsina: prairie turnips
tiyotipi: soldier's lodge or council lodge
tokana wacipi: (perhaps the kit-fox feast)
tokana itcan: leaders of tokana wacipi
totonka okodakiciya: buffalo society
tosu: tent poles
tukuskanskan: "moving stone" spirit or god of motion
Uncina: grandmother; Kunsi, Kunsitku or Ucni
Unktehi: water monster
wacanagiwuhapi: ghost
waaawayaka: overseers of buffalo hunt
wahinyajice: bird down feathers
wakan: mysterious power
wakanheja: children
wakan wacipi: medicine eating feast; medicine dance
wakiconza: executioner or councilors
wanagi: soul
wanske: fourth girl
wanwakan: sacred arrow
wapanta: spirit of departed bundle
wapiya: medicine man
wasanka: arrowshafts, beef [tado]
waste: good, fine
wayutanpi: waiters
Waziya: God of the North
Wica-akiyuhipa: Ursa Major
Wica-ite-hdega: raccoon
wicasa itancan: honored man
wicasa yatapi: chief
wihake: fifth girl
winkta: berdache
winona: first girl
Winyan Nupapi: "Double Woman"
witansnaon okiye: "those who court virgins" ceremony
wiyohnakiya: food dipper
wiwatoksu: an old drudge
wohanpi: ceremonial marriage
wotawe: consecrated war weapon; aromor (club, speer, arrow, horn, gun)
woyakapi: "They told it then", true experiences
# APPENDIX V

**STITH THOMPSON’S MOTIFS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A810</td>
<td>Primeval water 29</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A540</td>
<td>Divinity teaches arts and crafts 12</td>
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<td>D1880</td>
<td>Rejuvenation 50</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>B300</td>
<td>Helpful animals 146</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>D550</td>
<td>Transformation by eating or drinking 132a</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>D1551</td>
<td>Magic parting of water 15b</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B500</td>
<td>Magic power from animals 146c</td>
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<tr>
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<td>D651</td>
<td>Transformation to kill enemies 26</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D876</td>
<td>Magic provider destroyed 109z</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>G61</td>
<td>Relative’s Flesh unwittingly eaten 98.226.</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
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<td>Transformation to kill enemies 26</td>
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<td>B500</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>G61</td>
<td>Relative’s flesh unwittingly eaten 98,226</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>D1032</td>
<td>Inexhaustible food supply 210</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>D651</td>
<td>Transformation to escape death 117b</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>F0</td>
<td>Journeys to other worlds 192</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>B600</td>
<td>Animal marriages 3</td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>C15</td>
<td>Wish for star husband realized 193</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>A21.1</td>
<td>Visit to land of stars 118c</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>D1890</td>
<td>Woman who fell from the sky 27</td>
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<td>T581</td>
<td>Child removed from dead mother 152,166i</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>F913</td>
<td>Contest in magic 182</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>D2062</td>
<td>Victim rescued when swallow is killed 159a</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>J2152</td>
<td>Magic aging 50b</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>J2153</td>
<td>Trickster puts on buffalo skull 86</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>J2153</td>
<td>Trickster carries by birds and dropped 80</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>J2154</td>
<td>Trickster eats medicines that physic him 109h</td>
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<td>G400-G599</td>
<td>Trickster eats scratch-berries 109k</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>K11.5</td>
<td>The child and the cannibal 268</td>
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<td>E32</td>
<td>Trickster’s race 90</td>
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<td>D998,</td>
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<td>H451</td>
<td>Resuscitated eaten animal 114a</td>
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<td>T417</td>
<td>Lecherous son-in-law 109s</td>
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<td>T415</td>
<td>Brother and sister incest 8</td>
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<td>G532</td>
<td>Help from ogre’s child 171</td>
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<td>Vagina dentata 115</td>
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<td>Dd1841.3</td>
<td>Burning magically evaded 120</td>
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<td>94</td>
<td>D251</td>
<td>Trickster becomes a dish 100</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>K952</td>
<td>Monster killed from within 159</td>
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<td>Q478</td>
<td>Eaten Heart 241</td>
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<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>F1027</td>
<td>Turtle’s war Party 108</td>
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<td>108</td>
<td>K581</td>
<td>Drowning punishment for turtle 108</td>
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<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>A1151</td>
<td>Theft of the seasons 60a</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX VI

LETTER OF RELEASE FOR PUBLICATION

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO PUBLISH MANUSCRIPTS

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P.O. Box 41558 Los Angeles, CA 90041-0558, (213) 221-2164

Date: July 14, 1992

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(57) “Traditions of the Wahpeton Dakota Indians” (1924)

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VITA

Laura Lee Anderson, born November 2, 1950 in Choteau, Montana, graduated from Choteau High School in May 1969. At Moorhead, Minnesota, she simultaneously attended Concordia College focusing on Political Science and Moorhead State College pursuing Scandinavian Studies. Laura married Gary Clayton Anderson in 1971. She transferred and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Government and in History from the University of South Dakota, Vermilion, on August 9, 1972.

Laura became interested in translating Dakota, a Siouan language, in nineteenth century Dakota documents. While researching at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois in 1980-81, she studied Lakota at the Center for Indian Studies under Calvin Fastwolf. Anxious to enhance her work through the study of linguistics, Laura entered Texas A&M, Department of English and worked with Dr. Barbara Johnstone and Dr. Kathleen W. Ferrara. She then transferred to the Department of Anthropology to complete her Master's degree.

Laura is a member of the Conference on Siouan/Caddoan Languages. She teaches Beginning Cherokee and Cherokee II at the University of Oklahoma. Laura will continue her interest in Native American Indian languages, folklore, and culture as a PhD student in Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. Her address is: 4217 Brook View, Norman, Oklahoma, 73072, where she lives with her husband Gary, and three children Kari, Evan, and Jon.