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The Sacred Pipe in American Indian Religions

PAUL B. STEINMETZ

The Sacred Pipe in American Indian Religions has a unique position in the history of primal religions throughout the world in the wide variety of symbolism associated with it and in its many ceremonial uses. Despite this importance there has never been a comprehensive study of the Sacred Pipe in its religious significance. The purpose of this bibliographical essay is to list all the important literature and to bring together an abundance of ethnographic data so that the religious meaning of the Sacred Pipe can be understood and appreciated. I will present the Sacred Pipe for its own sake and not simply in its social functions. It is my conclusion that the Sacred Pipe's ultimate meaning is in its sacramental nature, since it is a Native American symbol that makes all of life sacred.*

The literature has been organized in the following sections: 1) An Introductory Overview; 2) The Sacred Pipe in Mythology; 3) American Indian Attitudes towards the Sacred Pipe; 4) The Sacred Pipe in Ceremony; 5) The Chief and the Sacred Pipe; 6) The Sacred Pipe in the Societies; 7) The Sacred Pipe in Peace and War; 8) The Sacred Pipe as a Sacramental for All Needs; 9) The

*I am influenced by W.E.H. Stanner's development of the sacramental nature of *totemism* in "Aboriginal Religion." (Stanner 1960)

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Sacred Pipe as the Symbolic Man; 10) The Sacred Pipe and Christianity; 11) Further Research on the Sacred Pipe. The contribution each section makes to our understanding of the Sacred Pipe as a sacramental will be indicated at the beginning of each section.

An Introductory Overview

This section shows that there were many different kinds of pipes, that, although they were common to all tribes, their religious meaning and sacramental uses were very diverse and that there were non-sacramental uses of the pipe.

Although the first pipes were made from the bones of animals and are undoubtedly the oldest (Hodge 1910, Pt. 2, p. 257; Wallace 1952, p. 98), elaborately carved effigy pipes, which are equal to the best productions of Mexico and Peru, have been discovered in the mounds of the Mississippi Valley and are at least a thousand years old (Squier and Davis 1848, pp. 246, viii). It appears that simple tubular pipes were characteristic of the entire United States and Central America, but other types were more localized. The well-known catlinite pipe bowl dates only from the beginning of the nineteenth century (Wedel 1961, p. 123). This pipe is called catlinite because George Catlin sent a sample of the pipestone to Boston for analysis (Catlin 1841, v. 2, p. 206). The Catlin manuscript in the British Museum is a valuable document containing drawings by the author (Catlin 1979). Material in the U.S. National Museum is also important for containing examples of many kinds of pipes (McGuire 1899). George West classifies nineteen different types of pipes and gives their locations throughout North America in a series of maps. Volume one contains the text and volume two an excellent collection of photographs (1934).

Trade among tribes was a major means of the wide distribution of the Sacred Pipe. Native Americans apparently carried pipes for as far as a thousand miles for trade. In 1892 it was claimed that not even one percent of the pipes were manufactured by the Native Americans. They sold much of the pipestone to White traders who produced pipes on lathes near the quarry at Pipestone, Minnesota. Between 1864-1866 the Northeastern Fur Company manufactured nearly two thousand pipes and traded them with the Native Americans of the upper Missouri (Holmes 1919, pp. 262-263).

However, there were considerable differences in the use of the Sacred Pipe by the Native American tribes. Among the California tribes the religious offering of tobacco and smoking of pipes were limited in practice (Kroeber 1925, p. 826). During the Yurok Jump Dance, a salmon rite held by the river at Wetlkwau, the individual in charge of the ceremony kept a pipe that was regarded with the greatest fear (Ibid., p. 60). A Yokut shaman could both cause and cure sickness by blowing pipe smoke over the patient. Although most pipes were made of pottery, shamans used ancient stone pipes (Ibid., p. 653). Pipes were generally small and crudely made, since the common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. Ingested tobacco served as an emetic and was thought to impart supernatural efficacy (Ibid., p. 538). Among the Luiseño Tribe the first step in the puberty ceremony was to make the girls swallow balls of tobacco as an ordeal. Only those who did not vomit were considered virtuous (Ibid., p. 674).

In the Pueblo area of the Southwest simple tubes were almost universal except for the elbow pipes developed in recent years (Fewkes 1895-96, p. 734). Henry Schoolcraft states that a pipe of serpentine rock, a straight tube which admits a wooden handle, was used in Navajo ceremonies (1856, v. 4, pp. 435-436). J. Walter Fewkes states that smoking a huge stemless pipe was one of the most sacred acts performed by the Antelope priest during the Tusayan Snake Dance at Walpi in Hopi. The priest "blew several dense clouds of smoke upon the sand altar so that the picture was concealed" (Fewkes 1895-96, p. 734). The smoke was considered emblematic of rain clouds and thus the term "cloud blower" was used as a description of the pipe (Roberts 1931, p. 149). The tobacco pouch was a ceremonial property often depicted in sandpaintings as a possession of Sun and Moon (Reichard 1970, p. 605).

An entirely different use of the pipe is found in Alaska where the Eskimo felt an Asian influence from Siberia and used smoking as a means of intoxication (Harrington 1932, p. 183; Murdoch 1887-88, pp. 70-71). In the eastern part of the United States the pipe was known as the Calumet or Peace Pipe, becoming a major symbol of the Native American (Fenton 1953, pp. 152-206; West 1934, pp. 231-248). Among the Plains and Prairie Tribes the pipe achieved a unique importance. Luis Kemnitzer states that "if any one artifact symbolized the identity, history and religion of the Lakota . . . it is the pipe" (1970, p. 44). I found among the Lakota

that no religious ceremony ever takes place without it. The same is true of the Montana Cree (Dusenberry 1962, p. 117).

Although the pipe is frequently called a Peace Pipe, there is also a War Pipe used to organize and lead war parties as will be seen below. There was also a tomahawk pipe used both in connection with peace and war (McGee 1893-94, p. 172). Most pipes were smoked by one person at a time. However, James Mooney states that the Cherokee had a pipe bowl with seven holes to be smoked at peace councils by seven people at the same time (1897-98, p. 397).

Pipes were also in constant use for non-sacramental purposes, including for pleasure—a fact established by early travellers. In 1637 the Jesuit Fathers noticed that the Native Americans in the Quebec area were excessive smokers so that a missionary should provide himself with a tinder box or a burning mirror to light their pipes (Thwaites 1897 etc. volume 12, p. 117). Steven R. Riggs states that smoking takes up much of their time. When the camp moves, the women pack and start off while the men sit down and take a last smoke (1869, pp. 21-22). Catlin claims that there was no custom more uniformly constant in use nor higher in value (1841, volume 1, p. 235). When this developed is uncertain. Clark Wissler says that the Native Americans apparently smoked for pleasure where tobacco was plentiful. In areas where it was less abundant, it was saved for ceremonial purposes (Wissler 1966, p. 65). But according to George A. West, “. . . smoking for pleasure seems to have developed among the Indians after the advent of the white man” (West 1934, p. 238).

Although Gladys Nomland gives an example of a northern California Athabascan woman shaman who smoked an old tubular pipe (1931); apparently it was not the general practice for women to smoke in pre-contact days but in trade days the older women were fond of smoking for pleasure, using a smaller pipe than that preferred by the men (Wissler 1966, p. 65). This helps us to appreciate the sacramental nature of the Sacred Pipe by way of contrast.

The Sacred Pipe in Mythology

Mythology is the primary source of the Sacred Pipe's sacramental nature. “The pipe holds an important part in the mythology and ritual of almost all our tribes, east and west . . . ”

(Mooney 1896, Part 2, p. 1063). The pipe is used even in the passing on of myths. The Arapaho and the Gros Ventre recite the origin of the land and the manner in which the pipe and the corn were given to the ancestors during the ceremony of uncovering the pipe, but the Arapaho refuse to tell the myth in its entirety so that only fragments of it have been recorded by the White man (Carter 1938, p. 73). The corresponding Cheyenne myth takes four smokes, that is, four consecutive nights to relate. "So sacred is this tradition held that no one but the priest of the pipe dares to recite it, for fear of divine punishment should the slightest error be made in the narration" (Mooney 1896, part 2, p. 960). Among the Kiowas "come and smoke invitations" were shouted by the host in front of his tipi where the pipe was passed around and smoked while men recounted the tribal myths (Mayhall 1962, p. 16).

We will examine: 1) creation myths; 2) myths relating the Sacred Pipe to nature; 3) variations of the Lakota myth of the Woman bringing the Calf Pipe; 4) myths relating the Sacred Pipe to magic; 5) and myths of the origins of tobacco. We will see how myth gives a unique meaning to the pipes of various tribes.

In creation mythology the Sacred Pipe is associated with Sacred Time, the time in the beginning, the "illo tempore" of Mircea Eliade. The Sacred Pipe is sacramental because it makes Sacred Time present now. In a Gros Ventre myth the primeval keeper of the Flat Pipe, known as Earthmaker, was the only human to survive a flood. He made a raft of logs and put the Pipe on it. He sent animal survivors to the bottom of the waters to bring up the mud from which the earth was made. Since he was the only human survivor, he was lonely and so made a man and a woman from the mud. He taught them about the pipe and, when the people multiplied, they followed its teaching (Cooper 1957, pp. 435-537). In an Arapaho version Earthmaker was floating in a pipe bowl instead of the raft (*Ibid.*, p. 435). In a Hidatsa myth First Creator and Lone Man were co-makers of the earth. First Creator caused the people who were living below to come up, bringing with them their garden produce. The people came up following a vine until one woman heavy in pregnancy broke the vine. Lone Man carried a wooden pipe but he did not know what it was used for. First Creator ordered Male Buffalo to produce tobacco for Lone Man's pipe. This act explains the use of pipes in religious rituals and the concept of tobacco as something

sacred (Bowers 1965, p. 298). In a Caddo myth men and animals were brothers living under the ground. When they discovered the entrance of the cave leading up to the earth, an old man was the first to climb up, carrying in one hand fire and a pipe and in the other a drum. His wife came up next with corn and pumpkin seeds. As soon as the wolf came up, he closed up the hole so that some of the people and animals remained below. Because they had the pipe, drum, corn and pumpkin seed, they were a People (Mooney 1896, Part 2, pp. 1093-1094). In a Montana Cree myth before the Creator went far away where no one would see him, he left four important things: "Fire, Pipe (and the rock from which the pipe is made), Pipe stem (and the tree from which the stem is made), and sweetgrass. The tobacco is already in the pipe." He told them that these are the things to use to make any connection with him (Dusenberry 1962, p. 66).

Myths relating the Sacred Pipe to nature make it a sacramental expression of one of the basic Native American values, that of being in harmony with nature. All of nature is included, from a tiny worm to the stars and the thunder. This is shown in the following Blackfeet myths. A hunter was sitting in bed smoking before a large decayed piece of burning wood. He saw a worm crawling along it and heard singing. The worm became a person holding a medicine pipe with a straight tubular bowl and a decorated stem. While singing "the fire is my medicine," the worm person transferred the pipe to the man. In the second myth a hunter came to a mountain top to fast for four days. He heard singing from above: "The Seven Stars say, 'My pipe is powerful.' Old Man says, 'My pipe is powerful. He hears me.'" The smallest star became a person and gave him a medicine pipe. In another myth after a hunter killed four elk, he heard Coyote singing: "Fine meat, I want to eat it." The hunter gave an elk to Coyote in return for a medicine pipe. In a final myth a girl married Thunder and was taken to a high mountain lodge. An old man taught his daughter-in-law how to bring in the bundle containing the medicine pipe. She gave birth to two boys. The Thunder allowed her to return to her parents' lodge to announce that she would return in four days to bring the medicine pipe. Thunder came with the woman, the two boys and the pipe. After the ceremony of transferring the pipe took place, Thunder left the younger child. Now, when Thunder threatens, the people say that for the sake of the younger child he heeds their prayers (Wissler 1908, pp. 89-91).

In Wichita mythology a star named "I am a Young Man when the Dawn comes up" gave a black pipe and a white eagle feather to a young man at dawn. He took the pipe in a gesture of blessing and carefully blessed himself with the feather. The star gave the instructions that the young man should speak to him in a beseeching way at dawn so that he could take pity on him (Curtins 1907-30, Volume 19, pp. 88-89). In another myth a young man walked over the water to where a beautiful woman with a black pipe was standing. She told him to ask for whatever he desired. He made the mistake of desiring her beauty. However, on admitting his guilt, he chose the black pipe. She instructed him that before hunting he should throw the first puff of smoke to the water for that is hers and he would have plenty of food. The name of the spirit was "Woman Forever in the Water" (Ibid. Volume 19, p. 94). In Seneca mythology the husband of the chief's youngest daughter lit and smoked his pipe. ". . . the bull frog [carved on the bowl] croaked and the blacksnake [carved on the stem] tried to swallow the bull frog. All the people looked on in wonder, and they said, 'We have never before seen a man with orenda so powerful'" (Curtin and Howitt 1910-11, p. 134).

A famous Lakota myth is one where a woman brings the Calf Pipe. Its many versions dramatize how different meanings are associated with the Sacred Pipe even within the same tribal tradition. For example, the Black Elk version, as related to Joseph Brown, gives the ceremonial meaning, while in the Phillip Percy version it is associated with war. In fact, each version of the Lakota tradition has its own unique contribution to the sacramental nature of the Sacred Pipe. In a time of famine two hunters looking for buffalo saw a beautiful woman coming from the sky. One hunter had evil desires towards her and was reduced to a skeleton. The woman instructed the other hunter to prepare the people for her return. Preparations were made and the people were all excited. Suddenly, she appeared, entered the lodge and presented the pipe. She told them that their prayers through the pipe would always be answered. As she left she turned into a buffalo calf from which the pipe receives its name.

This is the basic myth. However, eleven versions are the source of widely different meanings of the Calf Pipe. In the Black Elk versions, as recorded by Joseph Brown in 1948, the pipe would become the center of seven religious ceremonies: 1) Sweat Lodge; 2) Vision Quest; 3) Girls' Puberty Rite; 4) Keeping the Soul; 5) Making Relatives; 6) The Sun Dance; and 7) Throwing the Ball.

A red stone with seven circles symbolized these rites (Brown 1953, pp. 3-9). Black Elk gave a much briefer account to John Neihardt in 1932, mentioning only one ceremony, *The Keeping of the Soul*, but instead giving an incident not found in Brown:

Some hunters went out and got a buffalo and it was in the spring of the year when the calves are in the womb yet. They got the insides out and found a calf in it and cut the womb open and to their surprise it was a human in there. It looked like an old woman. The hair was pure white. All the men gathered there and saw it. This actually happened 80 years ago (Neihardt n.d. p. 2).

The difference between these two accounts is so great that it is likely that the Black Elk account in Brown was the result of Black Elk's reflection between 1932 and 1948, which proves how living and developing a mythological tradition is.

Nevertheless, there are other versions of the basic myth of which only the important differences will be summarized. According to the Finger versions, the woman was "without clothing of any kind except that her hair was very long and fell over her body like a robe." The woman told the good hunter that when she entered the village, ". . . the men must all sit with their heads bowed and look at the ground until she was in their midst." One man failed to do this and a puff of black smoke blew into his eyes so that from then on he had very sore eyes as if biting smoke was in them. The woman entered the circle and served food first to the little children and then to the women and then she bade the men to look up and served them (Walker 1980, pp. 109-111). Thomas Tyon confirms that the woman was very beautiful and completely naked with long hair (*Ibid.*, p. 149). A contemporary Lakota medicine man told me that she was completely naked as a temptation to the hunters (Moses Camp 1977).

In the Sword version the woman feigned to give the pipe three times and gave it the fourth time, a ceremonial practice still in use today. She stayed four days and taught them everything possible. She told them that buffalo and other animals were to be eaten but that certain foods were forbidden: snake, lizards, toads, crabs, buzzard, eagle, owl, crow, hawk, magpie, cat, moles, weasels and squirrels. She also said that those who fought within the tribe must be friends. But those who were enemies

(outside the tribe) were not to be friends; and as enemy outsiders will remain. She said that everything done in warfare was to be accounted as good deeds. The chiefs are to use the pipe to resolve a feud that would develop from avenging a murder within the tribe (Deloria 1938, pp. 21–23). Percy Phillips states that

from the first enemy that shall be killed through the power of the pipe an ear shall be cut off and tied to the pipe-stem. The first scalp to be taken shall be treated in the same way. . . . A few days after the pipe had been brought, there was a quarrel within the camp in which two people were killed. In accordance with the woman's command they cut the ear from one and tied it to the pipe stem, together with the scalp, and that ear and scalp are on the pipe to this day (Dorsey 1906, pp. 327–328).

Ernest Two Runs said that “. . . after the woman left, they went buffalo hunting and found the woman among the buffalo; so they killed the woman and cut off her ears and tied them to the Calf Pipe, now meaning ‘‘Whatever I hear with my ears is the meaning of my generation’’ (Meekel n.d., p. 3). This version is unusual in claiming that the woman was killed. John Smith reports:

From the quiver on her back she took six bows and arrows. These she gave to six young men known for their bravery and truthfulness. She told these men to go to the top of a certain hill where there grazed six hundred buffalo. In the middle of this herd would be found six men. These men were to be killed and their ears cut off and attached to the stem of the Sacred Calf Pipe (Smith 1967, p. 3).

In the Lone Man version speeches are prominent. The chief makes a speech welcoming the maiden and she in turn gives lengthy speeches concerning daily living to the whole tribe and individually to the women, children, the men and finally to the chief. She said that “. . . the time will come when you shall cease hostilities against other nations. Whenever peace is agreed upon between two tribes or parties this pipe shall be a binding instrument’’ (Densmore 1918, pp. 65–66). In the Iron Shell version the woman represents the Buffalo People and is proud to

be a sister to the Lakota. She talked four days with the women, children, men and the leader on how to take care of the pipe. Before leaving she lit the pipe and offered it to the Sky, the Earth and the Four Directions (Hassrick 1964, pp. 257-260). In an account of Captain J.M. Lee one hunter was about to kill the woman because she was not of their own tribe. She said that the purpose of the pipe was to establish peace within the tribe and no one who kills a member of his own tribe must be allowed to smoke it (Mooney 1846, Part 2, pp. 1062-1063). Finally, Garrick Mallery gives another version in his explanation of the Baptiste Good winter count:

. . . with the pipe she gave them a small package, in which they found four grains of maize, one white, one black, one yellow and one variegated. The pipe is above the buffalo. She said, "I am a buffalo, the White-Buffalo Cow. I will spill my milk over the earth, that the people may live." She meant by her milk maize, which is seen in the picture dropping from her udders (Mallery 1893, p. 290).

There is another important Sioux myth in which the Great Spirit called the American Indian nations to Pipestone Quarry, stood on the precipice of the red pipestone rock, broke off a piece and made a huge pipe, smoking it in the Four Directions. He told them that the stone was red because it was their flesh and that they must use it for pipes of peace and avoid war on this land. At the last puff of the pipe his head went into a great cloud and the whole surface of the rock was melted and glazed for several miles (Catlin 1841, Volume 2, p. 164). When Catlin was 150 miles away from the quarry, he was surrounded by a group of angry, threatening Sioux who told him that "as this red stone was a part of their flesh, it would be sacriligious for the white man to touch or take it away . . . because a hole would be made in their flesh and the blood could never be made to stop running" (Ibid., p. 166). But, as was shown above, a few years later the Native Americans would be selling it to the White man, showing how quickly religious attitudes change. The quarry was visited for centuries by many tribes " . . . who have hidden the war club as they approached it, and stayed the cruelties of the scalping knife, under fear of the vengeance of the Great Spirit, who overlooks it" (Ibid., pp. 166-167). However, at a later date a Mandan complained to Catlin that the Sioux had taken over the quarry for

their own use exclusively. "My friend, we want to visit our medicine—our pipes are old and worn out. My friend, I wish you to speak to our Great Father [in Washington, D.C.] about this" (Ibid., p. 170).

According to Beckwith the red pipestone was the blood of two rival American Indian tribes who were at war with each other and the pipe was given to achieve peace. Among the Arikara the red stone is the blood of the original buffalo ". . . whose horns seem to reach the sky (Beckwith 1930, p. 425). A contemporary Lakota told me that ". . . the red pipe bowl is the Indian's blood, the blood of a woman. The stem is the breath of a man. The two together guarantee the future generations. If the pipe is lost, it will be the end of the Sioux people" (Looking Horse 1979).

In Navajo mythology the Sacred Pipe is associated with magical practices. This reflects the Navajos' preoccupation with witchcraft which is present among the Plains tribes only to a minimal degree. In one myth two boys went on a journey to see their father, the Sun. The Sun tested them to see if they were his sons. As one of the tests the Sun offered them four large pipes to smoke. The wind warned them that the tobacco was poisonous, but they smoked and remained unharmed. After passing all the tests a rainbow bridge was placed across the water so that they could pass on (Curtis 1907-30, Volume 1, pp. 102-104). The San Carlos Apache have a similar myth in which the spider spins a thread from one boy to the house of the Black Sun for him to travel on (Goddard 1918, pp. 9-11). Another Navajo myth relates the pipe to the Night Chant ceremony. Two jeweled pipes lay beside a god sitting on the western side of the hogan. He filled the pipes with tobacco, lit them and passed one each to his right and his left and all assembled smoked. Two large Owls, one on each side of the entrance, were the last to smoke. They drew in deep draughts and puffed them out violently and countless people came in from all directions. At midnight lightning flashed, followed by heavy thunder and rain which Water Sprinkler sent in anger because he had not been informed of the dance before it began. But a smoke with the assembled Holy People appeased him. Soon after the chant began and continued until morning (Curtis 1907-30, Volume 1, p. 115). In a final Navajo myth Frog, a mythical being with magical powers, had a turquoise pipe which he filled with tobacco and lighted by holding it to the Sun. He inhaled the smoke and it came out of the holes all over his

body. Rainboy was warned not to smoke the pipe nor pick up a magic stone axe since both actions would kill him (Reichard 1970, pp. 439-440).

I found only one myth relating the pipe to magic outside the Navajo tradition. The strongest living Mandan man, who defeated White people in several wrestling matches,

. . . always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for were he to touch another part of it the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner he empties his pipe, throwing the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding stops immediately. They said nobody can touch this man's face without bleeding at nose and mouth . . . (Dorsey, 1889-90, p. 511).

There are several myths relating to the origin of tobacco. Since the Sacred Pipe is never used in ceremony without tobacco, these myths are important in understanding its meaning. The fact that tobacco must be stolen from the gods brings out its super human nature. In an Iroquois myth a boat filled with medicine men passed near a village causing death to some of the inhabitants. The next day those who escaped death found strange beings asleep at each end of the boat. A loud voice told them that they would receive a great blessing by destroying these creatures. So the villagers burned them and from their ashes rose the tobacco plant (Smith 1880-81, p. 79). According to a Menominee myth a man detected a delightful odor which he discovered was tobacco. A giant guarding it told him that he would have to wait a year since the spirits had just smoked during their annual ceremony. However, the man stole a pouch of tobacco and was pursued by the giant. When the man ". . . reached a certain prominent peak, the opposite side of which was a high cliff, he suddenly lay flat on the rocks while the giant leaped over him and down into the chasm beyond." The man was then able to throw the bruised giant violently on the ground and told him that for his meanness he would become a grasshopper, "the jumper," and a pest to those who raise tobacco (Hoffman 1892-93, Part 1, pp. 205-206). In a Cherokee myth an old man had to be kept alive by smoking and, as a consequence, the tobacco was used up. The son took a hummingbird skin out of his medicine bag, put it on and turned into a hummingbird. He flew

over the mountains to the tobacco field and put some of the leaves and seed into his medicine bag. He was so small and swift the guards did not notice him. On his return he took off the hummingbird skin and turned back into a man again. " . . . He found his father very weak, but still alive and one draw at the pipe made him strong again. The people planted the seed and have had tobacco since" (Lowie 1920, p. 112). It was an elaborate ceremony (Ibid., pp. 161-173) with a mythological tradition (Ibid., pp. 176-189).

Native American Attitudes Towards the Sacred Pipe

Native American attitudes towards the Sacred Pipe further our understanding of its sacramental nature by showing that the pipe is set apart and consequently surrounded by taboos and strict rules. Its power must be safeguarded. Since the Sacred Pipe is both beneficial and dangerous, it is both loved and feared. This is especially true of a tribe's original pipe. These attitudes help us to appreciate the ambivalence of the sacred.

To the American Indians, Pipestone Quarry in Minnesota was a sacred place which demanded respect and special taboos, which is documented by Sidney Ball:

L.N. Nicollet, who visited the quarry . . . in 1838-39 (1843, pp. 15-17) . . . adds that the Indians believe that when they visit the quarry, they are always saluted by lightning and thunder and that its discovery was due to a deep path worn down into the catlinite bed by the buffalo. . . . Three days of purification preceded the Indians' visit to the quarry during which he who was to do the quarrying must be continent. . . . The Abbe Domenech (1860, Volume 2, p. 347) adds that during this period the miners fasted. Provided the pit, which the Indian miners sink, does not encounter catlinite of good quality, he is considered to have " . . . impudently boasted of his purity. He is compelled to retire; and another takes his place." A Sioux who visited the quarry about that time says that there was a feast to the spirits of the place and then before quarrying a religious dance was held (Dodge 1887, p. xvii). The Indians . . . (Domenech 1860, Volume 2, p.

273) . . . were loath to have white men visit the quarry as their presence was a profanation which would draw down the wrath of heaven on the Indians (Ball 1941, p. 49).

Respect for the Sacred Pipe was expressed in the keeping of sexual taboos.

The Lakota had a great fear of the morning after sexual intercourse, especially those who are official pipe carriers or lance bearers or who hold any office [in the *akicita* societies]. They fear to smoke a pipe because it may blind them or hurt them otherwise. In the summer they bathe in the creek to cleanse themselves and thus be at liberty to smoke, and in the winter they wash their privates (Walker 1982, p. 96).

Even today a woman in her menstrual period should not be in the presence of the pipe during a ceremony. In Pete Catches' mind this taboo does not involve impurity but rather a feminine power, due to her special relationship to nature at this time, which neutralizes the power of the medicine man. He claimed that a woman failed to do this one time and her bleeding never stopped and she died (Steinmetz 1980, p. 96).

The Sacred Pipe was closely associated with fire. Schoolcraft states that American Indians used a sacred fire " . . . extracted from its latent form in the flint. . . . It is the duty of a particular official to attend to this rite . . . to employ ordinary fire from embers, would appear to have the effect, in their minds, of employing strange fire" (1856, Volume 5, p. 65). According to Thomas Nuttall the great rite of religion throughout North America was the pipe; " . . . associated with this adoration . . . was that of preserving an eternal fire in some sacred place appropriated for this purpose" (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 13, p. 346). This was also important for the Sioux:

On marches, coals from the previous council fire were carefully preserved and used to rekindle the council fire at the new campsite. The council fire itself was the symbol of the group's autonomy . . . coals from which were used to light the pipe. . . . Sharing of a common fire may be seen as one of the integrating symbols of Sioux society (Walker 1982, p. 12).

Among the Omaha the Tribal Pipes were not easily displayed to the tribe as a source of unity. Consequently a cedar pole was selected to take the place of the pipes. At the consecration of the Sacred Pole the pipe belonging to it was ceremonially smoked. The act of smoking was a prayer of consecration and asked for a blessing on the anointing about to take place. The pole was anointed with a mixture of buffalo fat—the symbol of abundance—and red paint, the symbol of life, which together symbolized an abundant life (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1905–06, Volume 1, p. 217). If a mistake occurred during the ceremonies, the ones

who had charge of the Sacred Pole and its rites, arose, lifted their arms, held their hands with palms upward, and standing thus in the attitude of supplication, wept. After a few moments one of the official servers came forward, passed in front of the line of standing singers and wiped the tears from each man's face . . . and the ceremony began again from the beginning as though for the first time (*Ibid.*, p. 232).

The Cheyenne had strict rules for praying with the pipe. No one was allowed to enter or leave the lodge, to scatter the ashes, to make sudden noises or to walk between the smoker and the fire (Grinnell 1972, Volume 1, pp. 74–75). The Arapaho believed that handling the pipe incorrectly caused rain (Hilger 1952, p. 94). One woman told Sr. Inez Hilgar: "I don't like to talk about the pipe. Only people who handle the pipe should talk about it" (*Ibid.*, p. 159). At the installation of a chief among the Omaha, a man whose duty it was to fill the pipe let one of them fall to the ground, violating a law and preventing the continuation of the ceremony. He died shortly after. When the Otoes visited the Omaha in the summer of 1878 certain pipes were uncovered without the prescribed prayers. The keeper of the Pipes soon died, followed by his daughter and eldest son (Dorsey, James 1881–82, p. 224).

The Cheyenne Chief, Little Wolf, while drunk, killed Standing Elk in a fit of anger.

Immediately after the killing Little Wolf smashed his long stemmed pipe, the symbol of the Chief's office. He was permitted to smoke one of the short pipes

made from the leg bone of a deer, but he denied himself even this. Smoking was basically sacred work, so he never smoked again (Powell 1969, Volume 1, pp. 290-291).

The head of a Lakota family spared the life of a Crow enemy by putting him into the tipi containing the Sacred Pipe in return for another Crow having spared his life (Curtis 1907-30, Volume 4, p. 103). During a long battle the Assinboine shot and killed the Blood pipe bearer and seized the medicine pipe. There were so many Blood Indians around the victim that the Assinboine could not count coup. The Assinboine were in a desperate position without ammunition. The Blood women told them that if they returned the pipe, they would cease fighting and they would be saved. Then the man who shot the Blood Indian approached; all laid down their guns and raised their arms in gratitude. They spread the finest blankets and he laid the pipe on them. The dead man's relatives filled the pipe and made the Assinboine smoke it. They heaped up blankets, moccasins, armlets and even an abundant supply of ammunition in return for the pipe (Lowie 1909, p. 51).

There was a deep faith in the power of the pipe. The Cheyenne say that the pipe never fails (Powell 1969, Volume 1, p. 14). According to a Blackfeet story, when the people were unable to cross a high river, Weasel Heart parted the waters through praying with his pipe so that they could walk across only knee deep. Ever since that time, they believe, there has been a rock shelf across that water at that place and it is easily forded (Ewers 1963, p. 36). An unusual pipe bundle also had power. An Assinboine, Comes Out Chief, lost his six year old son in death. He said that since the pipe had come to him through four generations and that there was no one now to be the keeper, he wanted to give it to his son as if he had reached the age of leadership. And so the body and the pipe were wrapped together to make the sacred bundle. Never before had a bundle been made like that one. At night a bright light came from the bundle (Kennedy 1961, pp. 11-14). The pipe can empower a person to face death, too:

In 1827 when Red Bird, chief of the Winnebago, surrendered to U.S. troops in order to save his tribe, beautifully clothed in white buckskin and carrying

ceremonial pipes he advanced towards Major Whistler singing his death song: "I am ready," he said, "I do not wish to be put in irons. Let me free. I have given away my life, it is gone like that." And stooping he took a pinch of dust and blew it to the winds. "I would not take it back, it is gone" (Alexander 1967, p. 192).

DeSmet commented that it was a touching spectacle to see an American Indian raise the calumet, the emblem of peace, heavenwards to the Master of Life imploring his pity (Chittenden 1905, Volume 2, pp. 681-682). Among the Gros Ventre a young man desiring a long life would stand crying in front of the lodge of a very old man. The old man would take his pipe, stand behind the young man, both facing the direction of the rising sun and praying that his desire be fulfilled (Cooper 1940, p. 114). Fr. LePetit described a chief offering the first three puffs of his lit calumet to his brother the sun and with raised hand turning from east to west to show him the direction he must take in his course (Thwaites 1897 etc. Volume 68, p. 127). Another ritual was to blow smoke over the bodies of people as a ritual symbol of blessing (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 18, p. 40). Any remarkable place in nature became a place of veneration and prayer. The American Indians approached curious trees, rocks, islands, mountains, caves or waterfalls with great solemnity, smoking a pipe and leaving a little tobacco as an offering to the presiding spirit of the sacred place (West 1934, p. 69).

The chiefs of the Blackfeet appointed a man every four years to be in charge of the Sacred Pipes, the pipestems and other emblems of their religious beliefs. He lived in a special lodge which was transported by four horses. He had to undergo seven fasts, lead a celibate life, live apart from his family, if he had one, while the public supported him for the entire term that he was the "Great Medicine." He actually had more power and exerted more influence than the civil or war chiefs. His face was always painted black (Warren 1885, pp. 68-69). Among the Arapaho the Flat Pipe was considered too holy to be carried on horseback or travois. The keeper preceded on foot. Since the bundle was two feet long and the poles about five feet, only a short distance could be covered in a day's march. When on the march the camp formed around the keeper. During the Sun Dance the dancers touched the pipe bundle and cried over it. The women who

prepared the feast honoring the Flat Pipe were amply compensated by having the privilege of seeing the pipe and touching it with their bare right foot. In another ceremony, that of "covering the pipe," the sponsor not only gains blessings for himself but also permits others to share in this blessing at his expense, since all who wish may come forward at the proper time to touch the Pipe with their bare right foot. The food which is blessed and eaten in honor of it is in great demand and regarded in the same light as Holy Communion among the Christians. It is distributed among many (Carter 1938, pp. 76-78).

Lakota medicine men journey to Green Grass on the Cheyenne River Reservation where their original pipe is kept and touch their pipes to the Calf Pipe bundle. The bundle is opened on special occasions only, a ceremony through which the keeper receives his power. However, Martha Bad Warrior opened the bundle for Wilbur Reigert, a Chippewa, in 1936 (Reigert 1975, p. 73) and for an anthropologist, Sidney Thomas in 1941 (Thomas 1941). Thomas gives a detailed description of the bundle's contents. Smith describes a ceremony for the preparation of the offering clothes for the Calf Pipe (Smith 1964). Stanley Looking Horse told me that Green Grass is a place where all the spirits of all the medicine men who pray through the pipe are present, since all their pipes are related to the Calf Pipe. Green Grass has become a place of pilgrimage for members of the American Indian Movement. When I requested to pray in the presence of the Calf Pipe with my pipe in October of 1977, Looking Horse conducted a sweat lodge ceremony for me and late at night opened the small house where the Calf Pipe is kept. I felt too overwhelmed by the powerful presence of the Calf Pipe to observe any details of the bundle. Looking Horse told me that this was the first time a priest or minister had made this request and that he was pleased (Steinmetz 1980, p. 18).

The Sacred Pipe in Ceremony

The sacramental nature of the Sacred Pipe is most evident in its use in formal ceremonies. It is the common source from which so many ceremonies derive their sacredness. In ceremonialism we best see the Sacred Pipe in its beauty and power. At one time it is the center of the ceremony; at another it simply makes an important contribution. Among the Lakota the Sacred Pipe must

be present before a sacred ceremony begins. Although it may not be essential to Navajo ceremonialism, it brings an element of the sacred to their sandpaintings. Next, an investigation of the Sacred Pipe follows pertaining to 1) its transmittal of ceremonial tradition, 2) announcement of ceremonies, 3) prayer to the four directions, 4) the sweat lodge ceremony, 5) the vision quest, 6) the sun dance, 7) ceremonies relating to death and 8) other ceremonies and dances including the Ghost Dance.

As with myth, the ceremonial life among Native Americans depended on oral tradition. Passing on this tradition was surrounded by ritual. Among the Cheyenne, the pipe was filled before the repetitions of the ceremony began. "Each prayer was recited four times by the instructor and each time the learner repeated the words. After this instruction was ended, everyone smoked another long-stemmed black stone pipe . . ." (Grinnell 1972, Volume 2, p. 221). Among the Comanche, there were periods of absolute silence when the pipe was passed in a circle to smoke. If the silence was broken, it was necessary to dump all the tobacco on the ground and begin anew (Wallace 1952, p. 181). A common way of announcing ceremonies among the Osage was for a messenger to go from house to house carrying in his hand a little pipe as the credentials of his office (LaFlesche 1917-18, p. 52).

The basic ceremony of the Sacred Pipe, which is included in all other ceremonies, is the offering of the pipe to the four directions. There are numerous examples of this offering ceremony from the nineteenth century (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 5, pp. 129-130; Volume 24, p. 29; pp. 168-169; Schoolcraft 1856, Volume 1, p. 97). The offering and a centering prayer gather in the entire universe. The Sacred Pipe becomes the sacramental symbol of this ceremony. The ceremony can be performed without smoking the pipe but it must include the offering of tobacco in the bowl of the pipe. The offering of tobacco in the dry state was a very widespread practice among the American Indians (West 1934, pp. 66-82).

Symbolic colors are connected with the Four Directions. After an extensive survey Dixon concluded that ". . . diversity and not uniformity is the characteristic feature of the symbolism, and no general principle can be laid down as underlying the choice of colors by different peoples" (Dixon 1899, pp. 10-16). Even on a single reservation like the Pine Ridge, Kemnitzer shows a

wide variety among six medicine men (1970, p. 71). Hodge gives a chart of colors used by ten North American tribes. These colors could be used as flags placed in the Four Directions or else in painting or tattooing the body and in the decoration of ceremonial objects (Hodge 1910, Part 1, p. 323). "James Owen Dorsey tells us that the elements as conceived in the Indian philosophy, viz, fire, wind, water and earth, are among the Sioux tribes symbolized by the colors of the cardinal points; and Cushing relates the same of the Zuni" (Ibid., pp. 325-326).

Sword, a Lakota shaman, states that in offering the pipe to the Four Directions one is addressing the Four Winds:

The pipe is used because the smoke from the pipe smoked in communion has the potency of the feminine god who mediates between godkind and mankind, and propitiates the godkind. When a Shaman offers the pipe to a god, the god smokes it and is propitiated. . . . The Four Winds are the *akicita* or messengers of the gods and in all ceremonies they have precedence over all the other gods, and for this reason should be the first addressed (Walker 1917, p. 157).

The feminine mediating between the divine and the human, confirmed by the myth of the Woman bringing the Calf Pipe, was not customary in an excessively masculine culture.

The Four Directions are prominent in the Omaha ceremony of Turning the Child. An old man stood the child on a stone facing the east. He lifted the child by the shoulders turning it to the south, the west and the north, each time letting its feet rest on the stone (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1905-06, pp. 44-45). This introduction of the child to the cosmos was accompanied by a prayer in which all of creation was asked to make the path of life smooth so that the child could reach the four hills of life (childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age), and beyond the four hills to another life (Ibid., pp. 115-116). Among the Osage the symbols of four valleys and four bends of a river were used (LaFlesche 1917-18, pp. 258-259).

Finally, the number four is expressed in many ceremonial ways. A striking example is found in the Gros Ventre Sun Dance. The keeper of the Flat Pipe incensed the cottonwood tree with his pipe four times and sang four songs. He then touched the tree with his pipe four times and motioned to it four times. Four times

the tree moved under the efforts of the men and the influence of the pipe. The fourth time the keeper said "now" and the tree was entirely raised up and set in the hole (Kroeber 1908, p. 263).

The Sacred Pipe is a sacramental in the sweat lodge ceremony since the participants smoke the pipe at the conclusion of the ceremony, making it a symbol and means of spiritual communion following purification. The missionary James W. Lynn claimed that the idea of purification was as deeply rooted in Dakota life as it was with the ancient Hebrews (1889, p. 171). The sweat lodge in one form or another was common to almost every tribe in the United States (Mooney 1892-93, Part 2, p. 823). Black Elk, perhaps, best develops the symbolism of the sweat lodge as well as the other ceremonies, due to the wealth of detail (Brown 1953). The Ojibwe performed this ceremony each day for four days as an introduction into the Great Medicine Society, ceremonial smoking being part of the ceremony (Hoffman 1885-86, pp. 204, 259). Among the Arapaho the highest of the eight Warrior Orders was that of the "water-pouring man" in which there were seven priests who were the instructors of all the other orders:

Their name refers to their pouring water over the heated stones in the sweat lodge . . . Their ceremonies are performed in a large sweat lodge . . . which when the whole tribe was camped together, occupied the center of the circle, between the entrance and the lodge in which was kept the sacred medicine pipe (Mooney 1892-93, Part 2, p. 969).

The Piegan had the same custom (Curtis 1907-30, Volume 6, p. 33). The sweat lodge was of divine origin for the Menominee (Hoffman 1892-93, Part 1, p. 92), the Omaha (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1905-06, Volume 2, pp. 571-578) and the Osage (LaFlesche 1917-18, p. 159).

The sweat lodge can be a ceremony in itself or it can be performed before and after another ceremony. When performed after another ceremony its meaning is more than purification. According to Richard Moves Camp:

" . . . it allows one to drink water and pray with the pipe to complete the ceremony. The main purpose is to untie the knot that connects the person with the

sacred ceremony so that he can go from the sacred world to the profane again. He also has to live with responsibility of his vision and the concluding sweat lodge allow him to purify himself for carrying that out (Steinmetz 1980, p. 56).

Praying with the Sacred Pipe in the vision quest is a sacramental of prolonged and intensive prayer. Among the Omaha, if a man's stress of feeling was great while making a fast on the hill, he would leave the pipe on the ground where his appeal had been made. This form of prayer was called "addressing the pipe" (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1905-06, Volume 2, p. 559).

During the vision quest one prays to and through the spirits of animals and nature. The belief explains the great number of interesting pipe bowls with animal and bird carvings found in the Mississippi Valley mounds: hawk, heron, woodpecker, crow, beaver, otter, wild cat, rattlesnakes. The sacred nature of the pipe made pipe bowls a natural medium for these carvings (Henshaw 1880-81, pp. 124, 150). West (1934) has excellent photographs of these pipe bowls in his second volume. An old Lakota man explained that ". . . a picture can be destroyed, but stone endures, so it is good that a man have the subject of his dream carved in a stone pipe that can be buried with him. Many of his possessions are left to his friends, but the sign of his dream should not be taken from him" (Densmore 1929, p. 80).

However, a vision or dream could be a mixed blessing. Mooney cites the example of Black Coyote, a Sioux, who had seventy scars ". . . arranged in various patterns of lines, circles, crosses, etc., with a long figure of the sacred pipe on one arm." He did this ". . . in obedience to a dream as a sacrifice to save the lives of his children" (Mooney 1892-93, Part 2, p. 898). At other times a person was obliged to act out his vision. Brave Buffalo passed close to the tents imitating the actions of the elk. "Two virgins preceded him, carrying the pipe" (Densmore 1918, p. 17).

The Sacred Pipe is a sacramental in every phase of the sun dance, the only common ceremony of tribal renewal practiced by most of the Plains tribes. Leslie Spier compares the ceremonies of nineteen tribes. He states that the ceremonial use of a pipe in the Sun Dance was so general it could not be considered a specific trait of any particular tribe. However, it did hold a more

prominent place in some tribes than others (Spier 1921, p. 472). The Lakota were such a tribe:

If a man's vow involved the cutting of his flesh, he was permitted to offer a pipe similar to that of the Intercessor or medicine man in charge, filled with tobacco, sealed with buffalo fat and placed beside the Intercessor's pipe during the ceremony. Lone Man stated that his Sun Dance vow included offering of a pipe; he therefore offered a pipe when fulfilling his vow and had kept the pipe with greatest care (Densmore 1918, p. 103).

The preparation for the Sun Dance started with a united public declaration of all who were to dance, concluding with "to all of you [the spirits mentioned] these youths promise to present the pipe" (Deloria 1929, pp. 389-390). When the day arrived to fulfill the Sun Dance vow, the leader held a filled pipe and prayed with the sun dancers after which the entire group smoked it (Ibid., p. 393). The leader prayed with the pipe at the cutting of the sacred tree (Ibid., pp. 396-397). While the singers sang the first song, the dancers cried out, "For mysterious beings I have held the pipe; so in return I shall kill an enemy without misfortune" or "so in return I shall have horses." The sun dancer who must be pierced presents a filled pipe to someone who has been pierced previously. When the man accepts the responsibility to do the piercing, he receives a filled pipe in token and offers it ceremonially (Ibid., p. 405). Densmore adds a few additional details. "The sun dance pipe furnished by the Leader of the Dancers, was decorated at his request by one of the most skillful women of the tribe. It was considered a great honor to decorate the pipe" (Densmore 1918, p. 102). During the ceremony whenever ". . . the Intercessor rose to sing or pray he held the pipe in his hand, afterwards replacing its ceremonial position on the altar" (Ibid., p. 121). There was a bed of fresh sage on which the buffalo skull and pipe would be laid. No one was allowed to pass between this altar and the Sun Dance tree (Ibid., p. 122). At the end of the entire ceremony the Intercessor took the main Sun Dance pipe to his lodge, broke the seal of buffalo fat, lighted the pipe and offered it to such of his friends as felt themselves worthy to smoke it. No one who felt unworthy even dared to touch the Sun Dance pipe (Ibid., pp. 149-150). The pipe is used

extensively in the present Lakota Sun Dances (Steinmetz 1980, pp. 70-74).

The Sacred Pipe was a sacramental in ceremonies related to death. There is an account in the *Jesuit Relations* of the burial of a Nipistingue warrior. He was seated on a hill with a gun resting on his arm, a war club in his girdle, a calumet in his mouth, a lance in his hand, a filled kettle at his side (Thwaites 1897 etc., Volume 70, pp. 149, 151). DeSmet also reported a burial custom. Some days after the burial the relatives of the deceased assembled to smoke over the grave. They hung presents on the nearest tree, particularly tobacco for the soul of the deceased, which is to come occasionally and smoke upon the grave. They thought that the soul was wandering not far from there until the body would corrupt (Ibid., Volume 27, p. 166). The Sauk Native Americans lower the body into the grave and throw tobacco upon it. An old man is then elected to address the corpse and tell it how to reach the other world (West 1934, p. 79).

Fletcher describes a Keeping of the Soul ceremony among the Lakota for a child which took place in 1882. The pipe was accepted by the man willing to take on the responsibility of conducting it and was used throughout. A lock of hair from the deceased child was wrapped in red cloth to make the spirit bundle. The parents took care of this for the period of mourning. In the concluding feast and give-away for eight hundred people pipes were given to poor men (Fletcher 1884, pp. 296-307).

Among the Plains Cree a braid of hair was cut off at the grave and tied to the end of a stick which was placed at the head of the grave. On the fourth night after the death the braid of hair was taken to a feast by the man who cut it off. He smoked the pipe, addressed a prayer to the Creator and ". . . successively pointed the pipe to those spirit powers whose duty it was to care for the souls of the dead and petitioned their aid" (Mandelbaum 1940, p. 249). According to Winnebago tradition not only food but a pipe and tobacco are given to the spirit of the deceased person so that it may offer them to the spirits it meets on the road and make requests of them. These gifts are called "spiritual" tobacco and food (Radin 1915-16, pp. 141-142). Even today presenting spiritual Food is an important ceremony among the Lakota on the Pine Ridge Reservation (Steinmetz 1980, pp. 50-52).

Among the Chippewa, when a person was unable to keep up

with the nomadic travel through old age, there seemed to be two alternatives. One was to leave him behind to starve; the other was to inflict death upon him. In one account a sweat lodge was prepared as in the ceremony of adoption. While the person was in the preparatory ceremony, the family rejoiced that the Master of Life had told them how to dispose of the aged and infirm by ". . . sending them to a better country, where they will be renovated and hunt again with all the vigor of youth. They then smoke the pipe of peace and have their dog feast; they also sing the grand medicine song." When the songs and the dances are repeated, a son gives his father a death blow with the tomahawk. They paint his body in the best manner and bury it with a war weapon (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 2, pp. 110-111).

The sacramental nature of the Sacred Pipe can be seen from many other ceremonies and dances. The Omaha had the ritual of the White Buffalo Hide, a ceremony which re-enacted the creation of the buffalo and every aspect of the hunt. The first song was "the pipe appears:"

The holy pipe
Holy, I say
Now it appears before you
The Holy pipe, behold you.

The second song, which preceded the actual smoking of the pipe, commanded men to take the pipe to pray:

Holy pipe, most holy, appears; it appears before you.
Now I bid you.
Within your lips take this holy pipe, holy pipe.
The pipe, it appears, appears before you I say. Now I bid you.
Within your lips take this holy pipe, holy pipe.
The pipe it appears, appears before you, I say.

In the first song the pipe "appears" not by any agency of man, but by its own power, and commands men to behold. . . . Although so simple and concrete this song throws more light on the native thought and belief in the use of the pipe than any single song the writer has found. . . . In the second song the music is interesting, as in it the motive of the first song is

echoed, but it is treated in a way to suggest the movement toward the pipe, which in the first song stood apart, clothed with mysterious power. It now comes near and in touch with the supplicants. . . . These two songs complement each other and show both dramatic and musical form (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1905-06, pp. 286-289).

The pipe was used in Sioux ceremonies to honor brave deeds. Sometimes a modern hero's name was put into a song in the place of the old one (Fletcher 1892, pp. 135-144). The pipe was used in many dances. Catlin relates that a filled pipe was passed around during a Mandan dance at a buffalo feast which involved ritual sexual intercourse (Catlin 1967, pp. 70-71). The Mandan buffalo bull dance involved a ritual use of the pipe against evil forces by being pointed at a dancer in a frightening costume who represented the evil spirit (*Ibid.*, pp. 59-60). The Menominee used the pipe in their Rain Dance which is performed during times of prolonged drought. The ceremony concludes with the smoking of four long pipes which rest beside the drum (Skinner 1915, pp. 206-208). They also held a Tobacco Dance which re-enacted the myth in which tobacco was obtained (*Ibid.*, pp. 211-212).

Among the Plains Cree the ceremony that ranked next to the Sun Dance was the Smoking Tipi ceremony. It was also given to fulfill a vow. "The ceremony consisted of a night-long singing session during which many prayers were said, offerings given and pipes ritualistically manipulated" (Mandelbaum 1940, p. 272). There was also the Masked Dance.

The pledger carried a staff with deer hoofs attached. He went from tipi to tipi and shook his staff over the heads of those men whom he wished to join him in the dance. As he did this he spoke in inverted fashion saying, "I do not want you." The men so chosen followed the pledger into his tipi. There he offered up a pipe, rotating it in a counter-clockwise direction instead of clockwise as was done in every other ritual (*Ibid.*, p. 274).

The Chippewa had a "drum religion" which they received from the Sioux and passed on to the Menominee (Densmore

1913, pp. 142–173). The main purpose was to establish peace between people who have been at enmity (*Ibid.*, p. 142). A Menominee chief said:

I will keep the drum in my house. There will always be tobacco beside it and the drum pipe will always be filled. When I smoke at home, I will use the pipe that belongs to the drum. My friends will come to my house to visit the drum and we will ask the drum to strength us in our faith and resolution to live justly and to wrong no one (*Ibid.*, p. 143).

A small ceremony with singers usually takes place every fourth night. The presentation of a drum to another tribe involves an elaborate ceremony with a feast and a return of suitable gifts for the drum.

The Gros Ventre had a Feathered Pipe given to them by the Thunder God during a violent thunder storm (Cooper 1957, p. 4). They conducted an annual rite with this pipe primarily to pray both for rain and for protection against storms and floods. Prior to the ceremony the pipe was taken to the sweat lodge (*Ibid.*, p. 149). The keeper had to have two wives. Since the pipe was never left unattended, one wife had to sleep outside the tipi during her menses. The Feathered Pipe was considered a brother to a Pipe Child, usually a daughter of the keeper (*Ibid.*, p. 135). The pipe was related to their sacred Flat Pipe which belonged to the ground while the Feathered Pipe belonged above the earth (*Ibid.*, p. 77).

The Crow conducted a ceremony for the planting of tobacco in which the pipe was smoked. "Sometimes a man may be afraid to smoke the pipe for fear that if the tobacco should not grow, some great harm would befall him. . . . The act of smoking is regarded as a ceremonial equivalent to the sacrifice of the life of the smoker that the tobacco plant may grow" (Simms 1904, p. 332).

The Lakota brought the pipe into the Ghost Dance of 1890. A woman " . . . remained standing near the tree throughout the dance, holding a sacred redstone pipe stretched out towards the west, the direction from which the messiah was to appear" (Mooney 1892–93, Part 2, pp. 823–824). Among the Arapaho the opening Ghost Dance song was on the pipe:

O my children! O my children!
Here is another of your pipes,
Here is another of your pipes,
Look! thus I shouted,
Look! thus I shouted,
When I moved the earth,
When I moved the earth.

“By ‘another pipe’ is probably meant the newer revelation of the messiah, the pipe being an important feature of all sacred ceremonies, and all their previous religious traditions having centered about the . . . flat pipe” (Ibid., pp. 958-959). In other words a new religious movement as important as the Ghost Dance would be immediately associated with the Sacred Pipe.

S.A. Barret states that in the Dream Dance of the Chippewa and Menominee “. . . a special pipe, together with both of its stems, always accompanied the drum . . .” (1911, p. 273). Among the Osage they used a pipe to consecrate a new shrine which contained sacred animal skins, the symbolic objects through which they prayed to the Great Spirit. First songs of the symbolic pipe and the ritual of the discovery of tobacco were sung. After this the priest blew a whiff of smoke on the rush-mat shrine, containing the animal skins, a strap with an eagle’s leg and scalp attached to it and a ceremonial pipe with its tobacco pouch (LaFlesche 1927-28, p. 725). The Hidatsa had a shrine that contained the skulls of two medicine men, who were formally thought to be eagles, and a pipe. A myth explains how the skulls and pipe became the tribal medicine (Peppers and Wilson 1907, pp. 284-294).

The Chief and the Sacred Pipe

The Sacred Pipe was a sacramental in political life. A chief used it in the exercise of many of his functions, making his position a religious as well as a political one. There was no separation of Church and State among the Native Americans. The use of the Sacred Pipe today among members of the American Indian Movement gives a religious characteristic to their political activity.

Among the Poncas the head chief had his special pipe and he was the only one who could make chiefs. No man was a chief until he had smoked the Sacred Pipe (Howard 1965, p. 90). Dorsey states:

The sacred pipes were feared by all except those who are to be made chiefs. . . . The women and children stay outside or back of the circle, as they are afraid of the pipes. Even the horses are sent to the rear. When the chiefs elect enter the large tent, they give many horses to the retiring chiefs. Then, they put the pipes to their mouths and inhale the smoke, for if they should refuse to inhale it, they would die very soon thereafter, before the end of the year.

Inside the pipes are laid on a bed of wild sage near the Sacred Buffalo Skull. All the chiefs paint their faces and other parts of their bodies red and wear buffalo robes in imitation of the buffalo. The pipes are handed to the candidates and they are given instructions (Dorsey, James 1881-82, pp. 359-360).

Schoolcraft states:

If a chief is anxious to know the disposition of his people towards him, or if he wishes to settle any differences between them, he announces his intention of opening his medicine bag and smoking his sacred stem; and no man who entertains a grudge against any of the party thus assembled can smoke with the sacred stem; as that ceremony dissipates all differences and is never violated (Schoolcraft 1856, Volume 5, p. 170).

In reparation for a murder of a Blackfeet, two Cree chiefs made excuses to the Government agent responsible for maintaining peace. They gave him a horse and a couple of very beautiful pipes, one a calumet adorned with feathers and green horse hair (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 23, p. 107). Among the Cheyenne a chief was expected to exercise the greatest self-control. When one chief heard that his wife was being chased by another man, he became very angry. However, he seized his pipe, smoked and renewed his pledge not to say any harsh words. If he would have weakened, he would have been despised by his People. The smoking of the pipe almost always worked (Llewellyn 1941, p. 79). Sweet Medicine, a Cheyenne culture hero, told their chief: "You chiefs are peace makers. Though your son might be killed in front of your tipi you should take a peace pipe and smoke. Then you will be called an honest chief" (Stands in Timber 1967, p. 44). Among the Omaha, war plans were kept secret, since a chief would try to dissuade a leader from organizing a war party

by bestowing presents on him (Dorsey, James 1881-82, pp. 315-317).

Among the Iroquois chiefs, "to smoke together" was almost synonymous with "holding council" (Fenton 1953, p. 155). Among the Coeur D'Alene, each degree of authority was determined by the type of pipe one had. The chiefs of a band had a "band pipe," the chiefs of a division a "chief pipe" and the chief of the tribe the "tribal pipe." In making agreements, if a band pipe was smoked, it was only binding on the band to whom the pipe belonged. However, when the tribal pipe was smoked, it was binding on the entire tribe (Teit 1927-28, p. 154). The Omaha opened no councils without the chiefs who were the Keepers of the Pipes (Dorsey, James 1881-82, p. 358). The Sacred Pipe was very much involved in their entire social structure. The *Honga* gens was the source of the Sacred Pipes and had a right to all the pipes as that gens had the first authority. However, peace pipes were given to the gens that formed the Council of the Seven Chiefs. An Omaha legend relates how they had been given out. The pipe bearers passed by the first gens because they were engaged in ceremonies pertaining to the taking of life. Even to this day the other gens remind them: "You are no people; you have no peace pipe." The pipe bearers gave pipes to the other gens to give them authority to perform their respective duties such as the election of chiefs, the management of war councils, the direction of the people in hunting and the maintenance of peace. Each gens had its pipe, but there was one pipe belonging to the leading chiefs and they prayed with it to bring punishment on the men who caused trouble in the tribe (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1905-06, p. 48).

Among the Arapaho, the Tribal Council met in the large tipi in which the keeper of the Sacred Pipe dwelt. The chiefs spent most of their time there when the tribe was encamped. Taking down the sacred tipi was the signal for moving camp (Hilger 1952, p. 193).

Another important social function of the pipe was the administration of oaths (Ibid., pp. 103-104). The Hopi considered ceremonial smoking ". . . a signature put into the other with smoke." Any material paper agreement could be burned, destroyed or stolen, but a signature by smoke was a sacred oath that would never be broken (Waters 1963, p. 275). On the East

Coast S.H. Long observed that smoking the pipe was used to verify oaths (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 15, p. 105). The pipe was used in the Cheyenne legal system. Through the pipe, people's differences were worked out by a process of deference to another's judgment and not simply by a verdict being handed down (Llewellyn 1941, p. 339).

The Sacred Pipe in the Societies

The societies were an important part of the social fabric of Native American life. They gave, especially to men, identity, social role and prestige. The sacramental use of the Sacred Pipe sanctified these areas of life.

The Oglala Lakota had the *Tokala* or Kit Fox Society, whose members were supposed to be as active and wily on the war path as this little animal. Besides two leaders there were two pipe bearers. The pipe bearers apparently presided over the formal meetings. On the war path one of them filled the pipe just before going out to charge the enemy, leaving the bowl and taking the stem. If they killed the enemy without harm, the stem was joined to the bowl and smoked. If they were killed, the filled pipe bowl separated from the stem was a symbol of death. The lance bearers in this society took the lead in battle and seldom retreated. Since some believed that to accept this position was certain death, the installation was a solemn event. When there was a vacancy, one of the pipe bearers informed the candidate, who had been invited to a formal meeting not knowing its purpose or his fate. Since the candidate usually hesitated, the herald shouted out his virtues, the women cheered and the members sang songs of the glory and fate of former lance bearers. A favorite song was "I am a *tokala*. I am living in uncertainty." In the end the candidate usually accepted to avoid public disgrace. The pipe man then lectured the candidate on his responsibilities. The candidate's relatives gave gifts to the needy (Wissler 1912, pp. 14-20).

There was the Lakota *Miwatani* Society whose pipe bearers quieted quarrels. The pipe was taken to the scene of the quarrel and smoked as a peace pipe. If a member of the society was the direct cause of the quarrel, he was expelled from the society (Ibid. p. 47). There was the Silent Eaters Society, a Feast and

Dancing Association. However, in this case there was no singing and dancing but only silent eating. After the feast their conversations were about war deeds. They concluded with a pipe offering (*Ibid.*, p. 75). The pipes used in these societies were consecrated by a medicine man. This involved four sweat lodge ceremonies. He prayed over the pipe, filled it with tobacco and sealed it with the fat from the heart of the buffalo and wrapped it in wolf skin. Now it was a medicine pipe or a sacred pipe. From that moment on it was taken care of by a pipe bearer (*Ibid.*, p. 54).

Among the Crows there was a Black Mouth or Soldier Society. The two officers took care of a flat stemmed pipe, red on one side and black on the other, decorated with quill work and a dyed horsetail. They were expected to adjust quarrels and preserve peace. The black and red colors symbolized night and day, bad and good will. All the spirits were represented by the pipe. Members prayed to the pipe that their children should grow up and asked it for plenty of buffalo (Lowie 1913, pp. 275-276). The Blackfeet had a society of medicine men who had an all smoking ceremony. It was a kind of medicine counting coup. Like warriors recalling deeds they counted the different medicine rituals they had owned and sang the songs connected with them (Wissler 1913, pp. 445-446). The Sarsi had a dancing organization called the Dogs Society. The pipes were obtained by a payment of ten horses from the previous leaders. They kept order during the Sun Dance (Goddard 1914, pp. 467-468). The Plains Ojibwe had a society for healing and exorcising demons. They wore rags and hideous masks. One time a band of Sioux came across a group of them who were dancing instead of fleeing. The Sioux thought that they were spirits and sat down on the grass to watch their crazy antics. The Sioux filled their pipes and addressed them as spirits. However, the Ojibwe pulled out guns from behind their clothes and killed the Sioux and fled (Skinner 1914, p. 502).

It was formerly the custom for a man who was given the right to do so by a dream to proclaim a public confession of illicit sexual intercourse. Everyone was obliged to abstain from sexual relations for four days. Anyone violating the taboo attended the meeting with a face painted half black. The pipe was never passed to this person (*Ibid.*, pp. 506-507). Among the Pawnee the pipe was used in the ceremony for making lances (Murie

1914, pp. 564, 567). Among the Winnebago the Medicine Dance Society had a ritual whose purpose was to strengthen the powers obtained in a vision. The pipe invocation started in the east (Radin 1911, pp. 149-208). The Omaha had the *Hae-thus* Society (the name untranslatable) which spread to the Oto, the Iowa and Pawnee. The Sioux adopted it and called it the Omaha Dance or Grass Dance. The society had its special pipe. Its purpose was to decide whose brave deeds would be preserved in song. "Without this consent of the society none would dare allow a song to be composed in his honor. . . . These songs preserved for generations the deeds of the members and, therefore, to a good degree told the story of the tribe itself" (Fletcher 1892, pp. 135-144). Among the Fox, when one was reluctant to join a society or become its leader, members sometimes captured the candidate by force and held his hand around the pipe. Once his hand touched the pipe, he could not refuse (Hilger 1952, p. 121). If any man of high rank was unwilling to participate in the Arapaho Dog Dance because of the restrictions involved, the same procedure was followed (Kroeber 1902-07, p. 200).

The Sacred Pipe in Peace and War

The Sacred Pipe was the sacramental means by which war was declared and fought and peace was established. It is a striking example of the ambivalence of a religious symbol. Probably the best known and most widely distributed dances among the American Indians were the Calumet Dance and those related to it: The Pawnee Hako Ceremony (Fletcher 1900-01), the Omaha Pipe Dance (Fletcher 1884), the Sioux Hunkyapi Ceremony (Densmore 1918, pp. 68-77) and the Iroquois Eagle Dance (Fenton 1953, pp. 13-153). William N. Fenton establishes the common relationship between these dances (Ibid., pp. 178-179). The purpose was to bless the individual with children and long life, to make relatives and to establish peace between individuals and tribes.

The calumet was not properly the pipe but a highly ornamented and symbolic stem. Among the southeastern tribes " . . . the stem used in peace-making ceremony remained with the chief who had received the embassy while the pipe bowl was taken out and carried back by the visitors" (Swanton 1946, p. 547). Among the Pawnee the word *hako* means "breathing mouth

of wood" and refers to the two wands or stems which represent the pipe. A detailed description clearly shows that the Hako were the famous Calumet (Fletcher 1900-01, p. 40). This description is very similar to that found in the Siouan tribes (Dorsey, James 1881-82, p. 277), and to the comparative descriptions of the Osage, Omaha, Ponca and Pawnee (LaFlesche 1939, pp. 253-255). The Hako stems represented both the female and male elements whose every detail was symbolic and of greater importance than the pipe (Fletcher 1900-01, pp. 287-288; 295-296).

"In fact, for certain uses no pipe was attached to the stem, and instead the head of a duck, woodcock or of some other bird was supplied" (West 1934, p. 231). However, although the decorated stem was the central object, a catlinite bowl was frequently attached among the Seneca as was also done in the Pawnee Hako Ceremony (Fenton 1953, p. 155). Among the Omaha these stems normally had no bowls and were used as peace pipes only when regular pipes were not available (Fletcher 1884, p. 309). Regular pipes with large catlinite bowls used in peace councils were also called Calumets (Denig 1928-29, p. 446). Among the Assiniboine, although the pipe was never omitted, the real Calumet was never opened except in dealing with strangers (Ibid., p. 448). The term Calumet had shifting meanings.

The deeper meaning of the Calumet Dance was not merely to establish peace between two groups of people but rather ". . . to make a sacred kinship . . ." which was the basis of the peace (Dorsey, James 1881-82, p. 276). The Calumet was not only the sign of friendship but, even more, an object that had the power to compel acceptance. Schoolcraft states:

It was always considered hazardous to the chief himself to refuse it; as it is supposed that such a refusal exposes him to an angry visitation of the Great Spirit, in taking away the life of the chief or some of his family. The pipe bearer is always received (Schoolcraft 1856, Volume 3, p. 263).

Among the Hurons the relatives of a murdered person demanded presents from the tribe of the guilty person. This tribe gave the Hurons a pipe to smoke, since they believed that there was ". . . nothing as suitable as tobacco to appease the passions." The relatives of the deceased received as many as forty

presents (Thwaites 1897 etc., Volume 10, p. 219). In another case a chief lit his pipe and smoked. He dug a hole in the ground in which they buried the war axe and professed to deposit all their ill feelings with it (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 27, p. 136).

Jesuit missionaries summarized the importance of the Calumet as a " . . . passport and safeguard to enable one to go in safety everywhere, no one daring to injure in any manner those who bear this caduceus[sic]. It had only to be displayed and life is secure, even in the thickest of the fight." The Jesuit Fr. Marquette had an occasion to experience this. Fr. Marquette showed his Calumet but

the Indians were ready to pierce him with arrows from all sides when God suddenly touched the heart of the old man standing at water's edge. No doubt it was through the sight of the Calumet, which they did not clearly distinguish from afar . . . but as I did not cease displaying it, they were influenced by it and checked the ardor of the young men (Thwaites 1897 etc. Volume 59, p. 151).

Among the Northwestern tribes, including the Nez Perce, Blackfeet, Snake and Walla Walla, the fur traders had to establish peace among them for the sake of good business. On one occasion there was a peace negotiation between the American Indians and a band of fur traders in which some hundreds of their pipes were given away. Finally, terms of peace were agreed upon and there was the most profound silence over the group until the peace pipe had six times gone around the circle of the assembly (Ross 1956, pp. 161, 123). DeSmet describes the presentation of the calumet after a dance among the Coeur d'Alenes. The head of the pipe rested on the breast of one woman and the stem handsomely decorated with feathers on the breast of another. The most distinguished persons preceded the calumet bearers (Chittenden 1905, Volume 2, p. 581). He also describes Little Chief giving a horse and a robe decorated with porcupine quills to establish peace with a much hated enemy. He threw the robe on him on the spot and lit the peace pipe to seal the agreement. The pipe made several rounds, being smoked in thanksgiving (Ibid., p. 599). Another chief ordered his kettle to be filled with his three fattest dogs in DeSmet's honor as they smoked the

calumet (Thwaites 1904-07, p. 136). Frances Densmore gives a dramatic description of a peace council between the Chippewa and the Sioux:

In each camp was the sound of singing and of shrill war cries; excitement was in the air and it seemed that an encounter instead of a truce was in preparation. . . . The Chippewa were led by . . . one bearing the pipe, followed by four women. . . . To and fro in front of the warriors walked the women. Often it was only their presence that prevented violence. . . . All sang as they came forward. The melody was the same in both tribes but the Chippewa sang the names of the Sioux leaders and the Sioux the names of the Chippewa leaders, each praising the valor of the other. . . . Then the tribe which had asked for peace sent forward its pipe bearer. Holding the pipe in his hands, he offered the stem in turn to the opposing leaders, each of whom puffed the pipe. Then the other tribe sent forward its pipe bearer in the same manner . . . the two tribes camped near each other for some time and social dances were held every night (Densmore 1913, pp. 127-29).

M.W. Beckwith has a description of a peace ceremony between two hostile tribes. Two old men came forward representing each tribe. The representative of the tribe attacked smoked first and handed the pipe to the representative of the aggressor tribe who passed it on to each person in the lodge. White visitors were allowed to stroke the pipe instead of smoking it. The aggressor tribe chose a young boy to whom each of the old men gave a piece of meat, laying it upon his tongue so that the boy did not touch it with his hands. Afterwards he was given a drink. Both the meat and the drink had been "made medicine" by the medicine man (Beckwith 1930, pp. 424-425). DeSmet followed this same instinct acting as a peace maker. He urged the Sioux to make presents to the children of those Potawatomes whom they had killed, which is called covering the dead and to smoke the calumet (Chittenden 1905, Volume 1 p. 190). Edwin T. Denig describes in detail the exact manner of handling the pipe in a peace council among the tribes of the Upper Missouri (Denig 1928-29, pp. 446-447). Catlin called the Peace Pipe the "most in-

violable pledge that they can possibly give" (1841, Volume 1, p. 235). DeSmet called the Calumet ". . . the solemn pledge of peace, the token of Indian brotherhood, the most formal declaration of entire forgiveness and sincere pardon of injury" (Chittenden 1905, Volume 2, p. 519). However, occasionally the pipe was used as a means of deception but this was rare (Thwaites 1897 etc. Volume 68, p. 195). There was a way of freeing oneself in a symbolic way from the obligation of the pipe:

In October, while the Ghost Dance was being organized at his camp, Sitting Bull had deliberately broken "the pipe of peace" which he had kept in his house since his surrender in 1881, and when asked why he had broken it, replied that he wanted to die and to fight (Mooney 1892-93, Part 2, pp. 854-855).

To refuse the pipe was one way of declaring one's warlike inclination. DeSmet had every reason to worry one time when the Pawnees departed suddenly refusing to smoke the Calumet (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 27, p. 208).

But there was also a war pipe. Bartram spoke of the red painted Calumet being used as a war standard. In peace negotiations it was displayed new, clean and painted white (Swanton 1924-25, p. 435). Marquette observed the same dual use (Thwaites 1897 etc., Volume 59, pp. 129, 131). The Southeastern American Indians hung a Calumet of War in their council lodge during war deliberations (Swanton 1946, p. 699). We have already mentioned the hatchet pipe which could be used either to kill a person or to smoke (McGee 1893-94, p. 172). Among the Omaha the keeper of the Tent of War called the Seven Chiefs for war deliberations. If war was declared, the chiefs smoked the pipe associated with the keeper. "This was a religious act and through it the decision became sanctified . . . the organization of volunteer war parties generally followed this authorization." It was usually done through the warrior societies. A person of some prominence sent a pipe to the leaders of each of the principal societies. If the leaders sanctioned the enterprise, they themselves smoked and presented the pipe to the members of their societies at their next meeting and all who smoked engaged themselves by that very act to join. No one was obliged to smoke against his will (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1905-06, p. 142).

The Lakota had a black pipe used as a war pipe. On the war

path the shaman held the pipe, chewed medicine which was blessed in a special ceremony and carried in wolf skins, and blew it into the air making it misty and dense, a wolf's day. As a result they approached the enemy unseen and took his horses away. When the enemy went out to look for the horses, they were killed (Walker 1982, p. 95).

The War Pipe could unite many diverse tribes. The brother of the Kiowa Pushing Bear had been killed at the Timber Mountain Sun Dance of 1867. He sent the pipe around to summon a large war party. Through the influence of the pipe he was able to unite the Kiowa, Apache, Commanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Osage and Crow tribes (Mooney 1895-96, p. 297). Among the Osage the council during time of war selected a man to act as mediator between the People and the Great Spirit. The pipe, containing the prayers of the People, was solemnly filled and placed in his hands. The keeper went alone into the hills where he thought only of the prayers of the People and cried continuously, carrying in his hand the prayer pipe and fasting for seven days (LaFlesche 1927-28, p. 579). Among the Cheyenne when war parties were undertaken on foot, the men who carried the pipe were the leaders (Grinnell 1972, Volume 2, p. 8).

Sometimes the pipe was used for divination. Every evening the Chippewa warriors sat in a row facing the enemy's territory. The leader took his drum, sang and lit his pipe. "As he sang the leader shook his rattle of deer hoofs or laid it besides the pipe and looked away towards the enemy's country while his silent warriors waited on divination" (Densmore 1913, p. 94). Among the Fox an old man stayed at home and guarded the pipe and sang songs to the spirit of the owl while one of the warriors in the party carried the Sacred Owl Pack (Michaelson 1921, pp. 19, 21).

The pipe was also used to honor men renowned in war. The pipe was brought to a man. If he thought himself entitled to the honor and was ready to accept it, he took the pipe. If he thought others were braver than himself, he refused it (Kroeber 1908, p. 251). Another use of the pipe was related to scalps. Before instruction to a Cheyenne on how to treat the scalp of an enemy, the pipe was filled, lit and held towards the sky and the ground and then towards the scalp with a prayer asking for further good fortune (Grinnell 1972, p. 37). The Plains Cree had a sacred pipestem dance before war to pray for an abundant harvest of scalps and a greater number of horses (Skinner 1914, p. 536).

Radin gives the lengthy prayers of the Winnebago War-Bundle feast. Its primary purpose was an invocation for success in war, but it developed into a general ceremony for thanksgiving to the spirits. An important part of the ceremony was the four fillings of the pipe and the smoking ritual (Radin 1915-16, pp. 427-471).

The Sacred Pipe as a Sacramental for All Needs

The Sacred Pipe was a sacramental that sanctified almost every life situation. One of its major uses was in healing. When the Chippewa dug for medicine herbs, they offered the pipe every place they took a herb (Hilger 1951, p. 90). The Arapaho medicine men used the pipe to cure rattlesnake bites (Hilger 1952, pp. 129-130). When the usual remedies failed, the relatives of the sick person promised some personal sacrifice to obtain health, such as taking part in the Sun Dance, offering a part of a finger, fasting in isolation or offering material to the Sacred Pipe for recovery. He provided food for a feast and the distinguished warriors were invited. Each warrior recounted four coups before a pipe was lit. A green cherry branch was greased and put into the fire to light the pipe. If it burnt well, the man would recover, but if poorly, he was afraid. Then, the pipe was smoked in great silence (Kroeber 1907, p. 272). The missionary Gideon Pond observed a Sioux ceremony. Everyone offered prayers at the back of the medicine man, who was officiating between them and the god. Mothers fixed the little mouths of the unconscious infants carefully and reverently on the stem of the consecrated pipe, which the medicine man extended to them backwards over his shoulder (Pond 1860-67, p. 243). The Sacred Pipe still is prominent among the Plains tribes today (Steinmetz, 1980, pp. 47-49).

The Sacred Pipe was the ceremonial method of requesting any favor of importance. Accepting the pipe and smoking it was a favorable answer (Grinnell 1972, Volume 2, p. 11). In a Natchez marriage when the parties of both the bride and the groom agreed, the future husband went on a hunt and brought back sufficient food for the feast. The two families contracted the alliance. They all assembled at the house of the girl's parents. They served the pair who ate from the same dish. After the meal the bridegroom smoked the pipe with the parents of the bride and then with his own parents (Thwaites 1897 etc., Volume 68, p. 141). The pipe was also used during marital difficulties in later

years. When a man ran off with another's wife, he found the ceremonial grandfather of the husband. He gave him a pipe and two or three horses. The old man took the pipe, the horses and the wife to the husband. The man was obliged to do no violence nor to get angry. If he took the pipe, the wife was free. However, sometimes he decided to keep her. He, then, might cut off the tip of her nose, slash her cheek or cut off her hair (Curtis 1907-30, Volume 6, p. 149). The pipe was used in broader community relations. In later days when two or three families wished to move to another part of the reservation, pipes were exchanged with the new neighbors. The pipe was given to the one with whom they wished to establish friendship by giving a horse or a feast (Dorsey, James 1893-94, pp. 235-236).

The pipe was the center of the hunt. A Cheyenne medicine man, holding a pipe painted red over bowl and stem, walked to the opening of a chute which would force the antelope to fall into a pit. Then he walked onto the prairie singing sacred songs and held up his pipe to the Great Spirit (Grinnell 1972, Volume 1, p. 280). The pipe bearer was the man in charge of the Oglala hunt. Four pipe bearers announced the moving of the camp and the direction of travel. They led the procession to where the buffalo were. A scout on returning took a whiff of the pipe. If he said he had seen many buffalo, the *akicita*, those keeping order in front and back, would go to the top of the hill and see. The pipe men were the ones to consider the situation, the direction of the wind, etc. and give instructions. The *akicita* saw to it that no one attacked alone and would punish any violator by striking him senseless and cutting up his tipi (Wissler 1912, pp. 8-9). Another Lakota practice was to place a buffalo skull, usually with red paint and sometimes decorated with feathers and quillwork, in the council tipi. The Shaman who had the vision relative to the chase held the pipe with the stem pointing to the north, east, south and west, the heaven and the earth. The pipe was smoked and offered to the skull of the buffalo and the Spirit of the Buffalo was called upon to give aid in a successful hunt (Walker 1982, pp. 75-76).

Among the Arapaho the pipe was also used in the lighter moments of entertainment which consisted in a contest of telling true stories.

A pipe passed around and smoked during the contest serves to cause the truth to be told. Those who are

present deny or affirm a man's statements about himself. Sometimes a man when thus challenged will at once give a horse to a doubter in order to prove his manliness. At other times, statements are challenged in joke especially between brothers-in-law (Kroeber 1902-07, pp. 318-319).

The pipe was used by ceremonial contraries too. They grabbed meat out of boiling water.

When the one who is to offer this sacrifice takes the pipe to the priest in charge of the ceremony and asks for instructions, the pipe is reversed. That is the stem is fixed in the bowl of the pipe and the hole which commonly received the stem is filled with the smoking material (Grinnell 1972, Volume 2, p. 131).

The Sacred Pipe as the Symbolic Man

Since the Sacred Pipe is sacramental it is, of course, symbolic, standing for a reality beyond itself. This sense of the symbolic meaning was perhaps best achieved among the Osage. They achieved tribal unity between two divisions by considering the pipe as the "symbolic man." During an address the words "I am a person who has verily made a pipe of his body . . .," meant symbolically that the "pipe is the life symbol of his people" (LaFlesche 1914-15). It was not the pipe itself but its meaning that was important to the Osage.

Contrasted with the Omaha pipes, that of the Osage looks crude as to finish, but the appearance of these symbolic articles bears no special significance, for it is the spirit of the ceremony and its aim that has the most important place in the minds of the people. An Omaha said to Miss Fletcher when she was studying the Wawon ceremony in 1883: "So great is the affection and respect we feel for these pipes that were we to see them imitated in corn husk we would show them honor." By this he meant that it is the teaching of the rite and not the actual pipes, which are employed as symbols, that are revered by the people (LaFlesche 1939, p. 252).

The Sacred Pipe and Christianity

The religious meaning of the Sacred Pipe and its sacramental use has been influenced by Christianity, I believe, far more than most anthropologists are willing to admit. The two most widely quoted Lakota on their religion are Sword, who was an ordained Episcopal deacon, and Black Elk, who was a Catholic catechist. These two men are quoted without any consideration of the possible influence of Christianity on their Lakota thinking. As we shall see in one case it was even suppressed. In recent years on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota I discovered a Christian re-interpretation of Lakota symbols in the religious imagination of one generation of Lakota. The Sacred Pipe has even been a sacramental in Christian ceremony.

In the middle of the nineteenth century DeSmet described a Flathead praying during the night. Before prayer he raked out a live coal. When the prayers were finished, preceded and followed by the sign of the cross, he smoked his calumet and went to bed. He did this three or four times a night (Thwaites 1904-07, Volume 27, p. 291). Fr. Allonez wrote in 1674 that when the American Indians at Green Bay, Wisconsin ". . . pass the church they throw tobacco all around it, as a token of respect to the Greatest Divinity of whom they ever heard" (West 1934, p. 67). It is significant that the early Jesuit missionaries did not include the pipe among the "diabolical objects" that had to be destroyed. Remembering a sermon that all medicine bundles must be given up, a young man gathered all of them and took them to the chapel. When the priest arrived, he held a feast. He told the American Indians that since the bundles were keeping the devil among them, they should be burned. The priest made them a present of tobacco and each one lit his calumet, threw fire into the "impious implements," thanked God together, sang a hymn and went away contented (Thwaites 1897 etc. Volume 24, p. 137). An old man told me at Pine Ridge that some of the old men would try to light their pipes from candles on the altar at the offertory time and were chased away by the priest.

There have been more recent influences on the pipe. D.B. Shimkin states that the contact of Shoshone and Christian traditions led to a profound re-orientation of the Sun Dance (1953, p. 458). Both Fred W. Voget (1953, pp. 496-497) and Ake Hultkrantz (1969, pp. 36-38) elaborate on the Christian re-interpretation of Shoshone symbols in this ceremony. In the Ute Sun Dance the

tree was raised on the third attempt instead of the fourth. "This is an illustration of how the old Plains sacred number has been replaced by the Christian number three" (Jones 1955, p. 247).

On the Pine Ridge Reservation the Christian re-interpretation of American Indian symbols began with the famous Black Elk in his Ghost Dance Messiah vision in 1890. The following remarks on the Messiah are in the manuscript of *Black Elk Speaks* but not in the published book:

He did not resemble Christ. He looked like an Indian but I wasn't sure of it. . . . At this time I had nothing to do with white man's religion and I had never seen a picture of Christ. . . . It seemed as though there were wounds in the palms of his hands. . . . It seems to me on thinking it over that I had seen the son of the Great Spirit himself (Neihardt n.d., pp. 135-136; quoted in Steinmetz 1980, p 155).

Black Elk identified the Ghost Dance Messiah with Christ not at the time of his vision but after twenty-eight years of reflection as a Catholic catechist.*

This re-interpretation has continued in recent years with medicine men. For George Plenty Wolf the effigy of the rawhide man hanging from the Sun Dance tree represented the return of Christ, the buffalo effigy the Old Testament and the man effigy the New. Also the piercing of the flesh is a reminder of the piercing of Jesus (Steinmetz 1980, pp. 159-160). During a Mass which followed the Sun Dance on the grounds at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, Edgar Red Cloud held the pipe and sang a Sun Dance song during the Holy Communion part of the Mass. He also related the Lakota and Christian traditions in saying that ". . . when the Indians knew Mother Earth, they knew the Blessed Virgin Mary but they did not know her by name. And the Woman who brought the Calf Pipe is the Blessed Virgin." Pete Catches said that he prays with his pipe in memory of his vision as the priest changes bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ in memory of the Last Supper (Ibid., p. 161).

The Sacred Pipe has been a sacramental in Christian ceremony. In a chapel at Oglala, South Dakota, a mural depicts the Trinity in Lakota symbols. A tipi in which the water bird dives into the

*For a complete analysis of this confer my treatment elsewhere (Steinmetz 1980, pp. 154-156).

depths to get earth so that the Great Spirit can make man express God the Father in creation, an American Indian featured as Christ on the cross expresses God the Son in redemption, and a thunder bird with twelve tongues expresses God the Holy Spirit in sanctification. A pipe below the crucifix represents man offering himself to the Trinity (Collins 1969). In October of 1965 I prayed with the pipe as a priest at the funeral of Rex Long Visitor at Slim Butte. I held a pipe filled with tobacco and said: "Remember man, that the Pipe of your life someday will be broken." I then laid the separated pipe on the coffin. After the ritual prayers I took up the two separated pieces, put them together and said: "Through the Resurrection of Christ the life of Rex Long Visitor and all of us will be brought together into eternal happiness." Then, repeating in the four directions I prayed: "I am the Living and Eternal Pipe, the Resurrection and the Life; whoever believes in Me and dies, shall live and whoever lives and believes in Me shall never suffer eternal death." Thus, the pipe became a symbol of death and resurrection in a Christian context. Lakota people immediately asked John Iron Rope, the community's medicine man who was present, if it were proper for a priest and a non-Lakota to pray with the pipe. His answer was affirmative. The taking apart of the bowl and stem of a filled pipe is reminiscent of the Lakota pipe bearer doing the same on the war path, referred to above (Steinmetz 1980, pp. 37-38).

Finally the Sacred Pipe is a sacramental in the Half Moon fireplace of the Native American Church on the Pine Ridge Reservation. They use four ceremonial cigarettes during their ceremony. In their minds the cigarette represents the pipe since the Lakota worked for pipe, *canunpa*, instead of the one for smoke, *canli*, is used. At times the actual pipe has been used in the early days by the old man Red Bear and George Gap and in recent years by Solomon Red Bear (Ibid., pp. 85-87, 144). In 1974 Beatrice Weasel Bear put up a peyote meeting for me so that I could have a safe trip to Scotland where I studied. She requested that I pray with the pipe in the meeting since I had done so for her father, Rex Long Visitor. In 1976 there was a thanksgiving meeting for my return and these religious traditions were brought together on the altar: the chief peyote, a document presenting a Papal Blessing from Pope Paul VI to the Native American Church on the Pine Ridge Reservation (which I obtained in Rome) and the Sacred Pipe. During the midnight water

call Emerson Spider, Chief High Priest of the Church for South Dakota, talked about how remarkable the bringing together of these three religious symbols was (Ibid., pp. 108-125).

Further Research on the Sacred Pipe

The material here could be used for further research. A phenomenology of the Sacred Pipe, in the sense of a comparison of religious forms both within American Indian Religions as well as among Primal Religions world wide could be developed. For example, in the Wichita myth when the young man desired the women's beauty rather than the pipe, he was given a second chance. However, in the Lakota myth he was reduced to a skeleton. What differences in the nature of the Sacred Pipe does this reflect? Is it related to differences in social structures? Comparison could also be made cross-culturally with the Primal Religions of Asia and Africa, if similar research has been or will be done for these areas.

The material could also be used in other disciplines. In the study of mythology one could investigate the role of myth in giving religious meaning to a symbol. In sociology one could establish that the Sacred Pipe influences social structures rather than being a reflection of society. In psychology one could verify how the Sacred Pipe is not understood by rational definition but by the association with other symbols. In history one could discover the religious motivation compelling the course of human events. In theology one could show that sacramentalism satisfies a basic human instinct and that it is the sense of sacramentalism on the primal level that makes it possible in the revelation of the so called "Universal Religions" such as Christianity.

Additional research is also needed in the contemporary use of the Sacred Pipe by American Indians today. These are living traditions and ongoing research is needed to see what changes are taking place. On the "Longest Walk" to Washington in the late 1970s the Sacred Pipe was the religious symbol used to unite many diverse tribes from all over the United States. I believe that the Sacred Pipe is the first pan-Indian symbol since peyote united many tribes in the Native American Church. And so detailed research on the Sacred Pipe in all the American Indian tribes such as I did on the Pine Ridge Reservation will always be needed (Steinmetz, 1980).

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