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PERCEPTIONS OF THE SACRED:

A Review of Selected Native American Groups and their relationships with the Catlinite Quarries

November 2, 1995

Submitted to the U. S. Department of Interior
National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska

David T. Hughes
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Submitted to the U. S. Department of Interior
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Despite the contributions of all of the above, any errors of commission or omission in this report are exclusively my own.

David T. Hughes

ABSTRACT

Directed interviews with the Yankton Dakota Sioux Tribe, Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, and Pipestone Dakota Community and literature survey of 21 additional tribes shows a significant diversity of traditional and contemporary opinion about the appropriate use of Catlinite, the Catlinite quarries, and the pipes and products made from Catlinite. Catlinite has been used in the recent and early historic past for a variety of objects from fetishes to cups to pipes. The objects are considered by some to be sacred, and by others to be merely 'special.' Different cultures place different restrictions on the use and distribution of Catlinite products and some of these restrictions are contradictory. An example is the present debate over whether or not Catlinite objects (including pipes) should be sold. The historic literature and contemporary values all point to this disagreement having long roots with no resolution in sight.

INTRODUCTION

Questions about the use and possible abuse of Catlinite pipestone, a fine-grained argillite, have begun to be much in the news with increasing concern for Native American religious freedoms and preservation of sacred places. The primary source of pipestone is in southwest Minnesota [Map 1] where artist George Catlin first illustrated the quarrying of pipestone and the products of the native efforts. The specific argillite from these pipestone quarries is called Catlinite (Gunderson 1991). Common usage by anthropologists has begun equating any red stone used for making pipes with Catlinite. For the present study, the terms Catlinite and Pipestone, unless specifically used with other qualifiers, will be used to refer to the specific stone acquired from the Quarries at the Pipestone National Monument in Minnesota. Historical data about the use of the quarries located within the Pipestone National Monument are abundant. There is also a significant body of oral tradition that has developed around the stone and its use.

The Pipestone quarries in Minnesota have been so controversial that in 1937 the Pipestone National Monument was established to preserve the quarry from exploitation and make the stone available to all American Indians. Other, non-Indian people are barred from quarrying the stone. A history of this

management of the Pipestone National Monument was recently completed (Rothman and Holder 1992).

The connection of a people to a place is a problem of multiple levels of interpretation. Such ties to the land can be physical and historical, established by documenting that the people actually occupied the land in question at some time in the past. The ties can also be of sociological and economic importance, deriving from some prior economic interest in the property. Or, they can be emotional or religious in nature, where the products from the land are important to the ceremonial, spiritual or social life of the people. At times the historical "facts" recorded by trained observers may be inconsistent with the traditional "truths" of the people being considered. The distinction between fact and truth is important in this essay because different peoples hold to different truths. That these truths differ from the historical facts demonstrates that there are different levels of explanation that need to be considered in evaluating the roles a material object or place can play in disparate societies and their cultural settings.

Contemporary Controversy

The Pipestone quarries are spiritually, culturally, historically and traditionally significant to many individuals and groups of Native Americans.

Because of this significance, there has been some conflict over the use and management of the quarries since at least the time George Catlin visited them (see page 84). Beginning with a series of treaties in the latter 19th century, control of the quarries has been taken out of Native American hands and, eventually, established with the National Park Service to manage the quarries and permit use by all American Indians. The result has been a growing conflict between different traditions of appropriate use of the quarries.

The dominant parties in the growing dispute are the Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota and the Pipestone Dakota Community, a non-Federally recognized group of predominantly Sisseton-Wahpeton tribal members whose settlement in Pipestone, Minnesota began early in this century. The Yankton argue that traditionally the pipe and Pipestone should not be quarried for commercial sale: Pipestone and products made from it should be held for personal ceremonial use or bartered within the Native American communities for traditional goods. Members of the Pipestone community respond that they are simply following the traditions of their people and serving as stewards of the quarries and keepers of the knowledge of quarrying and pipe manufacture. Generally, members of the Pipestone community feel that selling the pipes is a way to spread the potential good of the pipe to all who are interested.

The debate began reaching a climax in 1987 when "the Yankton Sioux Tribe passed a resolution asking the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association and the United States government to immediately vacate the Red Sacred Pipestone quarries" (Iron Shield, nd). Following passage, a run was organized from Greenwood, SD to the Pipestone National Monument to generate public awareness of the issue. Subsequent 'runs' for the sacred pipe were held from 1988 through 1994 and gained national attention with articles about the run and the disagreement over Pipestone appearing in numerous Lakota, South Dakota and Minnesota newspapers as well as USA Today (July 18, 1988). Response from the Pipestone community opposing the protests was published in at least one source (The Lakota Times June 7, 1988:6)

In 1992, a national convention of the Keepers of the Treasures was held in Sioux Falls, SD to discuss the problem of commercial exploitation of the Pipestone. The rhetoric among the groups contending over appropriate use of the quarries and the pipes made from Catlinite has gotten heated at times. A document entitled "Declaration of War Against Exploiters of Lakota Spirituality"¹ decries the desecration "through the sale of Pipestone pipes at flea markets, powwows, and 'New Age' retail stores" (ibid:1) and calls upon the people to

¹ Internet location <http://maple.lemouyne.edu/~bucko/war.html>. on 10/30/95. Hard copies are on file at WSU and with the National Park Service, Lincoln

identify instances of abuse and resist the abuse using "whatever specific tactics are necessary and sufficient--for example demonstrations, boycotts, press conferences, and acts of direct intervention"(ibid:2).

Purpose and Focus of these Investigations

Clearly, there are at least some differences of opinion about how, when, by whom, and for what purpose the Pipestone quarries and the products from those quarries should be used and distributed. Many people representing a number of cultures have used the quarries in the past 20 years, and only they can truly know their motives and purposes. This review of the use of the Pipestone and quarries cannot resolve those differences, but through a series of interviews with concerned people from the Yankton, Santee, and Pipestone Communities, we hope to be able to offer some perspective on the debates. Additionally, through a review of the ethnohistory and ethnology of these three groups and others, perhaps some boundaries for discussion can be established.

Our research has focused on directed interviews with people concerned with the future of the Pipestone National Monument and on an extensive review of the literature of some 20 tribes of Native Americans to determine their historical or ritual associations with the Pipestone quarries or the products of

those quarries. The following discussions begin with a consideration of the principal three groups: the Yankton, the Pipestone Community, and the Santee Sioux. Information for these people comes from published and unpublished documents and discussions with people who are immediately concerned with the issues. Information about other tribes is taken from primary ethnographic and historical documentation and, wherever possible, unpublished testimony before the Court of Claims and before the Indian Claims Commission² and other sources.

Methods of Investigations and Procedures

The literature search and fieldwork were conducted simultaneously. Nancy Pearson spent about one month total in the Minnesota and South Dakota area interviewing members of the Yankton Dakota, Flandreau-Santee, and Pipestone Communities concerning their beliefs about and use of the Pipestone and Pipestone quarry area. Interviews were conducted using a directed interview format and set of questions developed by the WSU research team after an initial interview with one member of the Pipestone community and

² Garland Press has published the expert testimony, background, and findings of hearings before the Indian Claims Commission in a four volume set entitled Sioux Indians. Much valuable information and testimony is available in published format in that series.

discussions with the National Park Service personnel at Pipestone National Monument. The format for interviews was kept flexible so that informants could expand the discussions as they saw fit. All informants were advised that they did not have to answer any of the questions and their permission to tape the interviews was granted at the beginning of each session. The tapes of the interviews were transcribed over a 6 month period following completion of the field work and, after the transcripts were checked twice against the original tapes, the tapes were destroyed to protect informant anonymity. Anonymous transcripts of these interviews will be maintained with the Anthropological Research laboratory of Wichita State University and will be filed with the National Park Service in Lincoln, Nebraska. The questions and general order of the interview for the field investigations are provided in Appendix I.

The literature research was organized to try and address questions of the ethnographic identities of people who have used the Pipestone quarry area or who have traditionally used Pipestone in ceremonial, sacred, or mundane settings. Resources used to trace primary sources of information included the Human Relations Area Files, the Bibliography of Native North Americans on Disc, on-line and hard copy research resources available through Ablah Library at Wichita State University, and electronic library catalogs of the Smithsonian Institution, Library of Congress, and others libraries available through

INTERNET Gopher servers. Two graduate research assistants then began the arduous task of sorting through the literally thousands of ethnographic references found to determine the ones most suitable for the purpose of this study. In addition to the foregoing, the National Park Service provided some transcripts of testimony and related documents for land claim hearings for the Yankton, Omaha, and Ponca.

The results of these investigations are assembled and presented here in two parts. First, information about the people who today have expressed a strong interest in the Pipestone area and who were the subjects of the field investigations--the Yankton, the Flandreau-Santee and the Pipestone Communities--is presented. Second, the results of the literature search on 29 additional groups is presented. The quality of information available throughout is highly variable, and this is discussed in a bibliographic essay in Appendix II.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Pipes, People and Ceremonies

The use of pipes and tobacco by the natives of North America goes well back in time and has been the focus of numerous studies by archaeologists since the inception of that field. A brief history of tobacco has been recently published by Mitchem (1991) recounting the development of the European tobacco industries. Tobacco was grown by many Native Americans who otherwise did no gardening. Catlinite pipes and other red stone pipes have been found in Adena period sites dating more than 3,000 years old (Sigstad 1973:51). Generically, tobacco and the pipe are dominant themes in modern Native American spiritual life. Tobacco is used as a purification agent, an offering in prayers, and as a sacred marker to keep evil spirits away. Tobacco is smoked as a part of prayers and offerings in formal pipe ceremonies and is sometimes placed on the hot stones in a sweat lodge. Both informal pipes for social talks among friends and sacred pipes for formal ceremonies are in use. There is now some debate about the possible antiquity of the ceremonial pipe and tobacco smoking. Use of the Calumet may be a relatively recent nativistic response to disruption of ancestral lifeways (Turnbaugh 1979) but there is a

contrasting opinion that the basic form of Calumet use may date into antiquity (Blakeslee 1981).

Regardless of the antiquity of the ceremonial surrounding pipes and tobacco, both are inextricably a part of the modern spiritual life of Native Americans. Even the use of Catlinite pipes has become continent-wide, and those people who do not presently own such a pipe respect and desire them. Therefore, an evaluation of the ethnographic resources of the Pipestone National Monument that fails to consider the changing importance of the pipe in the modern age must fall short of its mark. Many of the beliefs surrounding the current acceptance of the pipe (e.g. that it is a gift from a creator or that the Catlinite represents the flesh of the ancestors) are derived from earlier times and the legends modern beliefs are derived from have been documented in the ethnographic literature. Many of the modern beliefs can be traced at least to this relatively modern historical period.

The Origin of Pipestone and Pipes

Tales of the origin of the Pipestone are recounted by Catlin after his first visit to the Pipestone Quarry in 1836. The story as known by the Siouan peoples on the Mississippi begins with a great flood centuries ago when all the

tribes of Indians were gathered on the Côteau des Prairies to escape the rising waters. Eventually the flood rose and drowned them all, except for one virgin who caught the foot of a great bird and was flown to a cliff top. The bird became War Eagle, and the children of the two eventually repopulated the earth. The blood and flesh of the multitudes who drowned became the red Pipestone, and the red pipe is smoked as a sign of peace and unity today (Catlin 1965:168). Siouans of the Missouri did not recognize that story, but rather believed that before people were created, the Great Spirit would kill the buffalo and sit on the ledge at the top of the Côteau des Prairie and eat them. The blood running down the rocks turned them red. One day a large snake crawled into the nest of the Great Spirit to eat his eggs but one of them hatched with a loud thunder-clap. The Great Spirit grabbed a piece of pipe stone to throw at the snake, and molded it into a man who stood fast in the rock for many ages until another person grew up by his side. A great snake came and ate their feet free from the rock and they wandered off. From them have sprung all the people (Catlin 1965:168-169).

While these two stories differ in the role and importance of Pipestone, the first suggesting how it originated from the blood and flesh of the people and the second showing the people's blood and flesh originating from the Pipestone, both illustrate a concept which is shared by many followers of the pipe today:

that the stone itself is the same as the Indian's flesh. With the stone and the people having been created, the linkage of the two in sacred ritual is established in further tales.

The Mississippi Sioux tale of the first pipe talks of a time when all the tribes were at war and the Great Spirit:

sent runners and called them all together at the 'Red Pipe.'--He stood on the top of the rocks, and the red people were assembled in infinite numbers on the plains below. He took out of the rock a piece of the red stone, and made a large pipe; he smoked it over them all; told them that it was part of their flesh; that though they were at war, they must meet at this place as friends; that it belonged to them all; that they must make their calumets from it and smoke them to him whenever they wished to appease him or get his good-will--the smoke from his big pipe rolled over them all, and he disappeared in its cloud; at the last whiff of his pipe a blaze of fire rolled over the rocks, and melted their surface--at that moment two [women] went in a blaze of fire under the two medicine rocks, where they remain to this day, and must be consulted and propitiated whenever the pipe stone is to be taken away. (Catlin 1965:169).

A modern Minneconjou Lakota man, keeper of the Sioux Sacred Calf Pipe, relates another story on how the pipe came to the people (Looking Horse 1987:68-69). It begins with two hunters looking for, and having bad luck finding buffalo to hunt. In the distance they saw a beautiful woman coming toward them with a bundle. One man had bad thoughts about her and when he touched her, he was turned to bones. The woman said to the survivor "Tomorrow make

preparations for me to come to bring the bundle for the Sioux people. With this you will survive on the earth" (Looking Horse 1987:68). The people prepared for her arrival, and the next day she came and gave them the sacred calf pipe and taught them the ceremonies to use it with and how to take care of it. "She left the camp circle in a clockwise direction, then headed west. As she went she changed into four animals. The last was a white buffalo calf, which disappeared over the horizon" (Looking Horse 1987:69). The pipe was to be used for the unity and preservation of all and it is "for all people, all races, as long as a person believes in it" (Looking Horse 1987:69).

The history and details of the Sacred Calf Pipe are discussed in more detail by J. L. Smith in his "Short History of the Sacred Calf Pipe of the Teton Dakota" (Smith 1967). As Smith recounts the tale, White Buffalo Calf Maiden appeared before the Red Water Sans Arc band who at that time were under chief Standing Buffalo and presented them the pipe because Wakáŋ Tanka "knows of the truth and honesty possessed by this band of the Lakota" (Smith 1967:3). After a detailed consideration of the various winter counts and histories of the Sacred Calf Pipe bundle Smith concludes that the events in the story of White Buffalo Calf Maiden probably occurred in the latter 18th century and that the bundle may date from around 1798 (Smith 1967:5-6).

The role of the red stone pipe among many American Indians today, and especially among the Siouan people, is to establish unity among all people and provide a link to the Great Spirit through its proper use and prayer. Jonathon Carver's map of the region, dating from the late 1700's, shows this spot around the Pipestone quarries as "The Land of Peace" (Carver 1778). This attitude is reflected in the numerous stories recorded by 19th century European travelers from Lewis and Clark to Maximillian to Catlin, all of whom report that

the necessity of procuring that article [Pipestone] has introduced a sort of law of nations, by which the banks of the creek are sacred; even tribes at war meet without hostility at these quarries, which possess a right of asylum. Thus we find even among savages certain principles deemed sacred, by which the rigors of their merciless system of warfare are mitigated" (Lewis and Clark 1803, cited in M'Vickar 1900:76 and Wheeler 1926:174)

George Catlin found in his visit to the area that the people he talked with all reported the quarries were held and owned in common as neutral ground and this had been true until the Sioux "laid entire claim to this quarry [probably at the instigation of whites]" (Catlin 1965:167). Catlin also cites William Clark as saying that "every tribe on the Missouri told him they had been to this place, and that the Great Spirit kept the peace amongst his red children on that ground, where they had smoked with their enemies" (Catlin 1965:168).

Traditional Ceremonial Importance of the Quarry Area

With the importance of the Catlinite Pipestone and its source area to many people, it is not surprising that early literature contains a wealth of data about the importance of this ground. One feature of the cliffs that lie east of the quarries stands out, both figuratively and literally. It was described by Catlin as "an immense column of thirty-five feet high, and highly polished on its top and sides" (Catlin 1965:170) and is known as 'leaping rock'. It is separated from the main cliff by eight or ten feet and is about seven feet in diameter. In the past, young men who wished to earn regard for their ability would leap from the main cliff to the top of this rock and leave there tokens of their deed, hence the name.

It requires a daring effort to leap on to its top from the main wall, and aback again, and many a heart has sighed for the honour of the feat without daring to make the attempt. Some few have tried it with success, and left their arrows standing in its crevice, several of which are seen there at this time; others have leapt the chasm and fallen from the slippery surface on which they could not hold, and sufered instant death upon the craggy rocks below (Catlin 1965:170).

Catlin reports this use for both a Mandan and a Sioux man, and others are hinted at in the literature.

A group of boulders (glacial erratics) are also the subject of ceremony. Known today as 'the Three Maidens', Catlin reports that two holes under these rocks are where the two old women went when the Great Spirit smoked his pipe. The women are the guardian spirits of the quarries and must be propitiated before stone can be removed from the quarry (Catlin 1965:202-203). In Catlin's time, supplicants of the guardians did not approach the rocks closely but stood a short distance away and tossed their offerings of tobacco to the guardians, gaining their permission to quarry (Catlin 1965:203). Apparently, this area was so revered that when Catlin visited it "not a spear of grass is broken or bent . . . within three or four rods of them, where he [the supplicant] stops" (Catlin 1965:203).³

Historical usage

At the time of Catlin's visit--and indeed 30 years earlier when Lewis and Clark passed through the area, the Pipestone quarries were under the control of one or more tribes of the Sioux. As discussed below (p 26) Charles Le Seuer may have implied in 1701 that the Yankton Sioux had possession of the

³ Offerings are still made to the Three Maidens. Thomas Thiessen and Alan Smith of the Midwest Archeological Center observed a plate of food (cookies and fresh apple slices) and tobacco that was left under the edge of one of the boulders in September, 1994 (Personal communication from Thomas Thiessen, October 1995)

Pipestone quarry site (Hoover and Bruguier 1989:9), although an alternative reading of the map published by Hoover and Bruguier shows a group identified as the Aiaouez (Iowa) and Maka⁴ (ancestral Omaha including Ponca) as being physically in the area. This latter corresponds with a note in the Jesuit Relation from 1676 where Fa. Louis André notes that

This year, we have among the pians 7 or 8 families from a nation who are neutral Between our Savages and the nadoessi, who are at war. They are called Aioua, or nadoessi mascoutiens. Their village, which lies 200 leagues from here Toward the west, is very large, but poor; for their greatest wealth consists of ox-hides and of Red Calumets (Jesuit Relations 60:203)

Omaha elders testifying before the U. S. Court of Claims (1912) say clearly that the Omaha possessed the quarries before the Sioux. Additional notes imply Mandan, Sac and Fox, and other peoples also held possession, or use rights, to the quarry at times in the past.

The Sisseton and Wahpeton ceded a large tract of southern Minnesota, including the quarry region, to the United States under the treaty of Traverse des Sioux on July 23, 1851. In 1858, the Yankton Sioux signed a treaty ceding their Minnesota lands to the U. S. government, reserving rights to quarry pipestone at the traditional site. By the 1880's numerous people were quarrying pipestone and the Sioux Quartzite from what is now the monument area and the U. S.

⁴ The Handbook of American Indians (Hodge 1910) suggests that the Makah and the Mahaws are Omaha (p1085) and the Aiaouez are the Iowa (p1023).

Army forced illegal white settlers off the reserved area. In the 1890's, the Yankton began to press for a settlement of their claim to the pipestone quarries and in 1928, it was settled with cash and support (Rogers 1958).

Founding of the BIA Technical School near the monument on the reserved land in 1892 revived interest in quarrying and using pipestone among the Indians who were hired as support staff or who came to be with their children at the school. In 1937, 115 acres of the reserved area were declared as the Pipestone National Monument and the superintendent of Pipestone Indian School, J. W. Balmer, became the volunteer custodian of the monument. Because of continued abuses, in 1946 regulations to govern quarrying were implemented, and in 1948 the monument got a full-time superintendent.

Today, the monument is managed by the National Park Service in accordance with federal law and the policies of the National Park Service. After new permit regulations went into effect in 1972, quarry permits have been revoked or suspended for a non-Indian involved in the quarrying of the stone. In two instances, a non-Indian spouse was helping an enrolled tribal member quarry stone and that rules infraction caused the permit to be revoked. Additionally, no power or other tools are permitted. Quarrying is carried out by hand tools such as picks, shovels, hammers, wedges and pry-bars.

The Superintendent of the monument and employees of the Park Service consult regularly with members of the Pipestone Indian Shrine association about matters of Native American custom and priority. They endeavor to provide an atmosphere which is tolerant of the many specific beliefs about the pipestone and its heritage by the variety of people who come to quarry and work the stone.

The range of beliefs people hold about the pipestone and the nature of its sacredness insures that the efforts of the Park Service personnel cannot be wholly successful. During recent decades, first with the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act and later with the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, increasing national awareness has been given to Native American ceremonial and spiritual claims. Concerns about the management of the monument in relation to this increased sensitivity began to arise most recently in the 1980's. In 1987 and again in 1988 and 1989 the Yankton Sioux Tribe petitioned the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs and the U. S. Department of Interior to restore management and control of the Pipestone National Monument to them because of what they perceived as desecration of the monument and the pipestone by the National Park Service and the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association. Debates continue, with pipestone being one of the foci of the "Keepers of the Treasures" conference held in Sioux Falls in 1995 (Kranz 1995). A central theme within the

published and available complaints of the Yankton Sioux is that "The Pipe must not be sold. 'Handicraft products' made of pipestone must not be sold"⁵. This belief is echoed by the Keeper of the Sacred Calf Pipe of the Sioux who says "It is our position that under no circumstances should sacred pipestone be sold for commercial purposes. . . All non-sacred use of pipestone should be discontinued" (Looking-Horse 1989:14).

The Flandreau Santee reservation lies geographically between the city of Pipestone, Minnesota and the Yankton reservation near Marty, South Dakota. The Santee have also expressed some concern and interest in the management and future of the quarries, because many of their people quarry and work Pipestone and they, too, share in the generalized Siouan lore of the quarries and the Red Pipe Stone.

A Native American community has grown up in Pipestone, Minnesota. This community is composed largely of Pipestone quarriers and craft workers

⁵ letter of June 7, 1987 from the Yankton Tribe to Sen. Inouye, Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs

and is dominated by enrolled members of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux. The quarry permit records for 1972 through 1993 list one Arapaho, two Arikara, one Cheyenne, four Chippewa, two Mandan-Hidatsa, two Oglala, one

Table 1: Ten cities most often given as place of residence by permit applicants.

STATE	CITY	Number of people receiving permits	Proportion of total permits issued
MN	Pipestone	73	20%
SD	Flandreau	22	6%
MN	Minneapolis	18	5%
SD	Sioux Falls	10	3%
SD	Mission	8	2%
MN	St. Paul	7	2%
No Info		8	2%
MN	Cloquet	6	2%
MN	Red Lake	6	2%
MN	Shakopee	6	2%

Ojibwa, five Santee, 24 Sisseton-Wahpeton, and 29 other unspecified Siouans who indicate their residence in Pipestone and have held permits to quarry the stone. The Pipestone community so dominates the quarries that fully one-fifth

Table 2: Number of people receiving quarry permits and the number of cities represented in each state.

State	No. People Receiving Permits	No. of Cities Represented	Percent of Total	Cumulative Percent
MN	176	42	49.2%	49.2%
SD	89	26	24.9%	74.0%
ND	14	6	3.9%	77.9%
WI	11	8	3.1%	81.0%
MI	9	3	2.5%	83.5%
None	8	?	2.2%	85.8%
Canada	8	5	2.2%	88.0%
MT	7	4	2.0%	89.9%
NE	6	3	1.7%	91.6%
WA	6	4	1.7%	93.3%
WY	5	2	1.4%	94.7%
OK	5	5	1.4%	96.1%
AZ	3	3	0.8%	96.9%
CA	2	2	0.6%	97.5%
NY	2	2	0.6%	98.0%
OR	2	2	0.6%	98.6%
CO	1	1	0.3%	98.9%
KS	1	1	0.3%	99.2%
NM	1	1	0.3%	99.4%
IA	1	1	0.3%	99.7%
IL	1	1	0.3%	100.0%
TOTAL:	358	122	100.0%	

of all permits issued derive from residents of that community. Large numbers of permits have also been secured from people traveling from Flandreau, South Dakota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota (Table 1). Minnesota and South Dakota cities account for 46% of the permits issued among the top 10 referenced residences of permit applicants.

Geographic proximity to the quarry is clearly one factor in the decision to secure a quarry permit. More than 80% of all permits issued are to residents of Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin. In all, the permit files represent people coming from 20 of the United States and Canada representing 122 cities in that group (Table 2).

Table 3: Detail of Siouan groups receiving quarry permits

BAND or Reservation Membership	# OF PERMIT HOLDERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	CUM. FREQ.
Birdtail	1	0.4%	0.4%
Devils Lake	1	0.4%	0.9%
Lower Brule	1	0.4%	1.3%
Teton	1	0.4%	1.8%
Upper	1	0.4%	2.2%
Crow Creek	2	0.9%	3.1%
Mdewekaton	3	1.3%	4.4%
Standing Rock	4	1.8%	6.2%
Yankton	11	4.8%	11.0%
Cheyenne River	12	5.3%	16.3%
Rosebud	12	5.3%	21.6%
Oglala	13	5.7%	27.3%
Santee	28	12.3%	39.6%
Sisseton-Wahpeton	48	21.1%	60.8%
Unidifferentiated	89	39.2%	100.0%
TOTAL	227	100.0%	

A statistical review of the permits issued for stone quarrying

quickly illustrates the importance of the Pipestone quarries to a wide range of people.

Table 4: Number of people receiving permits by tribal membership

TRIBE	NUMBER OF PERMITS	PROPORTION OF TOTAL	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
Sioux	227	63%	63%
Chippewa	45	13%	76%
Ojibwa	24	7%	83%
Blackfeet	7	2%	85%
Mandan	6	2%	87%
Cheyenne	5	1%	88%
Arapaho	4	1%	89%
Seneca	3	1%	90%
None Given	3	1%	91%
Dine-Navajo	3	1%	92%
25 other tribes	31	8%	100%
TOTAL	358	100%	

Three hundred fifty eight people from 48 different Native American groups have secured permits to quarry Pipestone in the period from 1973 through 1994. The dominant groups includes 15 different Siouans (Tables 3 and 4) Chippewa,

Ojibwa, Blackfeet, Mandan, Cheyenne Arapaho, Seneca, Dine-Navajo, Winnebago, Pottawatomie, Oneida, Jamestown Klallam, Fon Du Lac, Arikara, Joseph Bighead Reservation, Ponca, Penobscot, Peepeekesis Branch, Papago, Paiute, Ottawa, Osage, Nez Perce, Menominee, Leech Lake Pillager, Gros-Ventre, Eskimo, Creek, Creek Conkow Maidu, Comanche, Athabaskan and Assiniboine. Ninety-two percent of all permit holders came from the first ten of these tribes (Table 4).

Of the Siouan groups who have received permits for quarrying, the most well represented tribes are the Sisseton-Wahpeton and the Santee, accounting for about one-third of all permits issued to Siouan people (Table 3). The remaining 12 identified groups account for only about 30% of the total permits issued. What is interesting is that the majority of Siouans who received quarry permits simply indicated "Sioux" as the affiliated tribe on the permit application, making it difficult or impossible to determine which particular recognized tribe of Siouan speakers was the appropriate affiliation .

YANKTON DAKOTA

Le Seuer's map of 1701 (Hoover and Bruguier 1989:9) shows the Yankton on the east side of the Missouri River near the mouth of the *R. des Panis* or Pawnee River. This river is almost certainly the Platte River, which would have placed the Yankton in what is today south central Iowa. During the first decade of the 19th Century, Lewis and Clark found the Yankton of the North "from the heads of the river St. Peters and Red river to the Missouri, about the great bend and on the heads of the Rivers Jacque and Big Sioux on the N. W. Side of the Mississippi" (Lewis and Clarke in Thwaites 1969:96). An 1843 map (Bowden 1843) shows the "Yongton" between the St. Peter's River and the headwaters of the Mississippi. The Yanktonai were on the De Moines River and claimed the lands "between the Missouri & River Desmoin, on the Little River Sioux" (Thwaites 1969:96).

Siouans were certainly using Catlinite pipes in 1833. Prince Maximilian described the typical Dakota pipe as :

. . .very beautiful, in truth the most beautiful of all the North American Indians, which they make, in various forms, of the red indurated clay, or stone. The pipe has a long, flat, broad wooden tube, which is ornamented with tufts of horse-hair, dyed red,

yellow, or green, and wound round with strings of porcupine quills of divers colours. (Thwaites 1906:321-322)

Maximillian went on to note the lore of the Pipestone quarries that people of "the several Indian tribes behave peaceably towards each other while they are digging up the stone in that place" (Thwaites 1906:322[footnote 283])

Catlin observed that "within a few years past (and that, probably, by the instigation of the whites, who have told them that by keeping off other adjoining nations, they can acquire much influence and wealth), the Sioux have laid entire claim to this quarry" (Catlin 1965:167). Hoover and Bruguier (1989:9) argue from Le Seuer's map and notes that the Yankton used the quarries as early as 1700. This is expanded in an earlier publication where Hoover says "[in] 1700, the French trader-explorer Pierre Charles Le Seuer identified them as 'Hinhanetons' at the 'village of the red-stone quarry'" (Hoover 1988:25). The Yankton were apparently frequent visitors to the Pipestone quarries in the latter 17th century and during the 18th century.

The published map and unattributed quotes from Le Seuer are not persuasive about physical possession of the quarries. In an extensive review of the Le Seuer documents, Wedel (1974) points out that since the complete Le Seuer diaries are not extant, the only sources of information about his activities

between 1700 and 1702 are derived from manuscripts of copied excerpts and in some places may be unreliable (Wedel 1974:157-158). There is other evidence that the Iowa may have held the quarries at this time (see page 17). In 1721, Charlevoix wrote that the quarry lay "beyond the Mississippi among the Aikouez" (cited in Nydahl 1950:195). Jonathan Carver was in Minnesota in 1766-1768 and his map shows a "Country of Peace." His report of his travels mentions that near "the Marble River is a mountain from which the Indians get a sort of red stone, out of which they hew the bowls of their pipes" (cited in Nydahl 1950:196).

Regardless of the precise antiquity of the Yankton claim to the pipestone quarries, they or their Siouan cousins have clearly held the quarries since the dawn of the 19th century. The right to and possession of the pipestone quarry was recognized in the treaty of April 19, 1858 (11 Stat 743) Article VIII which says in part that the

Yankton Indians shall be secured in the free and unrestricted use of the red pipestone quarry or so much thereof as they have been accustomed to frequent and use for the purpose of procuring stone for pipes (U. S. Supreme Court 1925:7).

Summary of interview data

In selecting informants, we used a volunteer sample of people who expressed concern for, or interest in the use and future of Pipestone as an accessible quarry site and in the ceremonial life that surrounds it. The age of informants ranged from 40 to over 80. All are at least one-quarter Yankton and are enrolled in the Yankton tribe. All people interviewed have been concerned about or involved with the Pipestone quarries--through quarrying, manufacturing of items, use of the sacred pipe, or activism against the perceived abuse of Pipestone--for significant periods of time, the shortest for about 6 years and the longest for over 70 years. Professions represented within our sample include three tribal employees, one retiree, two teachers, and one artist. Of these people, only one has ever quarried pipestone or carved a pipe, and that was for personal use.

There are some misconceptions among the Yankton about how the Pipestone National Monument is managing the quarry operations. A common belief is that non-Indians are allowed to work the quarries and that there is substantial commercial profit to be made. This is a point of disagreement

between the Yankton, the National Park Service, and the members of the Pipestone Dakota Community.

Six of the seven informants made a sharp distinction between being religious and being spiritual and, by their interviews, preferred to consider themselves as spiritual. The dominant difference between the two concepts is the more informal and personal involvement of the spiritual as opposed to the institutional structures and regulated practice of religion. Despite this contrast, all but one of our informants had been baptized into the Christian faith, and most had attended Christian schools during their early years. None of our informants acknowledged membership in the Native American Church, but five of them did express belief in the importance of several traditional ceremonies, such as the sweat lodge for purification, the Sun Dance for unity and pledging, and three or more of the traditional pipe ceremonies.

Only three of our Yankton informants said they knew the customs and traditions surrounding the quarry and manufacture of articles from Pipestone. The low response could be an indication of the lack of involvement of these people in the routine quarry and craft operations of the Pipestone. Only one informant professed to be the equivalent of a loremaster [a keeper and teacher of ancient knowledge]. All but one informant said that the pipestone quarries

and the stone from those quarries are sacred. When pressed about whether the Pipestone quarry is more sacred than other areas, the respondents generally concluded that 'all the earth' is sacred and offered expressions dealing with the origin of people from the earth and the nature of the sacred relation between people and Mother Earth. The one exception is a staunch Christian who vigorously denies the modern application and interpretation of traditional ceremonies and beliefs.

Peoples understanding of the antiquity of Yankton use of the Pipestone quarries and their traditions about that use varies. The most common view was that the Yankton people had been using the Pipestone quarries effectively forever. One person told us that the current pipe keeper allows nineteen generations of use since the pipe was given to the people. If we assume the duration of a 'generation' at about 20 years, this would put the origin of the Sacred Calf Pipe in the early part of the 17th century.⁶ One informant provided an example of the incorporation of western science into the traditional belief system by explaining at some length the antiquity of humanity in the New World beginning with the crossing of the Bering Strait and concluding with the arrival

⁶ This does not agree with Smith's conclusion that there were 12 keepers of the sacred pipe through 1967 and a possible origin of the pipe in 1798 (Smith 1967:9)

of people in Minnesota. From that litany, the informant concluded that people had been using Pipestone for 10 or 12 thousand years.

The list of things made from Pipestone recited by members of the Yankton tribe includes pipes, trinkets, earrings, miniature pipes, medallions, ashtrays, pen cases, bibles, shot glasses. One informant explained that long ago, the stone was routinely used for household and cooking implements such as bowls, cooking utensils, spoons and cups. The people we interviewed expressed general dissatisfaction with this list of products and stressed that the stone should be used only for pipes since that was what it was created for. Two people did not respond to this question, and one wanted a return to the old ways with general household use and pipes, but not for trinkets for the tourist trade.

Despite the apparent conservative movement regarding Pipestone, four of the five people who responded on the question of who should have Pipestone pipes said that the important consideration was appropriate respect and use and that being an enrolled member of a tribe was of secondary importance.

A major point of concern for all was that the pipe should not be sold for money. Justifications for this ranged from the sacred nature of the stone to the ceremonial importance of the pipe and included historical justifications. The most common historical justification is the belief that before the opening of the

Pipestone area with the 1858 treaty, each person went to the quarries and, after appropriate ceremony, removed enough stone for his own pipe. The ceremony required before starting to remove stone from the quarries usually involved some sort of offering of tobacco, but our informants were unaware of any specific cautions or ceremonial requirements. The belief that pipes and Pipestone were never sold in the past is quite strong. This belief apparently comes from the sacredness of the pipe itself. According to our informants Pipestone pipes are sacred either because they are made of Pipestone or because they were intended for use in the seven ceremonies taught by Buffalo Calf Woman. Only three people acknowledged that they had heard the story of Buffalo Calf Woman and the origin of the Sacred Buffalo Calf Pipe among the Sioux.

Variations on the tale about the origin of Pipestone from the blood of the people, and hence its sacredness, were more widely acknowledged. The three variations on this that we encountered included the tale (cited above) of the great flood that destroyed all but one person who was saved by War Eagle and the blood and flesh of those who died in the flood was converted into the Pipestone. A second variation, Checha Hallow, is sparsely represented in the literature. The Checha Hallow talks of a time in the past when all the people had gathered in the Coteau for a great war and all were killed except for three maidens. The blood of the people stained the rocks and made the sacred

pipestone. A third variant is that the gods take one drop of blood from each person who has died and use that to color the pipestone.

The pipe itself is central to seven rites, six of which were given by Buffalo Calf Woman while the seventh may be of more recent origin. These rites are described in several sources, but the most complete may be in The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux (Brown 1953).

Fasting, sweat lodge, the making of a young woman, the making of relatives, and the Sun Dance are the most significant ones practiced today. Six of our informants have participated in or led one or more of the rites that involve the pipe. The most significant of these seems to be the Sun Dance, with two people having participated in the Sun Dance at Pipestone Monument and one having been involved with a Sun Dance in South Dakota.

The pipe is said by those Yankton familiar with it, to represent the male, female, and earth elements in the form of the stem, bowl, and tobacco. Failure to treat each element appropriately can result in bad luck for the user or a loss of spiritual power for the tribe. For some people all Pipestone pipes are sacred and the probable misuse of these elements by non-Indians and non-believers who buy pipes is seen as leading to the weakening of the Yankton Sioux. This

belief is strong enough that four of our informants have been involved in the run for Pipestone (see page 4) to demonstrate the importance of their beliefs

The general results of our interviews among the Yankton can be summarized as follows:

1. All feel that the Yankton have a substantial prior claim to the Pipestone quarries from both tradition and treaty.
2. The consensus is that the Pipestone itself is sacred because it derives from the blood of the ancestors, was intended for use to make sacred objects, or both.
3. The sale of pipes made of Pipestone is wrong.
4. Pipestone should not be used to make 'trinkets' for the tourist trade.
5. Failure to adhere to proper and traditional usages of the quarries, the Pipestone, and products made from it can result in a loss of spiritual power to the people.

From these points stem much of the present day controversy (see page 3).

FLANDREAU-SANTEE

The Santee were named from the Dakota phrase referring to 'those who pitch their tents at Mille Lacs' (Hodge 1907:460) or 'Dwellers at the Knife Lake' (Howard 1980:3). This term was applied by the Missouri River Dakota to all those of the group living on the Mississippi and Lower Minnesota rivers including the Lower Council Mdewakanton and Wahpekute tribes and the Upper Council Wahpeton and Sisseton tribes (Howard 1980:10). This includes four of the seven traditional bands of the Dakota. Probably the ancestral band of the Santee is the Mdewakanton (Hodge 1907: 826). The earliest record for the Santee related peoples has them in the Mille Lacs area of central Minnesota (Hennepin 1880). The Mdewakanton were called the Isanyati when discovered near Mille Lacs, Minnesota and may be the only people entitled to the proper name Santee.

Lewis and Clark found the Santee on both sides of the Minnesota River below the Redwood River. "It is sufficiently clear that in the latter part of the 17th century the principal residence of the Isanyati Sioux [Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and Sisseton] was about the headwaters of Rum River, whence they extended their hunts to St. Croix and Mississippi Rivers and down the latter

nearly or quite as far as the mouth of the Wisconsin" (Williamson 1872:295). The Santee almost certainly represent all or part of the "Mississippi Sioux" that are referred to in Catlin's discussion of the how the Pipestone originated when the Great Spirit smoked his pipe. These are probably also the *Sioux de L'est* on LeSeuer's map.

Summary of interview data

The range of ages included in our four interviews at Flandreau was from 42 to 84. All have been in the area for most of their lives and the depth of their knowledge varies from relatively little to that of craftsmen and carvers. Three have been tribal government or BIA employees and one is a craft worker (not in pipestone). Two of the people interviewed have held permits to quarry pipestone. Two people consider themselves strongly spiritual in a traditional sense, and two are baptized Christians. None are members of the Native American Church or regular practitioners of the pipe ceremonies. One of our informants is active in the Sun dance.

Three of the four people interviewed consider the pipestone quarries and the stone that is removed from them to be sacred. Only the Black Hills or Bear Butte are considered to be as sacred or more sacred to these people. The role

of the pipestone, its use, misuse, sale, and sacredness of pipes produced the widest range of opinions. Three people had no difficulty with the current range of articles being made from pipestone or the sale of those articles (including pipes) although one of those three indicated that he would not participate in such things himself. In this first group, two people acknowledged feeling that sale of the pipestone craft products is beneficial to their culture because it supports the people and makes other people more aware of them. The fourth person said that the stone should be used only for pipes: that permission from the creator must be secured before beginning to even quarry stone or make a pipe.

Similar diversity of opinion was found on questions dealing with the sacredness and appropriate use of pipes. One person who had indicated no problem with the sale of pipes also said that pipes are sacred because the stone is sacred and so it is inappropriate for women to have pipes. Further discussion led to the concept of ceremonial pipes and 'casual' pipes. The consensus of the people we interviewed, with one notable exception, is that a pipe becomes most sacred when it is used in the traditional pipe ceremonies and in prayer. The exception was a person who told us that the pipe was not sacred unless it was specifically blessed for religious or ceremonial purposes. Two people felt that

pipes could be owned by anyone who was prayerful and followed the ceremonies.

Knowledge about ceremonies and procedures for quarrying and working pipestone was minimal, or at least minimally reported, by our Flandreau sample. Only one person expressed any opinion on the subject and that was that the stone should be approached with a prayerful attitude. Only one person knew of any instance where a non-Indian had quarried pipestone, and that was apparently some time in the 1960's before the present permit system went into effect. Two people acknowledge having heard the legend of Buffalo Calf Woman and knew it well enough to recite portions of it and one person knew the basic procedures for the seven pipe ceremonies that were introduced by White Buffalo Calf Woman.

The more conservative or nativistic responses to our questions were routinely given by people under 50. The two people over 65 we talked to tended to exhibit lower levels of knowledge about the traditional ways, although they knew their family histories and migrations with stories going back into the middle of the 19th century. Whether this is a factor of sampling bias or a nativistic revival of traditional values among younger members of the Flandreau Santee peoples could not be established from this limited study.

Although our sample at Flandreau was very small, it seems that opinions are not quite as strong on the issues of the sacredness of pipes and sale of pipes and Pipestone as they are among the Yankton. Generally, the consensus was that as long as a pipe has not been 'blessed' or made for sacred use, it is probably alright to sell it. People at Flandreau seemed divided in their acknowledgment of traditional knowledge with the younger people either more willing (or more able) to recount the origin tales about the pipe and Pipestone.

PIPESTONE COMMUNITY

The Pipestone Dakota Community is composed mainly of Upper Council Sisseton and Wahpeton tribes of the Santee. The Sisseton were reported by Lewis & Clark for Sisseton (Sis-sa-tone tribe) as being on the head of the St. Peters and claiming "the Countrey on the N. W Side of the Mississippi, only Stationary when Traders are with them" (Thwaites 1969:6:95). The Wahpeton were seen to

rove on the Mississippi [and] claim jointly with the other bands of the Sieux or Car-co-tars all the Countrey North of a East line from the Mouth of the Little Sieux River to the Mississippi R on the west Side of that river to the Oisconsin, and up on both Sides of the Mississippi, and an Easterly & westerly line passing the otter tail portage & between the head of St Peters & river Rogue [Rouge] and westerly passing the heads of River Jacque (or James) to the head of the War re' con ne River Down that to the Missourie, and on both Sides of that river (including the Ricaries Tribes) to the White river, thence on the West of the west Side of the Missourie to the little Soues R. " (Thwaites 1969:6:93-94).

Today the reservation for the Sisseton and Wahpeton people is at Sisseton, South Dakota.

Summary of interview data

We interviewed five people ranging from 27 to 57 years old. All but one were enrolled members of the Sisseton/Wahpeton tribe. These people represent the fourth and fifth generations of Native American people to live at and work the pipestone quarries. The one exception was a member of the Chippewa tribe. The Sisseton/Wahpeton people were all born in the Pipestone community and were raised on the lore of the quarries and the mechanics of quarrying and working the pipestone. The Chippewa has been part of the community for twelve years. The sample included two Federal employees, two people with outside jobs, and one employee of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association. Only one of these people has not worked in the quarries or manufactured objects from the pipestone. Most of these people hold strong spiritual beliefs and are practitioners of pipe ceremonies, although the referent to their personal spirituality is often secondhand -- they deny any strong spiritual beliefs themselves. All profess to be knowledgeable about the pipestone area, its traditions and the customs of its people. Their expertise in the local community ranges from activism for the Pipestone Community to being good craft workers.

The four Sisseton-Wahpeton people interviewed all said that the quarries had been used by their people since at least the mid 19th century. The Chippewa informant advised that there are legends among his people that talk of trade routes to the pipestone quarries more than 1,000 years ago. Questions on the sacredness of the quarries and the stone were difficult to address because each informant had his or her own unique definition of sacred. The consensus is that there is definitely something 'special' about the quarries and the stone, and that the specialness here could be interpreted by many people as sacred. All are aware of the use of the quarries by non-Indian people early in the 20th century and four know of instances in the last 30 years when non-Indians married to Indians worked the quarries. One informant felt that this latter situation is acceptable because the non-Indians were married into the tribe.

The products made of pipestone known to these people include pipes, fetishes (turtles, arrowheads, little hatchets, little owls, etc.) and some tourist trade trinkets such as ashtrays and pen holders. The number of non-pipe objects being made has increased in the past 30 years or so. Tradition is that the upper layer of pipestone is not suitable for pipes so little girls made turtles and warriors made arrows from this layer of stone. The middle and bottom layers of stone were used for pipes. The bottom layer is the best stone for pipes, but it is harder to work. None of the Pipestone Community people had

concerns for the kinds of things being made from pipestone because they are all traditional objects.

Regarding the ownership and use of pipes, all felt that the pipes should be owned by anybody who needs them. One person stated the argument quite clearly: "A pipe goes where it is supposed to go. If you are not supposed to have one, you will give it to someone who is." The attitude of these people about ownership and sale of pipes is one of tolerance. They all expressed concern that if they were to decide who should and should not have a pipe, they would be wrongly judgmental of the people seeking pipes. The only restriction that was expressed is that the pipes should not be used to smoke marijuana or in a disrespectful or sacrilegious manner.

Before starting to quarry, there are some ceremonies that are practiced. The most involved begins with a sweat lodge ceremony at the beginning and end of the quarrying season. A pipe is offered to the six directions and prayers are said in thanksgiving for the stone and for the benefit of all people. Then at the beginning of the quarrying season, ties of tobacco (a pinch of tobacco tied into a red, black, white, or yellow cloth that is prayed over) are hung in a tree at the quarry or placed near the quarry. Daily ceremony can extend to using sage smoke to smudge and purify the tools and the workers at the start of each day's

work and offering prayers at the beginning of each day's work and prayers of thanksgiving at the end of each day's work. These prayers may be accompanied by offering a pinch of tobacco to the six directions and to the stone itself. When stone is removed, an offering of tobacco may be placed on the seam where the stone was. There is much variation in these ceremonies, and the general pattern discussed here is a maximum use of ceremonial derived from statements by several different people.

Once pipestone has been acquired and before the craftsman begins working on a piece, there may be some individual ceremonies including smudging, offering prayers of guidance and thanksgiving, or offerings of tobacco to the six directions. One individual returns the dust and cut-off pieces from his work to the quarry when he finishes working on a piece. Generally, it seems that more ritual preparation is used before and during the work on any pipe ordered by a Native American specifically for ritual or ceremonial use.

Sacred pipes are either created by being blessed and then used for prayer and in pipe ceremonies, or by being touched by a pipe that has been blessed and is sacred. One individual explained that a sacred pipe is composed of the bowl and stem assembled and that when they have been disassembled they are no longer sacred. There is some difference of opinion on this question.

One person said that the pipe and smoke are not sacred, but they are merely the vehicles for the prayer. Another said that his grandfather taught him the stem is more special or personal than the bowl.

The pipestone quarries were acknowledged by all to be special, but again, the question of sacredness was felt to be ambiguous. The consensus was that all lands are sacred, and four people felt that some lands may be more sacred than others, especially the Black Hills and possibly the Pipestone National Monument area.

For those people who are Siouans, the Buffalo Calf Woman story was a part of the repertoire, but not all acknowledged belief in the revelation the tale provides. The Chippewa informant offered another tale of the importance of the pipe that has the pipe stem being made by lightning. One person was aware of the tale of the three Maidens who became the guardian spirits of the pipestone quarries. Only two people thought the recent birth of a white buffalo calf was of significance to their people and their religion. The remainder were neutral or even skeptical on the issue.

An overriding tone of the discussion with the members of the Pipestone Community is that, although they are enrolled members of the

Sisseton/Wahpeton tribe, they do not readily identify with that tribe. One person more readily identifies with the Flandreau-Santee and the others consider themselves to be the Pipestone Dakota. The interviews we conducted were not sufficient to begin developing an ethnosociology of this community, but such a study might be very worthwhile to examine the nature of changing patterns of ethnic identification in this world where official tribal identity is maintained by the arbitrary mechanism of counting blood quanta.

In conclusion, the people of the Pipestone Dakota community see themselves as stewards or keepers of the quarries. Such an attitude may have some root in antiquity as Nicollet noted the Sisseton living nearest the quarries on his 1843 map of the Mississippi River basin (Nicollet 1976). Perhaps because of their close involvement with the quarries, our informants at the Pipestone Dakota community disagree in almost every particular with the opinions of the Yankton: sale of pipes is acceptable and it is not their place to judge the end users of the pipes; the objects being made of Pipestone are traditional and therefore proper; and the appropriate ceremonies are being maintained in association with the quarries. Our informants did not provide a clear picture of their impression about whether or not the stone and quarries are sacred in and of themselves. The greatest difficulty being faced by members of the Pipestone Dakota community is that because of their generations long

separation from their enrolled tribe, in coming generations they fear that the legally mandated blood quanta will fall below levels that will permit their heirs to continue the traditional lifeways.

ETHNOGRAPHIC SOURCES

In addition to the contemporary data on the traditions of the three dominant groups concerned with the Pipestone quarries and the stone derived from them, a literature review of 9 additional Siouan groups, 5 Algonquian groups, 3 groups of Caddoan speakers, plus the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Nez Percé, and Shoshone was conducted to evaluate the state of knowledge in regard to these people's connection to the Pipestone quarries and products⁷. This review is limited to the quality, variability, and availability of published and unpublished literature.

The following discussion is organized primarily in terms of linguistic stock since linguistic similarity generally implies some degree of common history and cultural similarity. In some instances, this assumption is forced to the breaking point, but perhaps it will serve as an initial organizing principal. The resultant associations may be more beneficial to interpretation than an alphabetical enumeration by group name.

⁷ The library and literature search was conducted in large part by Alice J. Stewart and Elizabeth Faison of Wichita State University whose long hours in the library and at associated archives resulted in executive summaries of information that have been abstracted or incorporated in the following section.

SIOUANS

Three linguistic divisions are normally offered for the Siouans of the northern plains. These include the Dakota speakers of the east, the Nakota speakers in the center, and the Lakota speakers on the west. At the time of first European contact, all of these people were living in the area just west of the Great Lakes (Howard 1980:2). The Sioux recognized seven bands or 'councils' at that time, and these included the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, Wahpeton, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton (Howard 1980:3). The first four of these make up the eastern or Santee division or Dakota proper, the Yankton and Yanktonai are the central or Nakota group, and the Teton are the western division or Lakota. The Assiniboine may have split off from the Yanktonai fairly recently (Howard 1980:4).

The legend of Buffalo Calf Woman and the first pipe is a legend of the Lakota and Nakota group of peoples and is found among the Teton, Yankton, and Yanktonai. The origin story and the rites surrounding its use are reported thoroughly in a narrative from Black Elk of the Oglala Sioux (Brown 1953) and many others. According to Black Elk, the pipe is used in the keeping of souls (a rite which increases the power and future of the people), *Inipi* (a rite of

purification), *Hanblecheyapi* (the vision quest), *Wiwanyag Wachipi* (the Sun Dance), *Hunkapi* (the making of relatives), *Ishna Ta Awi Cha Lowan* (the rite of passage of a girl into womanhood), and *Tapa Wanka Yap* (the seventh rite learned; a game/rite that represents the life of a man).

A summary of the major pipes of the Dakota was offered by Holy Dance (1970:81-82) where he discusses the seven major pipes and ceremonies of the Dakota Sioux. These pipes include a pipe used to pray to the Great Spirit, a Sun Dance pipe, a preamble pipe used at council meetings, a peace pipe, a sweat hut pipe, an Eagle pipe, and a Squaw pipe. There are other special purpose pipes (Holy Dance 1970:82).

All members of the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota share sufficient common history that it is difficult to differentiate historical accounts among the sub-groups that are addressed here. All have sacred pipes and the attendant ritual as central elements of their practices, and all have long traditions of access to and use of the Pipestone quarries in Minnesota.

Dakota or Santee Group:

The Dakota Group of the Siouan speakers is composed of the Santee or Eastern Dakota tribes Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Wahpeton. The general patterns of Santee movement and history have been discussed above in relation to the Flandreau Santee and the Pipestone Community above (page 35?) Today they are settled on reservations in Minnesota and South Dakota: the Prairie Island Indian Community and the Lower Sioux Indian Community of Minnesota (Mdewakanton), Lake Traverse Reservation at Sisseton, South Dakota (Sisseton-Wahpeton) and Santee reservations in Nebraska and South Dakota.

The Sisseton-Wahpeton may have been present at the quarries at the time of Joseph Nicollet's visit in 1838 (Nicollet 1976). They since ceded their rights to the Pipestone quarries (along with much of Minnesota, Iowa, and South Dakota) in the treaty of Travers de Sioux on July 23, 1851 (10 Stat. 949). The treaty of Travers de Sioux was not accepted by all people who thought they had a claim on the Pipestone quarries (and other areas) and resulted in numerous abuses on the parts of both the United States and the Indians. Despite the problems, the cession of the Pipestone Quarries by the Upper and Lower

Santee was still accepted in 1901 when the first major question of the Yankton claim to the Pipestone quarries arose (Gamble 1901).

The Flandreau Santee have a tradition of working the Quarries that goes well back into the 19th century "making pipes, rings, and other articles for sale. They realized an income of \$2,250 from the sale of such items in 1888" (Meyer 1967:257). That tradition continues among the Flandreau Santee and the Sisseton-Wahpeton today, as has been discussed previously.

Nakota or Central Sioux:

Yankton and Yanktonai

The principal Nakota tribes of the Sioux are the Yankton, Yanktonai, and possibly the Assiniboiné (Howard 1980:4). The Yankton have been discussed above as part of the review of the interview data. Today the Yankton live on a reservation in southern South Dakota centered on the town of Marty. The Yanktonai are not a federally recognized tribe and their members are distributed on the Standing Rock and Devils's Lake reservations of North Dakota, a few in Canada's Oak Lake Reserve No. 59 and others are on the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota and the Ft. Peck Reservation in Montana. The

latter group is officially recognized as Yankton by the federal government (Howard 1980:19).

The Yankton and Yanktonai never accepted the 1851 treaty of Travers de Sioux as binding on them and resented the cession by the Santee. An 1858 treaty with the Yankton (11 Stat. 743)--the Treaty of Washington--returned the Pipestone quarries to the Yankton along with a cash settlement in return for the Yankton cession of 11,155,890 acres (Hoover 1988:30), but that did not end the issues. An extensive summary of the legislative and judicial history of the Yankton claim to the Pipestone quarries is presented by Rothman and Holder (1992:25-50). Although the Yankton agreed to a cash settlement for damages on the Pipestone quarries, all parties are still not in agreement about the meaning of the past legislation and payments. The current debate stems from the Yankton belief that prior payments were reparations for damages and that they still own the quarries in fee simple.

Assiniboine

The Assiniboine were originally part of the Yanktonai and may have separated from them some time before 1640 (Hodge 1907:v1:102-103). In 1658, they appear to have been located between Lake Superior and Hudson's

Bay north of the Great Lakes. The Jesuit Relation of 1858 (Jesuit Relations 44:249) places them in the vicinity of Lake Alimibeg, between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. From a tradition found in the widely scattered bodies of the tribe and heard by the first Europeans who visited the Dakota, the Assiniboine appear to have separated from their ancestral stem while the latter resided somewhere in the region about the headwaters of the Mississippi. It is probable that they first settled about Lake of the Woods, then drifted northwestward to the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg, where they were living as early as 1670, and were thus located on Lahontan's map of 1691. Chauvignerie (1736) place them in the same region (Hodge 1907:v. 1: 102-103). Today, the Assiniboine are on the Fort Peck Indian Reservation in Montana.

Because of their more substantial separation from the other members of the Nakota group, the Assiniboine have some minor differences in their practices. In a comprehensive review of the Assiniboine, Kennedy (1961) noted especially the use of black stone pipes. Specifically, the material for pipe manufacture was "A soft, grayish rock, similar to the red Pipestone found in Minnesota" (Kennedy 1961:92). Red pipes, presumably Catlinite, were also present and were "among the favourite belongings of the prairie chiefs" (Barbeau 1960:53).

Among the Assiniboiné, some pipes may have been passed from father to son. The Chief, Takes the Weapon, noted that the pipe he used had been passed down to him "from my father and through three generations before him" (Kennedy 1961:12). When Chief Takes the Weapon's only son died, the Chief's pipe was bundled with the body and buried with it. Women among the Assiniboiné also used the pipe. Rodnick (1938:51) notes that for the Horse Dance there were two pipes present, one for the use of men only and the other for the use of women only. Additional use among the Assiniboiné included at ceremonies of naming, in council before trading or making war, and for the negotiation of peace.

Lakota or Western Sioux (Teton):

The Lakota Sioux are "divided into seven branches, constituting what are called the Seven Council Fires (*Otchenti Chakowin*): the Oglala, Minneconjou, Ooahenopas (Two Kettles), Uncpapa, Brûlé, Blackfeet-Sioux, and the Sans Arc" (Brown 1953:xi). The Teton Dakota were seen by Lewis and Clark and described as being 400 Leagues up the Missouri river and that they "rove on both sides of the Missouri about the Big Bend on the Teton River above White River" (Thwaites 1969:97).

Lakota pipe ritual has been discussed substantially above (page 50) so the following discussion will only deal with some minor differences in history and location of the four Lakota bands addressed in this study.

Brulé Lakota

The Brulé or 'Burnt thighs' unit of the Teton Dakota, were found by Lewis and Clark on both sides of the Missouri, White and Teton Rivers. In 1806 they were on the East side of the Missouri from the mouth of the White River to the Teton River. Hayden (1862) puts them on the headwaters of the White and Niobrara Rivers extending half-way down those rivers in 1856 with the Teton River forming the northern boundary. Today the Brulé are on the Rosebud Reservation and the Lower Brulé reservation of South Dakota.

Minneconjou Lakota

The Minneconjou or "Those who plant beside the stream" (Hodge 1907) are most closely affiliated with the Brulé, Oglala, and Hunkpapa Teton. Lewis and Clark mention them as a nation inhabiting both sides of the Missouri river above the Cheyenne river. They are apparently a relatively recent subdivision

within the Teton Dakota. The Minneconjou today are on the Cheyenne River Reservation in South Dakota.

Oglala Lakota

The Oglala Lakota are the principal division of the Teton. Lewis and Clark found them living above the Brulé on the Missouri River between the Cheyenne and Bad rivers in present South Dakota (Hodge 1907:109 also L&C). There were four bands of Oglala: Ogallallas, Kiocesies, Onkapas, and Wazazies. Some information about the history of the Oglala is available in pictographic winter counts (Karol 1969). Contemporary Oglala are on reservations in South Dakota, principally the Pine Ridge Reservation and the Rosebud Reservation.

Pipes of the Oglala are made by specific craftsmen on the reservation today (Lewis 1990:44). Lewis notes that "The pipe is made sacred by the prayers of the medicine man" (Lewis 1990:45). The pipe is used in almost any ritual including vision quest, Sun Dance, Making Relatives, Ghost Keeping, Throwing the Ball, and Buffalo Sing (a maiden's puberty ritual).

Hunkpapa Lakota

The name means "at the entrance" or "at the head end of the circle" (Hodge 1907:579) or "Campers-at-the-horn or end of the camp circle" (Howard 1980:20). The Hunkpapa Lakota are probably of fairly recent formation (Hodge 1907: 579). Hennepin in 1680 did not mention the Hunkpapa (Hennepin 1880). The Hunkpapa are not mentioned by Lewis and Clark but they appear in the treaty of 1825 for first time as Honkpapa. They may be related to the Teton Saone of Lewis and Clark who were on both sides of the Missouri below Beaver Creek. Sitting Bull was a chief of Hunkpapa, though he also signed treaties for the Oglala (Hodge 1907:580). Today the Hunkpapa are on the Standing Rock Reservation in North and South Dakota, some on the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana, and some on the Wood Mountain Reserve, No. 160 in Saskatchewan (Howard 1965:25).

Dhegiha Group:

Ponca

The Ponca may have begun early in recorded history as a band of the Omaha. In reviewing Ponca and other legends, Howard concludes that "the Ponca, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and Quapaw were once a single tribe in the

Southeast, and that during the migration north and west the group split up" (Howard 1965:14). The Ponca crossed the Missouri and went up a tributary of that river eventually reaching the Pipestone quarries in S.W. Minnesota. "All the traditions agree in stating that the people built earth lodges or permanent villages, cultivated the soil, and hunted buffalo and other animals." (Hodge 1907: 2:278). When game became scarce, they abandoned those villages and moved northwest to the Big Sioux River where they built a fortified village. The Dakota compelled the Ponca to flee southwest into South Dakota. There, according to Omaha and Ponca tradition, the sacred pipes were given. From there, the Ponca crossed the Missouri and went on to the Little Missouri River and the region of the Black hills. They subsequently descended the Missouri on its right bank to the mouth of the Niobrara River where they remained. (Hodge 1907: 2:278). In the early 19th century, the Ponca lived with the Omaha and "Their village was 1 League up a Small river above the quicure called Poncerres River, they being reduced by the Small pox, and their war with the Soues rove in the plains with the Mahars" (Lewis and Clark, Thwaites 1969:88). Today the Ponca tribe is located on reservations in Oklahoma and Nebraska.

One Ponca referred to the Pipestone quarries on giving a pipe to Catlin:

"My friend, this pipe, which I wish you to accept, was dug from the ground, and cut and polished as you now see it, by my hands. I wish you to keep it, and when you smoke through it, recollect that

this red stone is a part of our flesh. This is one of the last things we can ever give away. Our enemies the Sioux, have raised the red flag of blood over the Pipe Stone Quarry, and our medicines there are trodden under foot by them. The Sioux are many, and we cannot go to the mountain of the red pipe. We have seen all nations smoking together at the place--but, my brother, it is not so now." (Catlin 1965:170)

The depositions of Ponca elders before a 1912 land claims hearing reinforce the above descriptions of Ponca migrations. Five elders, Louis Leroy, Joe Birdhead and his father, Jack Penisky and Yellow Horse all gave testimony that clearly stated one boundary of their ancestral territory, as told by their grandfathers, was at the Pipestone Quarries. Joe Birdhead gives some interesting information about the use of the Pipestone Quarries by the Ponca:

"I was told that my grand-father went up to the pipestone Quarries in Dakota and brought the pipe and brought it down to Ponca City and made the stem for that pipe at Ponca City. That pipe of peace is customary among the Indians of that class, and the Indian is to transfer it over to the youngest off-spring whenever he becomes fifty years of age, and it was transferred over to me and I have that pipe of peace in my possession today." [. . .] (p 67) "I am the tenth one that has had possession of it. I am connected with all these people. I am related to them. I was told he could not take possession of that pipe until fifty years ago. [the pipe was brought down] from the Pipestone Quarries. (U. S. Court of Claims 1912:74)"

Joe Birdhead's testimony also addresses the possible migration of the Ponca and Omaha out of the Great Lakes region when he says

that [the Poncas] came from an Eastward direction. They came to a lake and there was a bird flying backward, and across that

great water - that lake- and they said they wanted to go across there as there must be land (U. S. Court of Claims 1912).

The father of Joe Birdhead says that before the Poncas moved to Ponca City "they came by the Great Lakes where Chicago is situated now. They came to Pipestone and had a village there." (U. S. Court of Claims 1912:98). The core of this idea of continued westward migration being forced by the Sioux is reiterated in the testimony of Jack Penisky and Yellow Horse (U. S. Court of Claims 1912:141).

Additional information about the use of ceremonial pipes by the Ponca is contained in Joe Birdhead's testimony (see above) where he recounts the ancestry of the 'pipe of peace' that he was given by his father and notes that it was passed down through the male line for 10 generations. For that pipe the inheritance was patrilineal and passed along when a man achieves the status of age. As an aside, if we can assume that this generational inheritance is about 20 years apart, the Ponca pipe referred to here could have been as much as 200 years old, or been created in the late 17th or early 18th century.

Pipes were so important to the Ponca, that the seventh commandment of the tribe was to "Have respect for the Sacred Pipe" (Le Claire 1947:19). One of the major Ponca ceremonies that is apparently derived from the Calumet is the *Wah-Wan* or Pipe dance where

any one in the tribe that is needy makes a little bag of tobacco and hands it to anyone that has plenty. . . and if this man accepts this bag of tobacco the dance is given, a pipe and gourd [rattle] is used. . . [the pipe] is passed on to anyone that wanted to dance with it and help give things to the needy ones (Le Claire 1947:19-20).

Sun Dance pipes are also referred to in the lore of the Ponca Sun Dance. After the origin of the world, next came "the buffalo bull, bearing a pipe, offering himself to the people" (Dorsey 1905 cited in Howard 1965:103). Pipes were often part of bundles and such bundles may have been owned by either individuals or the group. There is a Ponca tribal pipe and bundle that at the time of Howard's work was in the possession of a Ponca woman (Howard 1965:100, 102) and there are clan pipes, but no description of the pipes themselves was found.

Osage

At the time of Lewis and Clark's explorations, the Grand Osage villages were on the SE side of the Osage river and the Osage claimed all the country around that and to the Arkansas River 100 miles below the three forks of the Arkansas and onto the Kansas River (Lewis and Clark, Thwaites 1969:83). The little Osage are included within this boundary (Thwaites 1969:83). The first historical note of the Osage is on Marquette's autograph map of 1673 where he

puts them on the Osage River where they apparently stayed until removal westward in the 19th century. The Osage were known as fierce fighters and La Harpe has notes on the terror Caddoan tribes held for the Osage. The tribal headquarters for the Osage today is at Pawhuska, Oklahoma.

Osage use of Calumets and smoking pipes is well documented in a variety of sources. The explorer Tixier in the 19th century spent some time with the Osage (McDermott 1940). One calumet is described as having

a bowl of red clay circled with lead. The stem, three inches wide, and three feet long, was embellished with ornaments made of porcupine quills and birds' beaks painted green. Underneath hung a magnificent fan of feathers from the bald eagle, the calumet bird, and two tufts of yellow wool suspended to a thread. These were the symbols of peace. The feathers of the war calumet are painted red. He gave us the pipe... (McDermott-1940:261).

Callahan (1990) and Rollings (1992) quote Holder on the importance of the Calumet dance to the Osage. Additional references to the Calumet ceremony can be found in Rollings (1983), Liebert (1987) and Quaife (1947a and 1947b). The role of the smoker was "an honorary position appointed for life" (Callahan 1990:51-52). In addition to the 'Peace Ceremony' pipes were used to secure adoptions, in other pipe ceremonies, and pipestems and pipes were given as gifts (Liebert 1987:60-65). Ceremonial bundles of the Osage sometimes contained miniature pipes (Rollings 1983:39).

Material used for pipes is reported as including both red Pipestone and black Pipestone. The black Pipestone may have been got from the Otoes (Mathews 1961:74). Excellent descriptions of the variety of Osage pipes are provided by Chapman (1974:65, 85-86). These include an L-shaped pipe, a disk-bowl, an Effigy pipe, and the Micmac style of pipe. Stems were often about three inches wide and three feet long. "Among the Osage the ceremonial pipe was very important" (Chapman 1974:85). Among the Osage, the stem was apparently the most important part of the pipe (Chapman 1974:86).

Mandan Group

Mandan

During the first decade of the 19th Century, Mandan villages were

on both Sides of the Missouree 1605 miles up, those Villages are the remains of thirteen different villages of this nation and have been reduced by the Small Pox, and the wars which the Soues have caused them to collect & form [War with the Soues is according] to their earliest tredition [they have] been Compelled to unite in two Villages and drove back by the Soues, from the Countrey below White River to this place (Lewis and Clark, Thwaites 1969:90).

The Mandan's most intimate relationships are with the Hidatsa, but they are nearer the Winnebago linguistically. The Mandan were first observed by Sieur de la Verendrye in 1738 near the confluence of the Heart and Missouri

Rivers in North Dakota and then moved to the mouth of the Knife River some time before 1804 (Ewers 1967:3).

The Mandan certainly made visits to the Catlinite quarries in Minnesota. A Mandan man told Catlin this tale of their visits to and use of the Pipestone Quarries in Minnesota:

"I am a young man, but my heart is strong. I have jumped on to the medicine-rock--I have placed my arrow on it and no Mandan can take it away. The red stone is slippery, but my foot was true--it did not slip. My brother, the pipe which I give to you, I brought from a high mountain, it is toward the rising sun--many were the pipes that we brought from there--and we brought them away in peace. We left our totems or marks on the rocks--we cut them deep in the stones, and they are there now. The Great spirit told all nations to meet there in peace, and all nations hid the war-club and the tomahawk. the Dah-co-tahs, who are our enemies, are very strong--they have taken up the tomahawk, and the blood of our warriors has run on the rocks. My friend, we want to visit our medicines--our pipes are old and worn out." (Catlin 1965:170).

Mandan pipes were made of red and black stone as well as wood (see Wood and Thiessen 1985, Meyer 1977, Bowers 1950, Will and Spinden 1906, Ewers 1967, Curtis 1909, Hultkrantz 1973 and Able 1932). The Okipa Ceremony of the Mandan includes a reenactment of the origin of the Mandan sacred pipe given to Lone Man and First Creator (Bowers 1950:361-365). Other ceremonial use of pipes by the Mandan included an adoption ceremony,

confirmation of treaties, part of the Buffalo Dance, warding off evil spirits, and as a general symbol of acceptance.

As part of a discussion of the Adoption Pipe ceremony, an explanation is given of the sacred pipes and parts of the pipes:

In reality, it was the pipe stem that was sacred, since the red stone bowls could be removed for daily use, whereas the stems were kept in bundles and were not taken out, except preliminary to an Adoption Pipe ceremony...This is the only instance when red stone pipes were used for ceremonial purposes. Objection to red stone is based on the myth wherein Good Furred Robe, in early times, was unable to introduce red stone pipes because they were the color of human blood (Bowers 1950:329).

The presence and use of wooden pipes in bundles and most ceremonies is probably indicative that wood was the dominant pipe of the Hidatsa, with stone pipes (black or red) being of relatively recent introduction.

Hidatsa Group:

Crow

Lewis and Clark talk of the *Ravin* or Crow Nation as being "on the Yellow Rock R. low down" and that they "rove on both Sides of the River Rochejone (or Yellow Stone) some distance above the mouth. Their territories are in Common"

(Thwaites 1969:103). The Hidatsa and Crow probably separated some time in the latter 18th century while both were living on the Missouri river (Hayden 1862). Wildschut (1960) argues persuasively that the change in Crow life way from horticultural to nomadism lifestyle is an 18th century phenomenon (Wildschut 1960:147). The Crow were not farmers, but did plant patches of tobacco, suggesting the importance of tobacco to their culture. The Crow of today are settled on reservations in South Dakota and Montana.

The Crow have separate Tobacco and Medicine Pipe societies, and the former appears to be the older of the two societies. Tobacco is used in the Crow Sun Dance, and includes pipes, cigarettes and loose tobacco (Voget 1984). There were two kinds of pipes in use by the Crow including a personal pipe held by chiefs or people who had achieved some success (pipe-holders) and medicine pipes held by members of the Medicine Pipe society.

The Medicine Pipe Society is probably a foreign Introduction, with stems decorated like those found among the eastern tribes (Wildschut 1960:114). Medicine Pipe bundles may have reached the Crows as recently as 1825 (Wildschut 1960:121) and may have been introduced by the Hidatsa (Lowie 1935:269). Many Crow were afraid to own the medicine pipe because of its alien medicine. "In 1910 there were probably only twenty-six owners in the

whole tribe" (Lowie 1935:269). Despite this relatively recent introduction the Crow do have origin myths about the medicine pipe. One story recounting the origin of the Medicine Pipe Society is that of a Crow village that was raided by the Sioux. The Sioux took a young boy captive and had made him into a sacrifice at a sun dance. Tattooed-in-the-Face went to find the boy and while on the trail to find him, was given a vision of the medicine pipe and instructed in its use. When Tattooed-in-the-Face arrived at the Sioux camp, he found the captive boy, rescued him, found the medicine pipe his dream had foretold, and after much trial was allowed to leave the Sioux camp and take the medicine pipe he had found there with him. (Wildschut 1960:114-119).

The Crow medicine pipe bundles Wildschut report did not contain a pipe bowl -- only the stem. This is in keeping with the detailed instructions that Tattooed-in-the-face was given about the symbolic materials to include on the stem, while those instructions did not mention the pipe bowl at all.

The premier medicine-pipe ceremony was for adoption (Lowie 1935:270-273). Other ceremonies that may have involved either the medicine pipe or personal pipes were spontaneous ceremonies for cementing friendship (Marquis 1928:188-194), to purify a sweat lodge prior to use (Fitzgerald 1991:114), and as preparation for or on return from a vision quest (Fitzgerald 1991:116-119).

In preparing a medicine bundle after a vision quest , the visionary "might request the assistance of a pipe-holder or a noted medicine man" (Wildschut 1960:9).

Pipe-Holders pipe bundles are carried by leaders of Crow war parties and include both wooden stem and stone bowl (Wildschut 1960:121). One of the two pipe-holders bundles reported by Wildschut included a pipe with a tubular red stone bowl (Wildschut 1960:122). These bundles were on occasion given by a mentor to an apprentice to mark a major achievement in status. The general importance of the tobacco societies and pipe ceremonies is discussed at length in Lowie's "Tobacco Society" volume (Lowie 1919b).

Algonquians

Cheyenne

Before the year 1700 the Cheyenne lived in Minnesota in an area bounded by the Mississippi, Minnesota, and upper Red Rivers. The Cheyenne are first mentioned by the French in 1680 when a part of that tribe visited La Salle's fort on Illinois River to invite the French to come to their country and trade (Hodge 1907: 1:251). They were on the Cheyenne River in South Dakota

where Lewis and Clark found them in 1804. From there they constantly drifted westward. The westward movement of the Cheyenne was apparently caused by pressure from the Sioux (Hodge 1907:1:251).

Grinnell (1962:219) reports that materials for pipes are primarily red Catlinite but also black slate. Llewellyn and Hoebel (1978) discuss the use of pipes among the Cheyenne as assurance of truth-telling, oath-taking and as accepting retribution for crimes. Pipes were also used for soliciting spiritual knowledge from a shaman (Llewellyn and Hoebel 1978:228). Clark (1885) indicates that the Cheyenne "think they are the first people who had the pipe given them" (Clark 1885:295). In discussing the Sun Dance, Marriott and Rachlin (1977) mention that after the Sun Dance priest built the altar and the camp was quieted, "The priest went to his tent, and came out carrying his long red stone pipe, with the feathered stem" (Marriott and Rachlin 1977:14).

The Cheyenne apparently had regular access to the Pipestone quarries in Minnesota since the Cheyenne often sold Catlinite to the Plateau tribes (Jablow 1994:13 quoting from Teit 1930). The material was probably routinely acquired at the quarries rather than by trade since Mary Little Bear Inkanish recites a very clear memory of a trip to the quarries:

"the men made an expedition to the pipestone quarry in Minnesota. There were other stones that could be used for

making pipes, but the soft red stone that cuts easily was the kind they needed to make ceremonial pipes.

"Uncle and some of the other men missed the Sun Dance this year so they could get a good start on their trip. Mary watched her uncle and brothers get ready: each with a spare horse to carry back a pack of stone; each with his weapons, although they were not likely to meet any enemies; and each with eight pairs of moccasins, so they would have shoes on their feet at all times. It was like a war party getting ready to go, Little Bear Woman said. The men even took dried meat and mesquite meal with them, although they would meet friends on their travels and would be fed.

"No woman might go on this trip, or see or touch the stone after it was brought back, until it had been ceremonially cleaned and made ready for working." (Marriott and Rachlin 1977:32).

The main guidance for Cheyenne on use of the pipe in the Massaum and Sun Dance ceremonies was given them by Sweet Medicine who specified much of the pipe stem and the use of the pipe, but did not address the material the pipe bowl should be made of (Powell 1969:598-607, 623-663). In addition to red Pipestone, the Cheyenne used a "sacred straight black pipe" (Dorsey 1905:98) in their sun dance and red stone pipe was used in the New Earth lone tipi ceremony (Dorsey 1905:74-75).

Grinnell (1961:176-183) discusses the role of the pipe in Cheyenne mundane ceremonial including the role of the four directions, basic rules that the pipe must not be passed across a doorway, and preparation of the pipe. Among the Cheyenne, smoking was sacred work and the pipe was an important badge

of office (Powell 1969:291). In ritual smoking the pipe is first offered to the Sacred Persons who live at the four directions, then they offer it to Maheo at the heart of the universe. Finally, the mouthpiece is extended downward to Grandmother Earth. They call the Sacred Persons, Maheo, and the Earth by name, "asking each to smoke with them. "(Powell 1969:434-435).

Pipes were used to initiate and complete ceremonies, for truth telling and to cement agreements and as hospitality (Powell 1969:176). On death, the Cheyenne placed with the man "his war implements [including]... his pipe and tobacco" (Grinnell 1962:219).

Chippewa

The Chippewa or Ojibwa first appear in the Jesuit Relation as the *Baouich-tigouin* residing at the Sault (Jesuit Relations 11:279). In 1804, the Chippewa were on the Mouse river and river Rogue "on the Mouse River and the branches of River Assinaboin North of the Mandans" (Lewis and Clark, Thwaites 1969:104). They also resided on "an Island in Leach Lake" and a "village in a lake near the head of the Mississipi and an exapansion of the Same Called Leach, they own all the Countrey West of L. Superior & to the Sous line" (Lewis and Clark, Thwaites 1969:108). The Chippewa and Ojibwa today are on reservations in Wisconsin, Michigan and with the Cree in Montana.

There is a truly astonishing amount of information available on the Chippewa and their use of pipes for mundane and ceremonial purposes. They did use pipes of material other than Catlinite. Published discussions include reference to a metal "tomahawk pipe" (Calloway 1987; Jones 1861:114-115), green and black "pipestone" (Redsky 1972:41) and black stone inlaid with red stone and lead (Rogers 1974:9-10) and soapstone that they got through trade with "the Eskimos to be made into pipe bowls, and sometimes they fetched it from Thaolintoa Lake" (Birket-Smith 1976:33). Redsky (1972:12) notes that "they found the pipestone at different places on the Lake of the Woods; a lot of it exists at Shoal Lake." The green and black "pipestone" mentioned above is possibly soapstone or talc (see Redsky 1972:41). The Chippewa did have access to red pipestone, probably Catlinite as indicated in the discussions of Kohl who made friends with an Indian pipe maker and noticed that "Red and black pipe-stones, half or quite finished pipe-bowls, with the little engraving tools, lay in one corner of the room ..." (Kohl 1985:343). Additionally, Landes notes that after Will Rogers taught her the *Midewiwin*, he gave her "his handsome, large red stone peace pipe" (Landes 1968:19-20). "Pipestems were wrapped or bound with quill work" (Ritzenthaler 1970:72) and "Silver inlay was applied to pipestems (Ritzenthaler 1970:86).

Both men and women among the Chippewa have owned and used pipes, as noted in the foregoing reference from Landes, and an additional report that a black stone pipe had been given to a woman by a chief and the woman later passed it along to her son (Rogers 1974). Tobacco was "smoked by both men and women but not by the children (Ritzenthaler 1970:99; Kohl 1985:204). Smoking discussed in the literature is predominantly ceremonial or sacred in nature, but Blackbird (1897) talks briefly about casual pipe smoking among the Chippewa.

Pipes were important to all Chippewa religious ceremonies (Redsky 1972:12). Pipes were used to cement peace (Warren 1984:139, 188), in preparation for making speeches (Warren 1984:206-207), for contemplation or meditation (Barnouw 1977:231), a part of story telling (Copway 1860; Redsky 1972:77, 81, 87; Kohl 1985:194-195, 202), at the burial of an elder (Morriseau 1965:128 and Redsky 1972:34), in the "shaking tent" ritual seeking help to find a lost pair of horses (Redsky 1972:116), during a good-health ritual that involves the destruction of a "straw-man" among the Wisconsin Chippewa (Ritzenthaler 1970:114) and in other settings.

Johnston (1976:134-148) offers an excellent description of the importance and various uses of the pipe. Apparently, the material of the pipe bowl is of

secondary importance to the ceremony and presence of the sacred peace pipe. Ceremonies include a dance for renewal of the pipe, a naming ceremony, celebration of first kill in hunting, womanhood, presentation of a blanket to a son by his mother, marriage, feast of the dead, spring and autumn thanksgiving ceremonies, festival of the dog, and a variety of dances including the war dance, victory dance, deer dance, and others.

"Sacred pipes were smoked by the elders to the thunderbird in the early spring" (Morriseau 1965:4). The pipe was an intrinsic part of the Drum Dance, Dream Dance and Powwow of the Wisconsin Chippewa. The Sioux presented the drum to the Minnesota Chippewa and taught them the rites during the 1870's (Ritzenthaler 1970:92-95). The pipe was used as method of divination for determining the time of attack in a battle (Kohl 1985:344-345). Pipe smoking was part of naming a child (Redsky 1972:38-39; Kohl 1985:191). The pipe was smoked as part of a celebration of a young man's first kill in the hunt (Johnston 1976:123).

Pipe smoking was associated with sacred places, feasts, general counsels and treaties (Jones 1861). Old men spend a great deal of time smoking, "attaching a sacredness to the act" (Jones 1861:135). Chiefs smoke with others when discussing important matters, and "generally on such

occasions the host has his 'skabewis' (assistant), or 'dresseur' ... whose duty it is to fill the pipes of the guests and light them" (Kohl 1985:85).

The major pipe ceremony, the *Midewiwin*, was taught to a Chippewa chief by "*Natawa Manito*" who said:

"Now, therefore, light your pipe, and with your stem point to the sky, the abode of the Great Spirit, who shall give you life, to the abode of the spirits of the centre of the earth, whose will is to teach you the virtue of all herbs, and to the four winds who will protect you and give you power and success." (Dewdney 1975:55).

"the medicine man performed the traditional Ojibwa pipe ceremony, lighting the pipe and blowing smoke the four cardinal directions, then passing it clockwise for all present to puff" (Vennum 1988:73; Landes 1968:34-35).

The pipe represented all the relationships of people to their god, the universe and cosmos, to the plant world, to each other, to the animals, and to the quality of life and existence (Johnston 1976:134). A Chippewa chief, on greeting McKenney, said "This pipe is the emblem of life. I bring it here to represent life. It came down to us from our fathers" (McKenney 1959:288). In one instance, upon the death of a Chippewa Chief, his pipe was buried with him (Redsky 1972:61).

Kickapoo

The first historical reference to the Kickapoo was by Allouez Verwyst from modern day Columbia County, Wisconsin between the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers some time between 1667 and 1670 (Hodge 1907: 684). In 1699, Le Seuerl shows them on the 'river of the Quincapous above the mouth of the Wisconsin' (Hodge 1907: 684). In 1765 the Kickapoo moved south to the Peoria region and extended their range, part staying about the Sangamon river and others going east to the Wabash. When encountered by Lewis and Clark, they were located "above the Mouth of Missouri and up that river as high as Osarge Womans River." (Lewis and Clark, Thwaites 1969:112). They ceded their claims to the Wabash and Vermillion in 1809 to all of central Illinois in 1819. Part of the tribe went to Mexico in 1852 and the rest moved there in 1863.

The Kickapoo are central Algonquians, and related to the Sac and Fox. Their relationship to other Algonquian speakers is closer to the Miami, Shawnee, Menominee, and Peoria, than it is with the Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa (Hodge 1907:684). Their culture is very like the Sac and Fox. Major ceremonies are *Midewiwin* (pipe ceremony discussed above for the Chippewa) and *Kiganowini* (feast dance of the clans).

Very little substantive material could be found on the Kickapoo, perhaps because of their very early removal south and out of the United States. Tobacco is referred to as first messenger or "the one who leads our thoughts" (Dillingham 1963:145) and is prominent in connection with prayers. Tobacco can be carried in a medicine pouch, sprinkled on water, or smoked (Dillingham 1963:145-146).

Pipes are used for smoking and ceremonial pipes are "Made of various stones found locally" (Latorre and Latorre 1976:70) and include the 'calumet' style with a long platform and a vertical bowl in the center of the body. Wooden pipes are also made for ceremonial use. Casual pipe smoking by older people requires a simple elbow pipe of wood, although this has largely been replaced by cigarettes (Latorre & Latorre 1976:70).

The ceremonial pipe may be used at a funeral and passed to the family as part of the rite and as part of a rain ceremony where it is puffed to the four directions (Latorre & Latorre 1976:196, 338). This use of smoking for a funeral rite and as part of fasting when grieving is related indirectly about a Kickapoo man whose son was killed by Sac and Fox Indians in the mythic past (Lasley 1902:171). Tobacco is an essential accompaniment to all prayers and that offering can be in the form of an offering to the fire, the clan bundle, or smoking in the ceremonial pipe (Latorre & Latorre 1976:354). Pipes are common

contents of Kickapoo household or family medicine bundles (Latorre & Latorre 1976:270).

None of the information obtained mentions direct connections to the Catlinite quarries at Pipestone National Monument, but it is possible that the Kickapoo had an early historic connection that was not identifiable in this research.

Sac and Fox

Possibly first known as the *Gens de Feu* or the *Asistagueronon*, the Sac and Fox were recorded in the Great Lakes region in 1658 (Jesuit Relations 44:247). By 1640 they were known as the *Osā'kiwŭg* or "People of the Outlet." They are related to the Potawatomi and other Algonquian speakers. Fa. Allouez described the Sac in 1667 as being wanderers and vagabonds in the forests (Jesuit Relations 53:309). In 1669 they were settled along the St. Francois river in Wisconsin (Jesuit Relations 54:215-216). Also present were Foxes and Winnebagos. As early as 1658, the Sac and Fox were having trouble with the Sioux, and Fa. Dablon reports a bloody battle between the Sac and Fox and the Sioux (Jesuit Relations 58:252).

By 1729, the Sac probably lived on the west side of the Fox river near present day Green Bay, Wisconsin. French conflict led to increasing alliance between the Sac and Fox until in 1730 a union was forced for defense against the French and their Indian allies (see Hodge 1907:v2:474-475 for summary narrative). The Sac next appear on the Wisconsin River near the Prairie du Sac in 1766. The Sac and Fox were living on the west of the Mississippi River above the Rock River when Lewis and Clark found them. They

live in 3 villages a few miles above the mouth of of Rock River on the West bank of the Mississippi, their Countrey is principally on the E. Side of the Mississippi, they hunt on the waters of the Missouri low down, on the Demoin and the Mississippi on both Side from the Wisconsin river down to the Illinois river (Lewis and Clark, Thwaites 1969:92).

The Sac and Fox are now on reservations in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma.

Among the Sac and Fox, there are many tales of the Catlinite pipes and quarries that discuss their use and management, as well as one direct tale of a trip to the Catlinite quarries in southwest Minnesota. This latter tale was recorded by Catlin and published in his study of American Indians:

...one of the old chiefs of the Sacs, on seeing some of the specimens of the stone which I brought with me from that place, observed as follows:

"My friend, when I was young, I used to go with our young men to the mountain of the Red Pipe, and dig out pieces for our pipes. We do not go now; and our red pipes as you see, are few. The Dah-co- tah's have spilled the blood of red men on that place, and the Great Spirit is offended. The white traders have told them to draw their bows upon us when we go there; and they have offered us many of the pipes for sale, but we do not want to smoke them, for we know that the Great Spirit is offeneded. My mark is on the rocks in many places, but I shall never see them again. They lie where the Great Spirit sees them, for his eye is over that place, and he sees everything that is here" (Catlin 1965:v2:170-171).

In addition to pipes, the Sac and Fox may have used Catlinite to manufacture ceremonial cups (Owen 1904:138).

The Sac and Fox may have had formal ceremonial pipes for each band or lineage of their group as recounted in an origin tale that instructs on the appropriate use and care of the pipes:

There are seven of these pipes in the tribe, -- one person in each band has one. The person who has it must be very good and allow no fighting inside the house, no hurt, no bloodshed, no wounding. In case one man kills another, and the relations or the band of the latter are angry and fighting is threatened in the tribe, the murderer's relatives or his band get the pipe and make peace with the angry people, who cannot refuse, else they will not have good luck (Lasley 1902:170).

The importance of the pipe for healing was given with the Owl Sacred Pack of the Fox with instructions for its use. The sacred pipe should be smoked

twice during the summer, and if anyone should smoke, he will lose what disease he has "that shall be the power of the Catlinite pipe" (Michelson 1921:45). This idea of tobacco as healing is reinforced in a legend of the gift of tobacco where the Great Manitou says "you keep your lives in perfect health from it" (Michelson 1927:125). Additionally, when going to war, the Fox felt the pipe should "remain at home. An extremely old man is the one who should contrive to be there with it" (Michelson 1921:19). Visions were verified through the use of the pipe in a story of a group of people who passed a pipe around a circle and each recited his or her own vision quest (Lasley 1902:172 and Fugle 1961:33). The pipe was also used in ceremonies of welcoming (Kellogg 1908:171) and in the coming-of-age ceremony of a young woman to extend her life and give her luck (Lasley 1902:170).

Two early published descriptions of Fox pipes include one pipe that was used by the chief's council with a calumet bowl and a twisted hickory stem that was decorated with colored grasses. In addition to this, there is a "Tomahawk" or "War Pipe" that has a hatchet-shaped bowl and stem of Catlinite that was reputedly "used in the ceremony, 'Burying the hatchet'" (Owen 1904:138-139). The Fox would at times sell pipes when they had been abused, as in the case where a "pipe was used once by a drunken chief; if it had not been, it would not have been sold" (Owen 1904:138).

In looking at acculturation and culture change, Joffe speculates that the calumet was "superseded by wampum by about 1820" (Joffe 1963:271) as a means for opening doors to negotiation and discussion among people with disputes. Apparently even during Catlin's time, the sacred importance of Catlinite Pipestone and the quarries was beginning to decline when Catlin notes

Ke-o-kuck chief of the Sacs and Foxes, when I asked him whether he had ever been there, replied...

"No, I have never seen it; it is in our enemies' country,—I wish it was in ours—I would sell it to the whites for a great many boxes of money." (Catlin 1965, v2:171).

Caddoans

Arikara⁸

The Arikara lived on the Missouri when encountered by Lewis and Clark who report their villages included one on an island about the Maropa River and two others on the southwest side. French traders record them on the Missouri below the Cheyenne river in 1770. The Arikara language is a dialect of Pawnee and both are Plains Caddoan languages (Hodge 1907:v1:83). The Arikara encountered Siouans as the former moved northeast from the Republican river

⁸ The section on the Arikara was compiled by Alice J. Stewart.

and they variously fought or made alliances with the Siouans.(Hodge 1907:v1:83). The Arikara are not a federally recognized Indian tribe under that name today.

Mention of the Catlinite quarries area in the references available is non-existent. Thwaites (1906) mentions Maximilian's description of a 'bird case' which included a "very celebrated medicine pipe which is smoked only on extraordinary occasions and great festivals." Rogers (1990:38) interprets this as possibly representing an Arikara group pipe, but no information about the material of its manufacture can be found. Lowie (1915) also talks about the use of pipes in societies among the Arikara in 1910, but does not mention the material they were made from. In discussing Arikara traders, Berry (1978) references the Tabeau narratives (Able 1939:121-123) to show that traders along the Minnesota and Des Moines rivers return with "red pipes" among other things, although this passage does not mention the Arikara by name. Catlinite is mentioned only in reference to the Robinson site and No Heart Creek complex by George (1949:18) and Johnston and Hoffman (1966:51, 57) with no elaboration.

Caddo

Caddo is a pseudonym for the Caddo confederation of tribes dominated by the Kadohadacho or Caddo proper living in the Texarkana area of Texas, Arkansas and Louisiana. From their early home on the lower Red River, the Caddo spread to the north, west and south (J. Hughes 1974:54-55, 62). Their first contact with Europeans was by Cabeza de Vaca in the 1530's, and they are mentioned by numerous others in subsequent years including De Soto in 1541, Moscoso in 1542, Martin in 1650, and Mendoza and La Salle in 1684 and 1685 (J. Hughes 1974:330). Binger, Oklahoma, is the present seat of the Caddo tribal government.

Pipes are apparently important to the Caddo since one of their origin myths "recounts the coming of the Caddo from the underworld, it is related: 'First an old man climbed up, carrying in one hand fire and a pipe, and in the other a drum; next came his wife with corn and pumpkin seeds.'" (Hodge 1907:v1:p181). Historically, they had the calumet ceremony for greeting visitors and establishing peace (Bolton 1987:164-165). Responsibilities for conducting these ceremonies was vested in the caddi or principal headman (Perttula 1992:16-17). The pattern of pipe smoking is identical to that reported for other peoples in this study in that the smoker "blew the smoke first toward heaven,

then to the north, the east, the south and west, and finally toward the ground"
(Buckley 1911:43)

The historic Caddo used a calumet ceremony for greeting, peace, and forming alliances. Observers mentioned that the calumet ceremony was changed, one lasted 24 hours and another lasted three days and tobacco was pooled by chiefs and observers. Bolton (1987) does not mention what these pipes were made of. Europeans who experienced the Caddo calumet ceremonies included St. Denis in 1714, Espinosa and Domingo Ramon in 1716, La Harpe in 1719, and Aguayo in 1721. Primary documents of these explorers were not available for reference to material of manufacture. Perttula (1992) notes that the caddi, or principal headman was in charge of "conducting the calumet (or peace pipe) ceremony with visitors to the village" (Perttula 1992:16-17).

There is a possibility of some Catlinite pipes in Caddoan archaeological sites (Wyckoff 1980:399, Wyckoff 1964:39 and Holmes 1919:253-264). Otherwise, there is no indication that the pipes used by the Caddo were of other than local stone, wood, bone or clay manufacture.

Pawnee

The Pawnee speak a Caddoan language and call themselves *Chahiksichahiks* or 'men of men.' They settled in the Platte river valley of Nebraska. The main subdivisions are the Skidi (Wolf Pawnee), Pitahauerat villages (Tapage Pawnee), the Chaui (Grand Pawnee) and the Kitkehahki (Republican Pawnee). They may have been first contacted by Coronado in 1540 and later by La Harpe. In the latter 18th century, their territory was between the Niobrara river on the north and Prairie Dog Creek on the south, bounded on the west by the Cheyenne and Arapaho. (J. Hughes 1974:21-24). At the time of the Lewis and Clark expeditions they were on the Loupe River and they hunted on the Platt, Loupe, Kansas and Republican Rivers above their villages (Lewis and Clark, Thwaites 1969:86-87). The main Pawnee population today is in central Oklahoma .

Stone pipes are common on archaeological village sites of the Pawnee and Catlinite predominates as the material for them (Wedel 1936:80). Calumet ceremony was discussed as a symbol of alliance by Charlevoix (1903 v1:p306). Additional descriptions are offered by Blaine (1990:25, 286-287) and by Murie (1989:154). Dorsey recounts the origins of the 'pipe-stick ceremony' or Calumet ceremony and the importance of the pipe stem as given by the water monster with its decoration of eagle feathers (Dorsey 1906:52-57). The Calumet

ceremony was used to establish a kin structure so that peaceful trade was possible (Weltfish 1965:31). The pipe was a "sign of peaceful intention and thus a safe-conduct pass through alien territory" and may have originated with the Pawnee (Weltfish 1965:175).

Pipe smoking was both casual and ceremonial. In addition to the Calumet ceremony, the pipe was used to conclude chiefs meetings and to initiate story telling (Weltfish 1965:73), to celebrate the conclusion of a successful hunt. (Weltfish 1965:225), and to consecrate the new Mother Corn in a fall harvest ceremony (Weltfish 1965:258). The most significant discussions of the collection and use of Catlinite are in *The Lost Universe* (Weltfish 1965:392-396). The main emblems in the Calumet ceremony were the two pipestems, decorated with eagle feathers, one stem signifying night and the other day. The stems were ceremonially fashioned from two sticks of ash (Weltfish 1965:392).

The preferred stone for Pawnee pipes was Catlinite and when men were in southwest Minnesota "they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry" (Weltfish 1965:393). Other local stones were also used. When a man wanted a pipe for personal use, he would go to one of the men who made them. Pipes could be ordered in a 'custom' style or in the style that the pipe

maker preferred. The man ordering the pipe would then send his wife to a man who had the stone with "twenty arrows, a blanket, and...some buffalo meat [because he would not want to take the stone for nothing] (Weltfish 1965:393). Pipe-making without metal tools took about eight days and "For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated" (Weltfish 1965:395). Powder and cut-off blocks from the pipe making were saved and ground to be used for paint (Weltfish 1965:395).

Iroquoian

Cherokee⁹

The Cherokee are a detached tribe of Iroquoians in the mountains of the south Alleghenies in southwest Virginia, western North Carolina and South Carolina, northern Georgia, eastern Tennessee and northeastern Alabama. One of the earliest Europeans to visit them was DeSoto in 1540 (Hodge 1907:v1:245-246). The Cherokee were removed from their traditional homelands and established on reservations in Oklahoma and North Carolina in the first half of the 19th century.

⁹ Written by Elizabeth Faison, Wichita State University.

The terms calumet and catlinite have little or no connection with the Cherokee. Since the term calumet was introduced by the French who had little contact with the Cherokee, absence of the term itself may be of little note. The function of the pipe as a sacred sealer and insurer of peaceful relations between Cherokees and outsiders is certainly present in the eighteenth century (Timberlake 1927, Bartram 1791) and probably was present earlier if their neighbors are a reliable reflection (Hennepin 1689). Catlinite and similar Northern Prairie pipestones have only been found at a few sites in the Southeast. Two pipes have been found at Hiawasse in Tennessee, and a third was found at Peachtree Mound in Georgia. Two of the three are prairie "disk" types. Imported pipestone objects have also been discovered in the Southern Appalachians, including a pendant that may have been made from a broken disk pipe.

Divided into four groups by geographical factors, the Cherokees maintained a loose confederation with ties of belief, language and custom. The high mountains impose a certain amount of independence and self-reliance on each community. Methods of fostering and maintaining inter-group cohesion would be sought and welcomed. Tobacco was one such binder. Non-medicinal tobacco seems to have been grown in the main crop area of each village.

Medicinal tobacco was grown in secret in the woods, away from the eyes of the impure, women, and the intended or potential patient.

Nicotiana rustica, the type of tobacco used by the Cherokees until the eighteenth century, never grew wild in the southern mountains, nor does it appear in the current catalogs of wildflowers for North Carolina or Tennessee.

There are also several old diseases for tobacco present in the South. Both of these facts indicate that in this area tobacco had to be cultivated and cared for throughout the eight to nine-month growing season. It could not be sown then left to raise itself.

Lithic sources for making pipes are plentiful in the Southern Appalachians. Steatite in several colors including reddish-pink, green, and white, is readily available and easy to carve with stone tools. Other materials are also available through trade, including argillite and alabaster. The Cherokees also made pipes from clay, but these were probably personal pipes used for the least ceremonial occasions, such as welcoming guests in to the home. There are also a few known examples of sixteenth century pipe-bowls made of wood from a forked branch.

The Cherokees used a wide variety of pipes, including tubular pipes, monitor pipes, effigy pipes, elbow pipes, and large multi-holed bowl pipes. Imported pipes such as Prairie disk pipes and European-made pipes also show up at archaeological sites. Before social disruption by the European conquest became complete, stone pipes seem to be the rule for ceremonial occasions. In 1951 Speck states that by the time he studied their dances, the Cherokees were using whatever was available, including clay and wood.

Timberlake (1927) in 1761 described a contemporary version of the Eagle Dance, one part of which is the Peace-Pipe Dance. He says that the pipe used had a bowl

of red stone, curiously cut with a knife, it being very soft, tho' extremely pretty when polished. Some of these are of black stone, and some of the same earth they make their pots with, but beautifully diversified. The stem is about three feet long, finely adorned with porcupine quills, dyed feathers, deers hair, and such like gaudy trifles. (Timberlake 1927:65).

At the end of the dance, Timberlake was presented with some 170 to 180 pipes to smoke which he "dared not to decline."

The Eagle Dance is still being performed by the Cherokees. Descriptions can be found in Speck (1951) and Kurath (1953). Both say that much of the original meaning has become vague or lost, and much has been synthesized

through a Christian filter, but the Peace- Pipe Dance remains a part of the larger set called the Eagle Dance. According to Kurath the Eagle Dance is now performed at the end of ball games.

The earliest sure description of peace pipes for the Cherokees is in Timberlake's *Memoirs* of 1756-1761. Earlier works talk of pipes and tobacco, but usage is vague or they speak of Southern Indians as a whole, not as individual groups. Observations of neighboring chiefdoms do suggest that pipes were used as social unifiers, but clarification requires further research.

Shoshoneans

Shoshone

The Shoshone (Shoshoni) are the most northerly division of the Shoshonean language family. They used to live in western Wyoming and are today on reservations in Nevada, California, Utah, Wyoming and Idaho. The center of their territory was probably on the Snake River in Idaho (Hodge 1907: v2:556). Northern bands were found by Lewis and Clark in 1805 on headwaters of the Missouri in western Montana.

Pipe practices of the Shoshone were apparently not as formalized as those of the Plains Indians with many of the practices depending on individual dreams and revelations (Lowie 1924:215). "Every Prophet has a different mode of handling, lighting and smoking the big Pipe...some cannot smoke in the presence of a female or a dog and a hundred other movements equally vague..." (Haines 1955:143-144). Ceremonial pipe smoking was used as part of the ratification of a peace treaty (Lowie 1909:195). When smoked, the pipe was normally passed to the right (Lowie 1924:215). Lowie published an account of using the pipe in charming antelope before a hunt where each morning the people got up before dawn and sat in a circle. The man who had the pipe prepared and lit it and it was passed to the right around the circle five times. Once antelope were seen, the people went around the antelope and sat on the other side of them and repeated this process. (Lowie 1924:303-304).

Varieties of pipes include a straight or tubular stone pipe (Lowie 1924:215, Steward 1941:250) and sometimes a pipe with a narrow stem of currant or rose brier with "a small red-stone bowl" (Lowie 1909:212). Steatite is the dominant material of Shoshone pipes (Lowie 1909 v2:174) although pottery or wood pipes are also used and sometimes an L-shaped or platform pipe as is seen in the east (Steward 1941:250). Citing Remy and Blenchley, Steward notes that Shoshoni pipes may be of "red earth" and that "sometimes these

earthenware pipes are exceedingly valuable and Indians have been known to give a horse in exchange for one of them" (Steward 1941:347).

Tanoan (?)

Kiowa

Lewis and Clark found the Kiowa on the Rivers Platt and Loup and noted that they "rove on the Paducar fork of the river platte [and] on the Wolf or Loup river, a N.W. Branch of the Platt to the S.W. of the Black hills or Coute niree a little to the S. of West from the mouth of the Chien or Sharha River" (Thwaites 1969:101). They first appear in Spanish records in 1732. They may have begun near Virginia City, Mont. but then moved down from the mountains and allied with the Crows. From there, they probably drifted south driven by Cheyenne and Arapaho (Hodge 1907: 699). The Kiowa are today settled in west central Oklahoma.

Pipes are one component of the sacred Kiowa bundles known as the "Ten Grandmothers" (Marriott: 1945). The Ten Grandmothers are at the center of Kiowa life and custom and are the essential sacred elements of the people. Pipes from the Grandmothers are important in settling internal disputes

of all natures, from petty theft to murder. When there was a dispute within the tribe one bundle keeper went to the

“...bundle that hung at the west end of his tipi and untied the old black pipe that belonged to it. He would take the pipe and make the two who were fighting smoke it. If they once took it in their hands together, then they had to stop fighting, even if they didn't smoke it. Just touching it was enough, it was so powerful” (Marriott 1945:41).

To refuse four times to smoke a pipe from one of the Grandmothers brought bad luck and ultimately death (Richardson 1940:11). When a person refuses for the fourth time, the bundle keepers and leaders determine that the person can be dealt with however the other aggrieved parties see fit: even to kill the person who refused the fourth pipe (Richardson 1940:25-27). If a person should pursue a quarrel or fight after smoking the pipe, bad luck or supernatural death could result (Richardson 1940:55).

Because the Grandmother bundles were the principal medicine of the Kiowa, the keepers of those bundles served as counselors, peacemakers, and healers; applying the medicine and power of their bundles to all problems. The pipe for a bundle was an essential part of preparing the keeper of the bundle and healer for a sweat lodge and healing ceremony. The pipe would be smoked by the healer and the person to be healed, regardless of gender (Marriott

1945:212-215). Reference exists to a female pipe keeper among the Kiowa (Richardson 1940:71).

The litany of pipe use among the Kiowa includes the recounting of deeds while the calendars were being prepared (Mayhall 1971:20), perhaps an equivalent to the initiation of story telling seen among other Plains people. Pipes were used in deliberations and for agreement to a council resolution, as in for war, where smoking of the pipe indicated acceptance of the proposal (Mayhall 1971:33) and for confirmation of treaties with other groups for hunting rights (Mayhall 1971:33, Richardson 1940:11). The pipe was also part of the Sun dance (Mayhall 1971:34) and pipes were used to indicate a peace or passage granted (Mayhall 1971:47-48, 91) and to celebrate the passage of young men into adulthood before they married (Marriott 1945:43).

The Calumet ceremony was part of Kiowa life and culture and in 1719 Bernard de La Harpe met with a group that included the Kiowa and smoked the peace pipe with them (Mayhall 1971:25). Smoking is part of the personal vision quest and is used to secure the health of the initiate through prayer using the pipe (Marriott 1945:45).

A common pipe for personal use was a tubular bone pipe, often made from a deer leg bone (Marriott 1945:64, Marriott 1967). The large ceremonial pipes were in some cases made of catlinite (Mayhall 1971:122). Two catlinite pipes reputedly of Kiowa manufacture, one large pipe indicated as a man's pipe and a smaller one labeled as a woman's pipe, were on display at the Panhandle Plains Historical Museum in Canyon, Texas, in the spring of 1995.

Shahaptian

Nez Percé

The Nez Percé are the main tribe of the Shahaptian speaking peoples. They were called the Chopunnish by Lewis and Clark who found them in Western Idaho, northeast Oregon and southeast Washington on the Lower Snake River and its tributaries. Nez Perce live today mainly in Idaho and California on reservations established for them.

Nez perce smoking included use in council lodges and for general welcoming of guests as noted when a visiting Nez Percé chief "smoked with Captain Clarke" (M'Vickar 1900:26). Nez Percé pipes were mainly made of a

bluish or yellowish soapstone or tufa, but they did sometimes get catlinite from Plains tribes (Spinden 1964:188). Pipes and smoking were an important part of Nez Perce ceremonies, and the calumet ceremony "also seems to have been practised among them or to have been introduced at a very early date" (Spinden 1964:189).

Summary of Findings

The Catlinite quarries and the stone they produce has played an important role in the ceremonial and spiritual life of Native Americans for the past 3,000 years. The importance is highlighted by the common acceptance of all Indian people who quarried there into the 19th century that the quarry area was a place of peace where enemies could (and apparently would) gather without fear -- their differences set aside in the common need for securing Pipestone. This pattern may have begun to change in the 19th century if the somewhat acrimonious reports of Sioux predations given to George Catlin by Sac and Fox and Omaha leaders are accepted.

Despite the importance of pipestone to the many people who would travel to the quarries to secure it, including the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota people as well as the Mandan, Cheyenne, Sac and Fox, Pawnee, and Kiowa, there are differences in the use and perception of the importance of the stone among these and among the other peoples for whom the stone is ethnohistorically reported. Pipes were made by specialists among the Oglala and the Pawnee, but may have been made by the non-specialist who collected the stone and intended to use it among the Ponca. Pipes were used for ceremonial purposes by all groups, and for personal or mundane purposes among some peoples.

Among the Osage, Mandan, Chippewa, Kickapoo, Pawnee, and Kiowa, pipe smoking included casual or mundane use and there is some evidence that among these people the stem was considered the important or sacred element.

Two basic categories of pipe are discussed indirectly in the literature. The pipes that are part of group sacred bundles and pipes that are individual property, in personal bundles, or merely the property of an individual. Among the Lakota, the Nakota, and the Dakota, there is evidence of group sacred bundles, as there is with the Ponca, Osage, Mandan, Crow, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Sac and Fox, Pawnee, and Kiowa. In many instances it seems that the 'pipe' in these sacred bundles is specifically the stem, and the bowl is kept separate, or acquired at need -- implying that it is treated differently than the sacred bundles. Individual pipes were apparently often sold or traded to other people or given as gifts. In some instances, a personal or family pipe might be buried with the owner on his or her death.

There was a great trade in pipes and pipestone across the Plains prehistorically and early in the historic era. Those people who could go to the quarries, exemplified by the Pawnee, generally acquired as much stone as they could for the purpose of trade. When people could not go to the Catlinite quarries themselves, they apparently paid a premium for pipes made of Catlinite

as seen among the Shoshone. A few instances of Catlinite being used for cups or pendants have been noted from the early historic or prehistoric record. The exchange and trade in pipes (whether manufactured expressly for trade or for personal use) for other significant items or goods is well illustrated by the lively exchange of pipes with European explorers and traders.

Women have been pipe keepers, including pipes that were part of sacred bundles, in many societies. The foregoing discussions have produced information about women as pipe and sacred bundle keepers among the Lakota, Ponca, Chippewa, Kikapoo, and Kiowa. Among the Pawnee, it was noted that the women were not allowed to view the newly recovered pipestone from the quarries until it had been prepared, suggesting that there are some cultural differences in the restrictions on women in regard to pipes. That women owning pipes in the other groups has not been discovered does not mean it did not occur. Many of the early explorers dealt and traded only with the men and may or may not have recorded ownership or use by women.

The ceremonies most people have that involve the use of pipes include ceremonies of adoption -- whether within the tribe to enlarge a family, or of people outside the tribe to establish fictive kinship networks--ceremonies of purification, ceremonies of welcome and agreement, hunt magic and

celebration, and divination and problem solving. More informal use of the pipe commonly involved preparation by a lore master before recounting tales and stories, or as part of a friendly conversation among equals.

The lore of the Catlinite among people of the Northern Plains includes some nearly universal reference to the stone having originated from or been colored by the flesh and blood of the people. Other peoples more remote from the quarries don't seem to have specific traditions about the origin of the stone itself but focus their descriptions on the importance of the pipe in general and its role in society and among the people. The concept of the pipe representing blood is what contemporary Yankton people are using to argue for the sacredness of the pipe, yet that same lore may be why the Mandan never accepted it for more than the ceremonies of adoption.

With the revival of the Sun Dance among the Native Americans in the latter 20th century, the role of the pipe and the Catlinite has begun to change. Differences that were apparent, if not stark, late in the last century are being erased as part of the Native American revitalization of the current era. Attitudes and ideas about the role of the pipe and the place of Catlinite in the hierarchy of pipes are being reshaped by reinvention or rediscovery of traditions by people who lost much of their tradition earlier in this century. The diversity of opinions

reported here may be increasing as different approaches are taken by Native Americans to reuniting themselves with their past. The expanded interest in and concern for Catlinite is that the Catlinite quarries of southwestern Minnesota are the most widely publicized and the only well-known native quarries that are still maintained for general access to any and all American Indian people, regardless of their particular culture's beliefs or ideology.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This report has attempted to present some of the more significant information about the people who have traditionally used the quarries located within the Pipestone National Monument of southwestern Minnesota. Such an effort is always constrained by limits of time and resources and cannot address all possibilities. There are other inquiries that should be done to follow through with this initial study. Many groups have been encountered during this research that were not addressed as part of the research. There are other Iroquoian, Algonquian, and Shoshonean speakers who may have been much involved in the use of Catlinite or in its quarrying who are not represented in these pages. Additionally, people from the the Blackfeet (Blood and Piegan), Arapaho, Seneca and Dine-Navaho have recieved several permits to quarry and so apparently have some traditions regarding the use of Catlinite.

Further studies focusing on the forms and antiquity of the Calumet and its attendant ceremonies, building on the works of Sigstad (1973), Blakeslee (1975), and others could prove valuable in more closely tracking the relationships between sacred and mundane pipes and their appropriate uses. Such research would also assist in determing how and why the role of Catlinite seems to have expanded sharply during the 18th century.

Museum and private collections around the country contain numerous representations of calumets and other styles of pipes that are of red stone and presumably of Catlinite. New techniques pioneered by Gunderson (1991) now make it possible to easily ascertain whether or not these pipes truly are from the Pipestone National Monument quarries or from some other, similar quarry that has not had the same amount of publicity. If such a study is undertaken, it would be most interesting to focus it on analysis of Oneota pipes in museum and university collections, the earlier red stone pipes from Adena and Hopewell sites, and make an effort to determine the antiquity of Catlinite pipes and the role of Catlinite in the development of the Oneota pipe complex.

The most involved effort that needs to be considered is a much more in-depth consideration of the changes in the American Indian world today. The historical facts about the belief systems of any of the several tribes or groups considered here may differ substantially from the truth acknowledged by the modern members of those groups. Such discrepancies are an expectable part of the revitalization process and could render the facts recorded in the mythic 'ethnographic present' of the anthropologist irrelevant in light of the truths of present understanding.

This last point is important from several perspectives: The distinction between religion and spirituality seems to be significant to the people who are involved in the controversy over Pipestone. The world of religion tends to divide things into categories of sacred and mundane based on a firmly established set of rules or dogma. Religion is in essence a group concept that calls for unity prior to beginning. Spirituality is more individualistic, and possibly more characteristic of the historically traditional Plains Indian belief system where individuals seek revelation and truth within and of themselves, following only the most basic guidance of culture and tradition. In the world of spirituality the concepts of sacred and mundane may be present, but they tend to exist more on a continuum rather than in discrete categories. I suspect this difference is visible in some of the discrepancies from our interview questions among the modern day Yankton, Flandreau-Santee, and Pipestone communities.

The second point of importance in reviewing the religious and spiritual world of contemporary societies is a group of recently passed federal laws that acknowledge the importance of American Indian religions and reaffirm the right of Native Americans to the unhindered practice of their religion. In the case of a locality that has different meanings to different people and different roles in different religions the potential for irresolvable internal conflict is unavoidable.

If the various approaches to the world of belief are not well and thoroughly understood, the ability to make usable management decisions that offend the fewest people can be hindered. An ethnographic study of the contemporary revitalization movement to ascertain the focus and meaning of the movement to its followers would offer real potential for usable conflict resolution tools.

Appendix I: Questions for Directed Interviews

General Order of Interview

1. Background Information:

a. Personal Biographic Data:

- i. Age
- ii. Tribal Affiliation
- iii. How long assoc. with Pipestone?
- iv. Parents
- v. Parents tribal affiliation
- vi. how make living
- vii. age etc. if possible, otherwise estimate and note.

b. Role in Community:

- i. support workers
- ii. work Pipestone
- iii. work quarries
- iv. other, not related to Pipestone
- v. ceremonialist?

c. Opinions about ceremony/spirit life in general:

- Do you consider yourself to be a strongly spiritual or religious person?
- i. member NAC?
- ii. Christian Church?
- iii. follower/practitioner of pipe ceremony?
- iv. other spiritual/ceremonial beliefs?

d. Knowledge of Pipestone area and customs:

- Do you consider yourself knowledgeable about the Pipestone area, traditions, and customs?"
- "What is your particular expertise within your tribe about the customs and traditions of this area?"
- "How long have your people used this area and do

they consider it sacred?"

-- "Is the ground around the Pipestone quarries more sacred than some other areas? Why?"

2. Specific Concerns if the person is a long time resident or quarrier at Pipestone, MN or Flandreau:

a. When you were young (or long ago, or whatever), did you know any of the people who worked the quarries?

-- Who were they?

-- What tribes did they come from?

-- About how long ago are we talking about here?

-- It looks like opening a quarry is a lot of work.

How did people keep track of who was working where, or was there no specific 'right' to a particular quarry pit?

-- If a person had opened a quarry pit and came back to find someone else working it without permission, what could have happened?

-- Did arguments or fights ever start over who had rights to a particular pit? Do you know of any in particular you can tell me about? How were they settled?

b. Did any non-Indians ever work the quarries?

-- How did you and your people feel about that?

c. What kinds of things were being made from the Pipestone back then?

d. Has the use of the quarries changed any since then?

-- When?

-- How?

-- Why?

-- How has that affected you/your spiritual life/your role in the community/your livelihood?

e. Pipestone:

i. Use of Pipestone:

-- What kinds of things should the Pipestone be used for? Are there limits? Why?

-- Who should have pipes that are made from this material?

ii. Quarrying and working stone:

-- Are there any particular ceremonies required before you start working in the quarry?

-- Would you be willing to describe them to me?

-- Are there any particular ceremonies required before a craftsman starts working on a pipe?

-- Can you describe those to me?

-- What makes a pipe sacred?

f. Who taught you about how to quarry/work stone/ related ceremonies?

-- relationship to you?

-- how did they teach?

g. Sacred and Profane:

-- What is your understanding of your people's traditional lands?

- Is some part of your people's traditional land more sacred than other parts?
 - What has made those lands more sacred than the rest?
 - I've heard of a story about 'Buffalo Calf Woman' and the first pipe. Have you ever heard that story? Would you be willing to share it with me?
 - Have you heard of any other stories related to the land and the people that you could share with me?
3. Specific concerns for people who are NOT directly involved in the Pipestone/quarry area:
- a. General concerns of the informant:
 - Do you consider yourself to be a strongly spiritual person?
 - What is your understanding of your people's traditional lands?
 - Are any parts of your tribe's traditional lands more sacred than others? Or are all lands equally sacred?
 - If some areas are more sacred, why? What makes lands sacred?
 - I've heard of a story about 'Buffalo Calf Woman' and the first pipe. Have you ever heard that story? Would you be willing to share it with me?
 - Have you heard of any other stories related to the land and the people that you could share with me?
 - b. Tobacco and Pipes:
 - Tobacco seems to have had an important place in Native American ceremonies for many generations. Why is that?

-- What is the role of the pipe in tobacco ceremonies?

-- Have you ever performed or participated in a ceremony involving the use of a pipe in tobacco ceremony? Would you be willing to describe it to me?

-- Are some pipes sacred? Or are all pipes sacred?

-- What makes a pipe sacred?

-- If a person who did not know what he or she was doing misused a sacred pipe, what would happen?

-- Do you know of a time when that happened?

4. Conclusions:

a. General summary

-- How would you like to see your people's traditional lands handled in the future? Returned to your people, managed for all by the Federal government, or continued as they are now?

-- How would you like to see conflicts among people who have claims to the same area resolved?

b. In finishing, do you think the recent birth of a white buffalo is an especially good sign for your people? Why?

c. Anything else you'd like to say?

d. Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX II: BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

INTRODUCTION

Most of the sources found in researching this project provided only fragmentary bits of information. Some groups, such as the Sioux, had sufficient material to create a reliable picture. For others like the Kickapoo and the Nez Perce, considerably less evidence was found. Developing a clearer picture for these groups will require considerable effort searching through unpublished materials in various repositories.

GENERAL RESOURCES

Information concerning Native American use of Pipestone and pipes is found in varying degrees of comprehensiveness in the journals, chronicles, court documents, etc. owned by archives throughout North America. Major repositories include the Heye and the Smithsonian, both of whom have also published books and articles on the subject. Other important collections are held by the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, the Thomas Gilcrease Institute in Tulsa, the Denver Museum of Natural History, the Peabody Museum

at Harvard, the New York Public Library, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec.

Foreign archives in Europe, Canada, and Mexico also contain information, much of it not yet studied and translated. For example, recent examination of Spanish Inquisition trial records have yielded a description of an Apache ceremony that is very similar to the Osage ceremony. This Apache ceremony was observed in the seventeenth century by a Spaniard from Santa Fe (Blakeslee 1981). European countries that are most likely to possess significant documents include Spain, France, England, Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands. Trade goods lists, lists of diplomatic gifts, and treaty accessions should be examined for inclusion of pipes and smoking materials.

State archives and state historical societies contain a wide variety of materials, including official state correspondence, records for state initiated military activity, treaty negotiations, finance records, and other state level activities comparable to those on the national level. Historical societies will have repositories for diaries and papers, as well as published materials of state or local interest. Of particular value for the problem of Pipestone is the Minnesota State Historical Society, whose publications were important in developing this report.

Federal and state archaeological records and artifact collections provide physical evidence for the presence of Pipestone in areas beyond the quarry sites. This is especially critical for evidence of prehistoric Pipestone use. Excavation has shown that Minnesota Pipestone traveled as far south as Georgia and as far west as Idaho and Arizona (Sigstad 1973).

University libraries own published and unpublished materials, and are usually repositories for U.S. Government documents. About half of the sources consulted for this project were in the collection of the Wichita State University Library. Comparable holdings were found at other university libraries consulted in Kansas and North Carolina, as well as those accessible through the Internet.

A number of institutions have published catalogs of their holdings. Both the Peabody (Tozzer Library 1988) and the Gilcrease (Edwards 1972) have such bibliographies. There are also published bibliographies that list generalized traits, and a search through these proved profitable. Chepesiuk and Shankman (1982) have compiled a list of archival holdings for the Southeast. R.R. Bowker publishes an excellent guide to collections throughout North America entitled Subject Collections (1993). All or most of these guides will be found in any good research library.

ANALYSIS OF MATERIALS FOUND

Almost all of the documents found that mention Pipestone were written by non-Native Americans, especially the earliest accounts. There are a few Cherokee manuscripts that describe medicinal uses of tobacco (Mooney 1891) and the use of pipes in making peace between themselves and Iroquoian enemies (White 1981). There is a late nineteenth century account recorded by Stanley Vestal (1934) on the reasons for Sitting Bull's refusal to smoke pipes with whites, which includes a philosophical vision of the Pipe. Various winter counts include mentions of pipes in various contexts. Twentieth century revival of heritage by Native Americans has resulted in more native accounts of Pipestone and pipe use, but current knowledge has been through a filter of severe acculturation.

Most of the documents found to discuss pipes and Pipestone were written by Europeans and European North Americans. Because these accounts are written by outsiders, the information is biased in a number of ways. To determine the value of an account the form of bias must be understood as well as the reason for writing it.

Earliest accounts for the Southeast and Southwest are Spanish, and though archaeological evidence shows continuous presence of pipes, there is little description of why they were used or how they were used in either area at any time. Omission is due to religious and political bias. Fear of the Inquisition discouraged investigation and description of non-Christian religious ceremonies by people in Spanish controlled areas (Blakeslee 1981).

French interests were focused mainly on commerce, less on missionary activity or settlement. As a result there are several descriptions of the calumet ceremony in the Louisiana Territory (Le Page du Pratz 1758; Hennepin 1689, 1880). French Jesuits in the Great Lakes and upper Missouri regions also recorded observations of pipe and Pipestone use (Thwaites 1959). In most accounts reviewed, curiosity evidently overcame prejudice allowing a fuller picture of Native American activity.

Colonization and economic opportunity were the primary English and American political concerns. Scientific curiosity was permissible in most Protestant churches. An imperative to convert the heathen Indian, to spread the Gospel, spurred missionary activity in many churches. These three factors guided English and American activities among Native American groups, resulting in written accounts of Native behavior and customs for study by

organizations such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (Corkran 1969).

Other factors also affect the quality of accounts. Obvious biases are religion, ethnocentricity and nationalism. Less obvious are the changes in thinking through time. Scientific methodology has crept into the writing of history over the past century. A hundred years ago Longfellow's poem, "the Song of Hiawatha" was quoted as an important source of information on Indian use of pipes (Jones 1873; Thurston 1890). Current research depends upon directly gathered material unfiltered by nineteenth century romanticism.

LINGUISTIC GROUPS

SIOUAN

Of the ten language groups included in this study, the Dakota have the most evidence for pipe use and use of the Pipestone quarry. The Lakota themselves have written or helped record information on their use of pipes over the last century. The Bureau of American Ethnology has a good collection for the Lakota, and has published a number of important reports on the culture of

the Lakota. The other major Eastern archives also have collections of published and unpublished materials.

Regional sources for documents concerning the Lakota are also good. Large collections can be found at the Siouxland Heritage Museums, the University of Missouri library at Columbia, and the University of Minnesota library at Minnesota. The University of Missouri has the personal library of John Neihardt, who lived with the Ogalala Sioux and the Omaha studying their histories and cultures.

Other Siouan groups have considerably smaller resources. The Crow and Assiniboiné are represented in a collection at the Montana State University library. There is also a collection of photographs on Assiniboiné rituals at the Newberry Library in Chicago. The Ponca, the Osage and the Mandan have no major collections that we have been able to discover.

Documents on all Siouan groups discussed here can be found in state archives, federal military archives, and university libraries throughout the Plains and Prairie states, especially Minnesota and Oklahoma. Tribal archives for these groups are limited, but are a place to start, with potentially useful bibliographies.

ALGONQUIN

Like the Lakota, documentation for the Chippewa/Ojibwa is extensive. There are a number of important repositories starting with the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia, which owns the papers of Paul Radin, a major researcher of the Ojibwa and Fox. Radin's personal library is owned by the Hofstra University Library in Hempstead, N.Y. Other collections are held by the Grand Portage National Monument in Minnesota and the Chatham, Ontario Public Library. More collections that focus on the Fox and Sauk can be found at Augustana College Library in Rock Island, Illinois, and the University of Kansas Library, Lawrence. The Fort Robinson Museum in Crawford, Nebraska, has material on the Cheyenne. No good collection for the Kickapoo has been found.

When searching for documentation for these Great Lakes groups, Canadian sources should not be overlooked. There are several important collections in Ontario, Quebec, and Alberta. Included are the Glenbow-Alberta Institute in Calgary, the Metropolitan Toronto Library, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec.

CADDOANS

There do not appear to be major deposits of archival materials for any of the three Caddoan groups included in this study. Again, there are materials held by the Smithsonian, which published Alice Fletcher's account of the Pawnee Hako Ceremony (1904). The Heye and the National Geographic Society also have information.

Regional resources are located in Oklahoma, Texas, Louisiana, Kansas, Nebraska, Arkansas, Missouri, and the Dakotas. Universities in all these states have collections that include Caddoan groups, especially the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, and the University of Oklahoma, Norman. Military museums and state historical archives for the states listed above also will have resources on the Pawnee, Arikara, and Caddo.

IROQUOIAN (Cherokee)

Cherokee, North Carolina, has recently obtained a microform collection of Cherokee documents held in foreign archives. These have yet to be searched for references to pipes, calumets, or Catlinite. The documents come from Spain,

France, England, Germany, and Holland, and should undoubtedly yield more information on the use of pipes.

Various state archives also contain some information on pipes and tobacco. South Carolina State Documents mention "smoaking" as part of the Cherokee ceremony of welcoming visitors (McDowell 1970:263). The South Carolina government included tobacco and pipes in their inventories of gifts carried by embassies to the Cherokees. Virginia governors also used pipes to treat with the Cherokees (Hagy and Folmsbee 1973:213-215). In a letter to Oconostotah, Patrick Henry speaks of a "pipe of peace" in his possession given to him by Oconostotah when they had talks in Williamsburg.

Aside from the microform collection of foreign documents held by the Museum of the Cherokee Indian at Cherokee, N.C. and by Western Carolina University in Cullowhee, N.C., there does not appear to be one single archive of primary documents concerning the Cherokees and their pipes. Such papers are scattered throughout the eastern United States at the Heye, the Newberry Library in Chicago, in university libraries in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Oklahoma. State Archives and archives of numerous small museums also should be included in lists of document holders.

SHOSHONE

Aside from work done by Julian Steward and Robert Lowie, little information was found that could be used in understanding Shoshonean use of pipes, Pipestone, or tobacco. A possible source could be the University of Nevada, Reno, but we were unable to access an inventory. A survey of libraries and historical society archives for Utah, Nevada, Colorado and Idaho should yield more information. Archaeological reports may also reveal use of pipes and Pipestone that went unnoticed by historians.

TANOAN (Kiowa)

Collections for the Kiowa are to be found at Oklahoma and Kansas universities, especially at the University of Science and Arts in Chickasha, and at the Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, Tx. Material is also at the U.S. Army Field Artillery School Library in Ft. Sill, Oklahoma.

SHAHAPTIAN (Nez Perce)

Again, information for this group was limited. Two resources we were unable to consult are the Washington State University Library and the

Appaloosa Museum in Moscow, Idaho. The Nez Perce did use pipes at least by the historical period, evidence for which are the photographs of the various Tribal leaders, including Chief Joseph.

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